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(*Continued from p.* 762, *October Number*, 1900.)

49. *Fakhru'd-Dín Fatḥu'lláh.*[1]

[Fakhru'd-Dín Fatḥu'lláh], the brother of the author of this work (may his life be long!), has composed some fine odes. The following is written in imitation of Awḥadí:—

صد گره باز بران زلف معنبر زده بود ،
عالمی را چو سر زلف بهم بر زده بود ،
در چمن گشته چمان ساغری از باده بدست ،
پای کوبان شده گوئی دو سه ساغر زده بود ،
عارض از آتش مَیْ در خوی گوئی که نسیم ،
قطرهٔ شب نم بر برگ گل تر زده بود ،
گوئی از غالیه بر برگ سمن ساخته بود ،
نقطهٔ بر روی از آن خال معنبر زده بود ،
عرصهٔ باغ ز انواع ریاحین خودرا ،
از برای قدمش بر زر و زیور زده بود ،

[1] By an oversight this notice is repeated almost verbatim a little further on (No. 65), in the place where it occurs in C.[1]

دستِ فتّاشِ صبا موکبِ میمونش را ،
سایبان و تُتُق از سرو و صنوبر زده بود ،

در عرق یاسمن و سوسن و نسرین که نسیم ،
رهگذارش بعرقهای معنبر زده بود ،

گلشن از بهرِ نثارِ قدم و ما حضری ،
برگها ساخته از هر طرف و زر زده بود ،

مدّتی بود که از شوقش گوئی نرگس ،
حلقهٔ بود همه دیده که بر در زده بود ،

همچو عودم ز غمش دود بسر برمی شد ،
کآتشم در دل و در دیده چه مجمر زده بود ،

مردمِ دیده بخون دست ز جان پاک بشست ،
بسکه بیچاره درو پرچه کبوتر زده بود ،

برگذشت از من و در من نظری نیز نکرد ،
در نظر نآمدش آن صید که لاغر زده بود ،

غمزه‌اش قصدِ دلِ خلقِ خدا کرد و فتح ،
بهرِ دل خودرا برِ ناوکِ خنجر زده بود ،

" *Once again he had tangled those fragrant locks in a hundred knots, and had cast into confusion a whole world like the tips of his tresses.*

He had gone proudly forth into the meadow, with a cup of wine in his hand, beating time with his feet, so that thou would'st say he had dashed off two or three goblets.

His cheek perspiring with the wine-flame, thou would'st say that the breeze had dashed a dew-drop on a tender rose-leaf.

Thou would'st say that he had wrought with perfumed unguent on the jessamine-leaf,[1] *and had imprinted a dot on the face with that fragrant mole.*

[1] Metaphor for the cheek.

The garden-plot had filled itself with all sorts of sweet herbs, as though to welcome his footsteps with gold and ornaments.

The hands of the carpet-spreading Zephyr had erected pavilions and screens of cypress and pine for his auspicious cavalcade.

The jessamine, the lily, and the eglantine were steeped in perspiration, for the breeze had watered his path with fragrant essences.

The rose-garden, for an offering to cast at his feet and an entertainment, had produced leaves on every side and had turned them into gold.

For long the jonquils (for eager craving, thou would'st say, for him) had formed rings filled with eyes fixed on the door.

For love of him my head was wreathed in smoke, like aloe-wood, because he had hurled fire into my heart and eyes, as though into a censer.

In blood the pupil of my eye washed its hands clean of life: so much had the luckless pigeon fluttered therein.[1]

He passed me by and did not even look at me: that quarry which was in such poor condition did not even arrest his gaze.

His glances attempted the lives of God's creatures, and victory for the heart's sake cast itself on the point of his dagger."

50. *'Izzu'd-Dín Karají.*

He was from Qazwín, of the tribe of Karajís.[2] He has some fine verses. He speaks as follows in reply to Siráju'd-Dín Qumrí[3]:—

گفتی که گنه بنزدِ من سهل بود ' این نکته نگوید آنکه او اهل بود '
علمِ ازلی علّتِ عصیان کردن ' نزدِ عقلا ز غایتِ جهل بود '

[1] I do not understand this line, but I presume that "the pigeon" is a metaphor for the eyelid or some other part or appanage of the eye.

[2] Concerning this family, see B. de Meynard's *Description historique de la ville de Kazvin* (*Journal Asiatique* for 1857), p. 35 of the *tirage-à-part*.

[3] See pp. 756–757 *supra*.

" Thou did'st say, 'In my eyes sin is of little account' : one who is worthy will not speak thus.
To make Eternal Foreknowledge a cause of sin can, in the opinion of the wise, only be from extreme ignorance."

51. *'Izzu'd-Dín Hamadání.*

He has some fine Pahlaví [i.e. dialect] verses, amongst them the following[1] :—

Dialect-verses : 1st couplet.

(C.[2]) از دد ارم جه مهری پنهان رباز' یه نرایه جمالکی ده کهان راز'
(P.[1]) ازو دارم بـد مهری بنهان رار' به برانه جمالکی ده کهان راز'
(P.[2]) از ته دارم جه مهری بکهان راز' ده ترانه حماکی و بکهان راز'

2nd couplet.[2]

(C.[2]) نه هرایوه هرارم دشمنه چشم' کر بوید نکون او رعفران زار'

3rd couplet.[2]

(C.[2]) لوبد و حم بمسمار صد آئیسن' هرکم اج سینه . . . بلوان رار'

4th couplet.

(C.[2]) حکویم کونه رسوا بکردگار' جه چشم چشمه واج ادواجه ان رار'
(P.[1]) جکویم کونه رسوا بکردکار' جو حسمم حسمه واج ادواج ان راز'
(P.[2]) جه کونم کونه رسوا بکره بکار' حه حشمم جشمه واج ادواجه ان راز'

5th couplet.

(C.[2]) باده بندایه ار دامن بزایه ' سرلشی از کنه او دو شوان راز'
(P.[1]) باد بندانه ار دامن برانه[3] ' سرزبش ار کنه اود سوان رار'
(P.[2]) باده بند آیه ار دامن برانه ' سر بشی ار کنه او دو شوان راز'

[1] C.[2] omits all this, including the heading, but gives the verses; while L.[1] gives only the heading and part of the next line, and L.[2] omits the whole article.
[2] Omitted by P.[1] and P.[2]
[3] Baron Rosen adds a note: "? برانه."

52. *'Aṭṭár.*

His name was Farídu'd-Dín of Níshápúr. He has some most spirit-stirring verses. The *Ḥadíqa*[1] [*sic*] and the *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá* ("Memoirs of the Saints") are amongst his works.

53. *'Abdu'l-Wási'.*

He was the contemporary of Sulṭán Sanjar the Saljúq [A.H. 511–552, A.D. 1117–1157]. They say that at first he was a husbandman. The king saw him in a cotton-field, singing:—

اشترِ درازا گردنا ' دانم چه خواهی کردنا '
گردن دراز کردهٔ ' پنبه مخواهی خوردنا '

"O long-necked camel! I know what thou wouldst do!
Thou stretchest forth thy neck, [but] thou shalt not eat my cotton."[2]

The King perceived in him the signs of a graceful fancy, attached him to his retinue, and educated him, until he reached such a degree that until the present time none hath equalled him in song.

54. *'Imádu'l-Dín Faḍlawayh.*

He was the contemporary of Abaqá Khán [A.H. 663–680, A.D. 1265–1281], and was in the service of Shamsu'd-Dín the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán*. The *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* said to him in jest: "*Ay kún-i-zanat furákh!*" 'Imádu'd-Dín the Lur said *à propos* of this:—

هر چند سخنهای چو دُر میگوئی ' هُش دار که با عمادِ لُر میگوئی '
عیبِ تو ازین است که اندر شطرنج ' ای کُونِ زنت فُراخ پُر میگوئی '

[1] So both the Cambridge MSS. Sanú'í was, of course, the actual author.
[2] Cf. Ouseley's *Notices of the Persian Poets*, p. 108. Dawlatsháh (p. 74, l. 20 et seqq.) discredits the story.

"Although thou utterest words [precious] as pearls, be careful!
for thou talkest with 'Imád the Lur:
Thy fault is this, that at chess thou sayest too often: '
!'"[1]

55. *'Uthmán Máki of Qazwín.*

He was the panegyrist of my cousin Khwája Fakhru'd-Dín Mustawfí.[2] He has composed innumerable verses in a most fluent style. Because his cousin Mawláná Sa'íd Qáḍí Raḍi'u'd-Dín (may his tomb be pleasant!) had done him injustice, he composed a satire on him, entitled the *Raḍi-náma*, containing some 5,000 couplets. He amassed such riches by his poetic skill that he received in largesses 30,000 or 40,000 *dínárs*, all of which he frittered away. One of the odes composed by him is here set down:—

صبحدمی که از رخت بر فگنی کلاله را
چشم وُرخت خجل کند نرگسِ مست و لاله را

گر ز خیال چهره ات عکس فتد بجام می
مستیٔ چشمِ مستِ تو مست کند پیاله را

حور ندیدهٔ ببین[3] صورت خود در آینه
خرمنِ مشک باید بت باز کشا کلاله را

حور ز خوان وصل تو چاشنئی اگر چشد
تحفه بقدسیان برد از لب تو نواله را

مهر و وفا گذاشتی تخم جفا بکاشتی
هیچ نگه نداشتی[4] عاشق چند ساله را

[1] The point of these verses (which are celebrated) lies in this, that the abusive words may either be taken as applying to the poet's patron, or as being the object of "*pur mí-gú'í*," which also means "thou talkest too much."

[2] Concerning this family, see B. de Meynard's *Description de la ville de Kazvín* (Paris, 1858), p. 36.

[3] C.[1] has بوبین.

[4] C.[2] reads نگوید آشتی.

گفته بُدی که لعلِ من کامِ دلت روا کند ؛
وصلِ تو نقد بایدم من چه کنم حوالهرا ؛
هست نظام آنِ تو بندهٔ تو بجانِ تو ؛
قاضیِ عاشقانِ تو کرده سجل قبالهرا ؛

"*At morning, when thou castest aside the tresses from thy cheek, thine eyes and cheek put to shame the drunken narcissus and the anemone.*

If a reflection should fall in the wine-cup from the image of thy face, the drunkenness of thy drunken eyes would intoxicate the goblet.

If thou hast not seen the houris, behold thine own image in the mirror; if thou wantest a store of musk, unloose thy plaited locks.

If a houri should taste a taste from the Banquet of thy Love, she would bear a morsel from thy lips as a gift to the angels.

Thou hast abandoned love and constancy; thou hast sowed the seed of harshness; thou hast not regarded thy lover of many years.

Thou didst say, 'My ruby[-lip] will fulfil the craving of thy heart': I want to meet thee now; what use have I for promises?

By thy life, Nidhám is thine, thy very slave! The Qádi of thy lovers hath sealed the acceptance!"

56. *Malik 'Imádu'd-Dín Isma'íl al-Bukhárí.*

He has some fine verses, and his poetry excels that of his father, Malik Raḍí'u'd-Dín Bábá. He died at Sulṭániyya at the beginning of the reign of Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd Bahádur Khán [A.H. 716–736, A.D. 1316–1335].

57. *Firdawsí.*

His name was Abu'l-Qásim al-Ḥasan b. 'Alí of Ṭús. He

has some fine verses besides the *Sháhnáma*, though they are but little known; amongst them the following[1]:—

شبی در برت گر بر آسودمی ، سر از فخر بر آسمان سودمی ،
قلم در کف تیر بشکستمی ، کلاه از سر مهر بربودمی ،
بقدر از نُهُم چرخ بگذشتمی ، به پی فرق کیوان بفرسودمی ،
جمالِ توگر زانکه من دارمی ، بجای توگر زآنکه من بودمی ،
به بیچارگان رحمت آوردمی ، بدر ماندگان بر ببخشودمی ،

"*If I might rest for one night on thy bosom, in pride I would touch heaven with my head;*
I would break the pen in the hand of Mercury: I would snatch the crown from the head of the Sun;
In honour I would rise above the ninth heaven: with my foot I would trample on Saturn's forehead;
If I possessed thy beauty, if I were in thy place,
I would show pity to the unfortunate, I would be merciful to the distressed."

His death took place in the year A.H. 416 [= A.D. 1025–1026], at Ṭús, in the reign of the Caliph al-Qádir [A.H. 381–422, A.D. 991–1031].

58. *Farrukhí.*[2]

59. *Falakí of Shírwán.*

He was the panegyrist of Manúchihr, King of Shírwán. He has some fine verses.

60. *Fakhru'd-Dín of Gurgán.*

He was the contemporary of Sulṭán Ṭughril Bey the Saljúq [A.H. 429–455, A.D. 1037–1063]. He has composed

[1] See Dr. H. Ethé's excellent papers on *Firdûsî als Lyriker* in the *Münchener Sitzungsberichte* for 1872 (pp. 275–304) and 1873 (pp. 623–653). This poem will be found at pp. 296–297.

[2] The mere title, without any biographical particulars, is all that I have been able to find in any of the MSS. which I have consulted.

some fine poetry. The book of *Wís* and *Rámín*[1] is one of his works.

61. *Fakhrí of Iṣfahán.*

He was the contemporary of Gházán Khán [A.H. 694–703, A.D. 1295–1304]. He has some fine verses.

62. *Fákhta of Káshán.*

He was named Zaynu'd-Dín 'Alí. His verse is fluent. He was the panegyrist of the nobles of Qazwín. The book [entitled] *Naṣá'iḥu'l-awlád* ("Counsels to Children"), in praise of my late lamented brother Amínu'd-Dín Naṣru'lláh, is one of his compositions.

63. *Quṭbu'd-Dín 'Atíqi of Tabríz.*

He was the father of Jalálu'd-Dín 'Atíqí. He has some fine verses, amongst them the following:—

من ازین بارکه رخ سوی سفر میدارم ،
از دل و دیدهٔ خود خونِ جگر می بارم ،

جز خدا هیچ کسی نیست که داند حالم ،
همدمی نیست که باشد نفسی غمخوارم ،

اندرین قافله کس نیست ز من سوخته تر ،
بیمِ آنست که جان‌را بقضا بسپارم ،

کاروان میگذرد بر من و من بر سرِ راه ،
جان ضعیف از غمِ هجران و بتن بیمارم ،

باز می اُفتم ازین قافله هر ساعت باز ،
روی در مسکنِ آن سَرْوِ روان می آرم ،

حیوان روز کشد بار و بیاساید شب ،
منِ دلخسته همه روز و شب اندر بارم ،

[1] Published in the Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta, A.D. 1865.

قطب‌را این سخن از سوز جگر می آید ،
بیم آنست که آتش جهد از گفتارم ،

" I, by reason of this burden, that I have my face set toward a journey, rain down my very heart's blood from my heart and eyes.

Save God, there is none that knoweth my state: there is no companion who will sympathize with me for a moment.

In this caravan there is none more consumed [with grief] than me: there is a fear of this, that I may surrender up my soul to Destiny.

The caravan passes by me, while I stand at the beginning of the road: my soul is sick with the grief of separation, and I am ailing in body.

Every moment I fall back from this caravan: again and again I turn my face towards the abode of that swaying cypress.

The beast bears burdens by day and rests by night: I, sick at heart, bear my burden both by night and by day.

These words come from the burning heart of Quṭb: there is a fear of this, that fire may spring from my speech."

64. *Qannádi.*

He has some fine verses.

65. *Fakhru'd-Dín.*

Fakhru'd-Dín Fatḥu'lláh, my brother (may he live long !), has some pretty odes. In imitation of Awḥadí[1] he sings as follows :—

صد گره باز برآن زلف معنبر زده بود[2] ،
عالمی‌را چو سر زلف بهم برزده بود ،

[1] For the original of this parody, see pp. 736–737 *supra*. Some of the verses, however, as will be noticed, occur in both, though occasionally with slight variations. The substance of this notice has been already given at pp. 762–764 *supra* (No. 49).

[2] In C.[2] the refrain is throughout برزده for زده بود.

در چمن گشته چمان ساغری از باده بدست ،
متمایل[1] شده گوئی دو سه ساغر زده بود ،

عارض از صورت می در خوی و گوئی که[2] نسیم ،
قطرهٔ شبنم بر برگِ گلِ تر زده بود ،

نونی از غالیه بر برگِ سمن ساخته بود ،
نقطهٔ بر روی از آن خالِ معنبر زده بود ،

عرصهٔ باغ بانواعِ[3] ریاحین خودرا ،
از برای قدمش بر زر و زیور زده بود ،

دستِ فرّاشِ صبا موکبِ میمونش را ،
سایه بان و تُرُق از سرو صنوبر زده بود ،

در عرق یاسمن[4] و سوسن و نرگس[5] که نسیم ،
ره گذارش بعرقهای معطّر زده بود ،

گلشن از بهر نثار قدمش ما حضری ،
برگها ساخته از هر طرف و زر زده بود ،

مدّتی بود که از شوقِ[6] توگوئی نرگس ،
حلقهٔ بود همه دیده که بر در[7] زده بود ،

همچو عودم ز غمت[8] دود بسر بر می شد ،
کآتشم در دل و در دیده چو مجمر زده بود ،

مردمِ دیده بخون دست ز جان پاک بشست ،
بسکه بیچاره درو پَر چو کبوتر زده بود ،

[1] C.[2] متأمّل .
[2] C.[2] om. [که].
[3] C.[1] ز انواع .
[4] C.[2] با سمن .
[5] C.[2] reads سسمی for نرگس و .
[6] C.[1] شوقش .
[7] C.[1] has زر for در .
[8] C.[1] غمش .

بـرگـذشت از مـن و در مـن نظری نیز نکرد ،
در نظر نآمدت این[1] صید که لاغر زده بود ،
غمزهات[2] قصدِ دلِ خـلـقِ خـدا کـرد و فـتح ،
دلِ دیـوانه بـرآن نـاوکِ خـنجر زده بود ،

" *Again she hath tied a hundred knots on those tresses fragrant as ambergris; she hath cast into confusion a whole world like the tips of her tresses.*

She is gone walking in the garden with a goblet of wine in her hand, gently swaying [so that] one would say she had dashed off two or three goblets.

Her cheek, informed with wine, is suffused with perspiration; one would say that the breeze had dashed a drop of dew on a fresh rose-leaf,

Had inscribed a nún (ن)[3] *with* ghâliya[4] *on a jessamine-leaf, had dotted the face with that fragrant mole.*

The garden-ground hath bedecked itself with all sorts of sweet herbs, as though with gold and ornaments to cast at her feet.

The hands of the carpet-spreading Zephyr have raised a canopy and curtain of cypress and fir for her auspicious advent.

The jessamine, lily, and narcissus are bathed in perspiration, because the breeze hath sprinkled the road of her approach with fragrant essences.

To cast before her feet the Rose-garden hath hurriedly made leaves (or *provision*),[5] *and turned them into gold on every side.*

It is long since the jonquils, in longing for thee, as thou may'st suppose, have formed a circle set with eyes, all fixed on the door.

[1] C.[1] نایدش آن .
[2] C.[1] غمزه اش .
[3] This letter, from its shape, is often compared to the eyebrow.
[4] A kind of fragrant cosmetic, compounded, I think, with musk.
[5] The word *barg* has the double meaning of "leaf" and "provision."

Through desire of thee smoke ascends from my head, as from aloe-wood, since, like censers, she hath filled with fire my heart and eyes.

In blood the pupils of my eyes have washed clean their hands of life, so often, like pigeons, have they involuntarily dashed themselves upon her.

She passed by me, and did not even look upon me; this quarry of hers did not even arrest her glance, so lean she found it.

Her glance conspired against and took captive the hearts of God's people; on the points of those darts hath she impaled the distracted heart [of her admirer]."

66. *Qaṭrán.*[1]

67. *Kamálu'd-Dín Isma'íl of Iṣfahán.*

He has some pretty verses, and has originated some charming fancies. He has also composed sundry scholarly treatises, amongst them a *Treatise on the Bow.* He was killed in Iṣfahán during the Monghol invasion, and, as he was dying, wrote these two quatrains on the wall with his blood:—

دل خون شد و شرطِ جانگدازی اینست ،
در مذهبِ او کمینه بازی اینست ،
با این همه هیچ نمی یارم گفت ،
شاید که مگر بنده نوازی اینست ،

"The heart is choked with blood, and this is the condition of a melting soul;
In His Cult this is the least diversion:
Notwithstanding this, I dare not say aught;
It may be, perhaps, that such is the reward for faithful service."

[1] C.[2] omits this title, and no particulars are given in any of the MSS. Qaṭrán was a native of Tabríz, where he was seen by Náṣir-i-Khusraw (*Safar-náma*, ed. Schefer, p. ٦) in A.H. 438 (A.D. 1046).

دل کوست که تا بر وطنِ خود گرید، بر حالِ خود و واقعهٔ بد گرید
دی بر سرِ مردهٔ دو صد شیوَن بُد، امروز یکی نیست که بر صد گرید

"*Where is the heart, that it may weep over its native land?*
May weep over its own state and an evil chance?
Yesterday there were two hundred lamentations over one who had died:
To-day there is not one to weep over a hundred!"

68. *Káfí-i-Karají.*[1]

His name was Abu'l-Faraj Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. He was the panegyrist of Majdu'd-Dín 'Imádu'd-Dawla of Hamadán, and died at the beginning of the Monghol invasion. He has some fine verses in the Karají dialect, two or three couplets of which are here set down.

Dialect-verses. I. *First couplet.*

(C.[1]) مکرو دی کانه کرته و دی اجانان همسا،
نه رنگشان مقدونه بو نه سنگشان مندونه سا

(P.[1]) مکرو دی کانه و دی احانان همسا،
نه ریکسا هند و ز بوبه سکسان هند وسا[2]،

(P.[2]) مکرو دی کان و دی اجانان همسا،
نه ریکشان ماند به بو به شنکسان ماند نه سا

I. *Second couplet.*

(C.[1]) زمانه کور وکاو سک و ودشان شه بسر،
جزای نیکی و ودی بدبر روشان برسا،

(P.[1]) زمانه کور کاوسک و وسان سربن،
جوا بک و ودی بدبرن بروسا برسا،

[1] See n. 2 at the foot of p. 764 *supra*.
[2] Baron Rosen notes: "Uncertain; might also be read بدوسا or سروسا."

(P.[2]) زمانه کور و کاو سک فروشان شرین ،
حراسک و ودی بدبرند برورشان بر سا ،

II. *First couplet.*[1]

(C.[1]) جه نه که ولفی که کوه هزار دینار سره ،
جه آن کلاهی که کوه منی صری مرته کوا ،
(P.[1]) جه هرجه واجی که کرد هزار دینار سره ،
جه آن کلاهی که کوه سی هری وبه کواسا ،
(P.[2]) جه نه که واجی که کره هرار دینار سره ،
جه حان کلاهی که کوه منی هری مرته کوا ،

II. *Second couplet.*

(C.[1]) بلبس ان روبه بلبس که کلو دی بد سی ،
کرش کوا کرد بلیس کردی تنیا ،
(P.[1]) بلبس ان روبه بلبس که کلودی بدبی[2] ،
کوس کرا کرا بلبس کردی بعسا[3] ،
(P.[2]) بلبس آن روبه بلبس که کلودی بدهی ،
کرش کراکر و بلیس کردی تبسا ،

II. *Third couplet.*

(C.[1]) اتون که اج هر کدهٔ بلیس امروز وره صد بر ،
که هاورند و لوده بلیس واش لفقا ،
(P.[2]) انون اج هر کدهٔ بلیس اهرون وره صد ،
که هادرند می بوره بلبس وابس نفعا ،

[1] Baron Rosen notes that in P.[1] the two pieces are joined together, as though forming one poem. In C.[1], however, they are separated by the word ایضاً.

[2] Baron Rosen notes: "I had read ندبی, but M. Zhukovski thinks that it is rather بدبی that should be read."

[3] P.[1] omits the remaining verses.

II. *Fourth couplet.*

(C.[1]) بلیس بان دل بینا کرش مسلم نکرند ،
بتاش ریش و کلک ویتونه سومله کلا ،
(P.[2]) بلیس بان دل بساکرس مسلم نکردند ،
تاش ریش و کلک ننوه شوبله کلا ،

69. *Kamálu'd-Dín Zanjání.*[1]

He was the panegyrist of Khwája Ṣadru'd-Dín Aḥmad-i-Khálidí, the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán*. He has some fine verses.

70. *Kargas.*

His name was Najmu'd-Dín. He was the contemporary of . . . . . , and the panegyrist of . . . . . was also his panegyrist; but he held Kargas in the highest honour, because he excelled both as a companion and as a poet. Concerning Kargas [his rival] said:—

آن شنیدستی که نمرود از مقام افتخار ،
مدّتی می سود برگردون کلاهِ سَرْوَری ،
بادِ کبر و سلطنت گوشِ دلش را می نماند ،
گر[2] خلیل اللّه شنیدی معجز پیغامبری ،
لا جرم دارای گیتی پشّهٔ را نصب کرد ،
تا کند با او یکی ساعت[3] مصاف و داوری ،
پشه چون بی اعتضادِ نیزه و عَوْنِ سپر ،
یافت از تأییدِ حق در کُشتنِ او قادری ،
قابضِ ارواح را فرمان رسید از کردگار ،
کای همای جان ستانِ ذروهٔ نیلوفری ،

[1] C.[1] reads لنجانی.
[2] ? کر.
[3] C.[1] reads: . . . تا کند هرلحظه با او .

خیز تـا جـانِ هَـوَس پـروردهٔ را خـاکسار ‘
از پَـیِ آرایـشِ دوزخ سوی مالـک بری ‘
ایـن بدانی کیـن بنمرود از چه معنی میرسید ‘
با تو گویم گـر مرا از اهلِ تهمت نشمری ‘
ایـزدش هـر لحظه مـی فرمود تعذیبی دگر ‘
تـا چـرا آورد بیرون رَشْـمِ کرگس پروری ‘

" *Thou hast heard this, how Nimrod in his pride touched for a while the heavens with his crown of lordship.*

The inflation of pride and empire left his heart no ear to hear the prophetic miracle wrought by 'the Friend of God' (Abraham).

Therefore inevitably the Lord of the Universe appointed a gnat to do battle and contend with him for a while.

When the gnat, without aid of spear or help of shield, found, by God's aid, power to slay him,

An order came from the Creator to the Snatcher of souls, saying, 'O soul-seizing Phoenix of the lotus-vaulted Zenith,

'Arise to bear unto the Lord the soul of one hampered in desire, as ashes for the furnishing of Hell!'

Know for what reason this befell Nimrod: I will tell thee, if thou wilt not hold me culpable:

God decreed against him every moment a fresh torment because he had instituted the custom of pampering the Vultures (Kargas)."

71. *Kútwál.*

His name was Maḥmúd the son of . . . . , of Khurásán. He is still alive, and has some fine verses.

72. *Mu'izzí.*

He was the panegyrist of Sulṭán Sanjar the Saljúq, and attached to him, and was the Poet-laureate of that period.

He has some fine verses. While Sulṭán Sanjar was playing polo, the royal horse stumbled. Mu'izzí said :—

شاها ادبی کن فَرَسِ بد خورا ' کو چشم رسانید روی نیکورا '
گر گوی خطا کرد بچوگانش زن ' ور اسپ گُنَه کرد بمن بخش اورا '

" O King ! punish the vicious horse, for it hath cast the evil eye on the comely face.
If the ball errs, strike it with the polo-stick, and if the horse is vicious, give it to me ! "

The King gave the horse to Mu'izzí, who mounted it, saying :—

رفتم براسپ تا بُجَرمش بکُشم ' گفتا که نخست بشنو این عذرِ خوشم '
نه گاوِ زمینم که جهان برگیرم ' نی چرخِ چهارم که خورشید گشم '

" I mounted the horse to kill it for its fault : it said, 'First hearken to this my fair excuse :
I am not the Earth-Cow that I should bear the world, nor am I the Fourth Heaven that I should carry the Sun ! ' "

73. *Mubárak-sháh of Ghúr.*

He was the panegyrist of Sulṭán Ghiyáthu'd Dín Ghúrí. A versified *Introduction to Astronomy* is one of his compositions.

74. *Mujiru'd-Dín Baylaqání.*

He has some fine verses, and in particular has given utterance to some incomparable word-plays.

75. *Majdu'd-Dín Hamgar.*

He was a native of Yazd, and one of the associates of Khwája Bahá'u'd-Dín of Juwayn, the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán*. Amongst the amusing anecdotes related of him it is said that he had an aged wife, whom he had left behind in Yazd, but who came after him to Iṣfahán. A pupil of his said to

him, "Good news, for your lady has alighted in the house!" Hamgar said, "Good news would rather be in this, that the house had alighted on her!" This speech was reported to the lady. When she saw her husband, she reproached him, saying:—

خواجه پیش از من و تو لیل و نهاری بودست

"Sir, night and day existed ere I and thou were!"

Hamgar said: "Before me, yes; but God forbid that day and night should have existed before thee!"

The people of Káshán sent him these verses concerning the poetry of Anwarí and Dhahír:—

ای آن زمین وقار که بر آسمانِ فضل
ماهِ خجسته منظر و خورشیدِ انوری

جمعی ز ناقدانِ سخن گفتهٔ ظهیر
ترجیح می نهند بر اشعارِ انوری

جمعی دگر برین سخن انکار میکنند
فی الجمله در محلِ نزاع اند و داوری

رجحانِ یک طرف تو بدیشان نما که هست
زیرِ نگینِ طبعِ تو مُلکِ سخنوری

"O thou who art weighty as the earth, who in the heaven of learning art the moon of auspicious countenance and the most luminous sun!

One party of critics prefer the utterances of Dhahír to the verses of Anwarí,

While another party deny this statement: in short, they are in a state of strife and contention.

Do thou indicate to them a preference for one side; for the Realm of Eloquence is under the signet-ring of thy genius!"

Hamgar answered as follows:—

جمعی ز اهلِ خطّهٔ کاشان که برده اند ،
در بابِ[1] فضل و دانش گوی سخنوری ،
کردند بحث در سخنِ مُنشیانِ نظم ،
تا خود که سُفته به دُرَرِ درّئ دری ،
در انوری مناظره شان رفت و در ظهیر ،
تا مر کراست پایهٔ برتر ز شاعری ،
از آبِ فاریاب یکی عرضه داد[2] درّ ،
وز خاکِ خاوران دگری زرِّ جعفری ،
ترجیح می نهاد یکی مِهْر بر قمر ،
تفضیل می نمود یکی حور بر پری ،
انصاف چون نیافت گروه از دگر گرده ،
من[3] بنده‌را گزید نظرشان بداوری ،
محضر نوشته شد چو بمن داعی آمدست ،
استفتاً از دو زُمْرَه[4] سرِ نیکْ محضری ،
درکانِ طبعِ آن دو بگشتم کران کران ،
در قعرِ بحرِ این چو نمودم شناوری ،
شعرِ یکی بر آمده چون درّ شاهوار ،
نظمِ دگر بر آمده چون زرِّ جعفری ،
شعرِ ظهیر اگرچه بر آمد ز جنسِ نظم ،
با طرزِ انوری نَزَنَد لافِ هم سری ،

[1] C.[2] reads ز ارباب .
[2] C.[1] reads عرضه دار .
[3] Perhaps we should read مر .
[4] MSS. زر , which neither scans, nor, so far as I can see, makes sense. The emendation is conjectural.

بر اوجِ مشتری نرسند نیز نظمِ او ،
خاصه گهِ ثنا گوئی و مدح گستری ،
طبعِ رطب اگرچه لذیذست وخوش مذاق ،
کی به بُوَد بخاصیّت از قندِ عسکری ،
بید ارچه سبز و نغز و لطیف است و آبدار ،
چون در چمن بجلوه کند بید عرعری ،
هر چند لاله صحنِ چمن‌را دهد فروغ ،
پهلو کجا زند به بهی با گلِ طری ،
این است اعتقادِ رهی در دو عذر گوی ،
گر تو مقلّدِ سخنِ مجد همگری ،
زاد این نتیجه نیمِ شب از آخرِ رجب ،
در خا و عین و دال ز هجرِ پیمبری ،

"*A number of the people of the district of Káshán, who in excellence and learning have borne away the ball of eloquence,*

Disputed on the utterances of the composers of verse, as to which did best string the flashing pearls of Dari [i.e. Persian] *speech.*

Their dispute was about Anwari and Dhahir, as to which held the higher rank as a poet.

The one proffered pearls from the water of Fáryáb, the other, Ja'fari gold from the land of Kháwarán.[1]

One preferred the sun to the moon; one set the Houri over the fairy.

Since the one party could not obtain justice from the other, their glance selected humble me for the arbitration.

An appeal was written. When there reached me, the petitioner, this demand for judgment, with unbiassed mind

[1] The native places of Dhahír and Anwarí respectively. The gold called "Ja'farí" is of particularly fine quality.

I explored from end to end the mine of genius of that one, even as I dived into the depths of this one's ocean.

The poetry of the one proved to be as royal pearls, while the verse of the other proved to be like Ja'fari gold.

Although the poetry of Dhahir transcends the order of verse, it cannot boast equality with the style of Anwari.

Neither does his verse reach the zenith of Jupiter, especially on occasions of rhapsody and panegyric.

Although the nature of the fresh date is sweet and pleasant to the taste, how can it surpass 'Askari[1] sugar?

Although the willow is green and graceful, pleasant and succulent, yet how can the willow give itself the airs of the cypress in the meadow?

This is the belief of your servant concerning the two apologists, if thou wilt follow the opinion of Majd-i-Hamgar.

This conclusion was evolved at midnight at the end of Rajab, in the year 674 [خ = 600 + ع = 70 + د = 4] *of the Flight of the Prophet."*

Imámí of Herát says on this subject:—

ای سالک مسالک فکرت دریـن سوال ‘
معذور نیستی بحقیقت چو بنگری ‘
تمییزرا ز روی تناسب دریـن دو طرز ‘
هیچ احتیاج نیست بدیـن شرح گستری ‘
کین معجزست و آن سحر واین شمع و آن چراغ ‘
این ماه و آن ستاره و ایـن حور و آن پری ‘

" O thou who pursuest the paths of meditation on this question, if thou lookest to the truth of the matter thou art not excusable.

There is no need of so many words in order to arrive at a decision by the process of comparing the two styles.

[1] 'Askar is said to be the name of a place near Shushtar celebrated for its sugar. See Vullers's *Persian Lexicon*, s.v. عسکر.

For this is a miracle, and that mere magic; this a candle and that a lamp; this a moon and that a star; this a houri and that a fairy."

76. *Malik Maḥmúd of Tabríz.*

He was the son of Malik Mudhaffaru'd-Dín, and one of the great ones of the world. He has some fine poems, amongst them the following:—

وقت نیامد هنوز کآورمت در کنار ٬
عمر بآخر رسید تا کی ازین انتظار ٬
چونکه ببر در کشم قدّ تو گوید جهان ٬
هین که نهادیم باز آرزویت در کنار ٬
عمر و جوانی چو باد می گذرد بی درنگ ٬
فرصتِ ایّامِ عشق فوت مکن زینهار ٬
وقتِ غنیمت شمر ورنه چو فرصت نماند ٬
نالهٔ کرا داشت سود گریه کی آید بکار ٬

"*The time has not yet come for me to clasp thee in my embrace: life approaches its end: how long this anticipation?*

When I shall strain thy form to my bosom, the world will say, 'Lo, we have again placed thy desire in thine embrace!'

Life and youth pass like the wind without tarrying: beware, lose not the opportunities of love's season!

Make good use of this time, else, when opportunity no longer remains, whom doth lamentation profit? how shall weeping avail?"

77. *Najmu'd-Dín Zarkúb* ("*the Gold-beater*").

He was the contemporary of Abaqá Khán and Arghún Khán. He has some fine verses, amongst them the following:—

منم زرکوب ومحصولم ز[1] صنعت ' بجز فریادی و بانگی نباشد '
همیشه در میانِ زر نشینم ' ولیکن هرگزم دانگی نباشد '

"*I am a gold-beater, and what I gain from my craft is naught but a wail and a lament.*
I sit ever in the midst of gold, but I never have a single farthing."

78. *Nidhámí of Ganja.*

He was a contemporary of Sulṭán Tughril, the son of Alp-Arslán, the Saljúq. The books of *Khusraw and Shírín*, *Laylá and Majnún*, the Seven Faces (*Haft Paykar*), the Treasury of Mysteries (*Makhzanu'l-Asrár*), and the Book of Alexander (*Iskandar-náma*) are amongst his poems.

79. *Nidhámí-i-'Arúḍí.*

He was a contemporary of Nidhámí of Ganja. The book entitled *Majma'u'n-Nawádir* (Thesaurus of Facetiæ) is one of his compositions, and he has some fine verses. It is said that the King asked him, "Is there another Nidhámí besides thee?" He replied[2]:—

سه نظامیم در جهان ای شاه ' که جهانی زما بافغانند '
ز آن یکی بنده ام بخدمتِ شاه ' و آن دو در مَرْو پیشِ سلطانند '
گرچه همچون روان سخن گویند ' ورچه همچون خِرَد سخن دانند '
من سررشته چو بر تابم ' هردو از کار خود فرومانند '

"*We are three Nidhámís in the world, O King, by reason of whom a world is filled with outcry.*
Of these, I, your servant, am in waiting on the King, while the two others are in Merv before the Sultan.

[1] MSS. read ﺯ for ز.

[2] These verses (with some variations, and a much fuller account of the circumstances which gave rise to them) are given by Nidhámí-i-'Arúḍí himself in his *Chahár Maqála*. See my translation of that work in the *J.R.A.S.* for July and October, 1899, pp. 85–87 of the *tirage-à-part*.

Although they utter verse [*subtle*] *as spirit, and although they can speak like the Spirit of Wisdom,*
When I begin to weave a cord, both desist in despair from their labour."

80. *Náṣir-i-Khusraw.*

He was an extreme Shí'ite of the Sect of the Seven, and this sect entitle him *Ḥujjat* ("the Proof"). He was a man of philosophical mind, a contemporary of Mustanṣir the Fáṭimid Caliph of the West, and carried on a propaganda in the name of Nizár.[1] He lived nearly a hundred years, and was born in the year A.H. 358.[2] He has some exquisite verses, but was not free from fanaticism. The book of the *Rawshanáʾi-náma*[3] is one of his poems.

81. *Najíbu'd-Dín Jarbádaqání.*

He was the panegyrist of the Amírs of the Castle of Dasáq[4] (?), and died towards the end of the Saljúq period. He has some fine verses. The Book of *Bishr and Hind* is one of his poems.

82. *Qáḍí Nidhámu'd-Dín.*

He was contemporary with Abaqá Khán, and has some good verses in Arabic and Persian. These few verses, from the bilingual *qaṣída* composed by him in praise of Khwája Shamsu'd-Dín the *Ṣáḥib-Diwán*, which are in my mind, are here set down:—

بیا بشنو چه خوش خوش ما جرائیست ، میانِ آب و سَرْو جویباری ،
صفای اندرون هر دم کند عرض ، کشاید صد زبانِ نطقِ جاری ،

[1] One of the sons of al-Mustanṣir, who was set aside in favour of his brother Musta'lí. This, however, belongs to a subsequent time, and the author seems to have confused Náṣir-i-Khusraw with his successor Ḥasan-i-Sabbáḥ, the later Isma'ílí propagandist.

[2] He certainly lived to a considerable age, since in some of his poems he speaks of himself as being over sixty. The actual date of his birth (as stated by himself) was A.H. 394 (A.D. 1003–1004).

[3] Published and translated by Dr. Hermann Ethé in the *Z.D.M.G.*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 645–665, and vol. xxxiv, pp. 428–468.

[4] C.[2] reads ورباق. I am unable to identify the place.

بدو میگفت سَرْو ای بیوفا یار ' چه لرزم بر سرت از دوستداری '
منم از راستی خویش در بند ' توئی کج رَو بهرجا سر بر آری '
چو از خس پروریّت چارهٔ نیست ' چو من بی هم بری را می گذاری '
کنون بادم بدستست از حدیثت ' بخاکم در نشسته سوگواری '
فرو خواند این غزل را در جوابش ' سر اندر پیش داشت از شرمساری '
بدیدم خود سرِ وصلم نداری ' ندارد عهد تو هیچ استواری '
ز تو جز سرکشی کاری نیاید ' ز ما جز خوی نرم و سازکاری '
مکن دعوی آزادی ازین بیش ' مزن در عشق لافِ پایداری '
بناز اندر کنارت پروریدم ' بود کم سایه روزی بر سر آری '
کنون کارِ تو خود بالا گرفتست ' گرم هرگز نبینی یاد نآری '
ز عشقت سر نهادم سوی صحرا ' زنان بر سینه سنگ از بی قراری '
ترا سر سوی گردون از بلندی ' در افتاده بپایت من بخواری '
ترا سر سبزی و حسن و طراوت ' مرا شوریدگی و خواستاری '
ترا باد این سرافرازی همیشه ' که هستی تو مقیم و ما گذاری '
همی گفت این و پس ناگه فرو شد ' تن اندر خاک داد از جان سپاری '
ازین سرگشته شد سَرْوِ سرافراز ' بسی کرد اضطراب از روی یاری '
بباغ آمد همی زد دست بر دست ' برو مرغان همی کردند زاری '
ز شعرِ خواجه‌ام یاد آمد این بیت ' که الحق زیبد ار بر جان نگاری '
لَقَدْ فَاحَتْ عَلَى ٱلْعُودِ ٱلْقَمَارِي ' وَفَاحَ[1] ٱلرَّوْضُ كَٱلْعُودِ ٱلْقُمَارِي '

" Come, listen, how pleasant an altercation it is [which passes] between the stream and the river-side cypress.

[1] C.[1] reads فاض for فاح.

Every moment it [the stream] displays its clear heart, unloosing a hundred tongues in fluent speech.

To it quoth the cypress, 'O faithless friend, why do I quiver over thee in love?

I am hampered by my uprightness; thou pursuest crooked paths, intruding everywhere.

Since thou must needs gather the worthless about thee,[1] *thou leavest such an one as me without a companion.*

Now my hand holds but wind from thy words, I am seated in mourning in the dust.'

In answer to it, [the brook] recited this ode, whilst it hung its head in shame.

'I see, indeed, that thou hast no desire for union with me; thy vows have no stability.

Nothing is wrought by thee save wilfulness, naught by us save gentle moods and conciliation.

Henceforth make no claim to nobility, boast not of steadfastness in love.

I nursed thee tenderly in my lap, that perchance one day thou mightest o'ershadow my head.

Now, indeed, thy affairs have prospered; if thou seest me not, thou rememberest me not.

For love of thee I turned my face to the open country, dashing stones on my bosom in my restlessness.

Thy head is exalted to heaven in upliftedness, while I am fallen humbly at thy feet.

Thy head is glossy, and thou hast beauty and freshness; mine are distraction and desire.

May this exaltation ever be thine, for thou abidest while we pass away!'

Thus spake [the stream], then suddenly sank down, casting itself in the dust in soul-abandonment.

Hereat was the uplifted head of the cypress troubled, much was it distressed by love.

[1] For the rubbish floats in water, while what is precious sinks. Hence water is often alluded to as preferring levity to solid worth.

It came into the garden, striking hand on hand, while the birds lamented over it.

This verse of the Master's song comes into my mind, which in truth is worth inscribing on thy heart:

'The doves flutter over the trees: the garden exhales a fragrance like Qumárí aloes.'" [1]

83. *Náṣir of . . . .*[2]

. . . .[2] is a village in the district of Rámjird, in Fárs. He was a contemporary of Sa'dí, and has some fine verses.

84. *Humámu'd-Dín of Tabríz.*

He was a contemporary of Sa'dí of Shíráz, and has some charming verses and passionate odes; but since Sa'dí had carried off the ball of fame in [the composition of] odes, Mawláná Humám says on this subject:—

بیک گرشمه توانی که کارِ ما سازی ،
ولی بچارهٔ بیچارگان نپردازی ،

در آرزوی خیالت غلامِ خوابم من ،
خُنُک کسی که تواش هم نشین و هم رازی ،

چو ما بدیدنِ رویت ز دور خرسندیم ،
نسیم با سر زلفت چرا کند بازی ،

بدستِ باد سرِ زلفِ یار باز بده ،
که هست پیشهٔ آن هرزه گرد غمّازی ،

مکن تفرّجِ سَرْوِ سهی همان بهتر ،
که عشق با قد و بالای خویشتن بازی ،

[1] *Qumár* or *Qamár* is explained by Vullers (*Lex. Pers.*, s.v.) as the name of a city or district in India celebrated for its aloe-wood.

[2] Name illegible. It looks like بجه.

بگُل بگو کـه ز رویـم خجل نمی گـردی ‘
کـه در میانِ ریـاحین بحسـن ممتازی ‘
پـیـام دہ سوی بلبل کـه بـا وجودِ همام ‘
روا بـود کـه نـواهـای عـشـق پـردازی ‘
همام را سخنی دلفریـب و شیریـن است ‘
ولی چه سود که بـیچـارہ نیست شیـرازی ‘

"Thou canst do our business with a single glance; but thou dost not concern thyself with the care of the unfortunate.

In longing for thine image I am the slave of sleep[1]*; happy is he whose companion and confidant thou art!*

Since we are content to behold thy face from afar off, why does the Zephyr toy with the tips of thy tresses?

Surrender once more[2] *the tresses of the Beloved into the hands of the wind, for tale-telling is the occupation of that busybody.*

Gaze not on the straight cypress; it were better for thee to dally with thine own upright stature.

Say to the Rose: 'Art thou not shamed by my face? for thou art set apart in beauty amongst the fragrant herbs.'

Give this message to the nightingale: 'Is it fitting that where Humám is thou shouldst sing songs of love?'

Humám has an utterance sweet and charming; but what doth it avail, for the poor fellow is not a Shirázi."

85. *Waṭwáṭ.*

His name was Rashídu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Jalíl al-'Umarí. He was a contemporary of Sulṭán Sanjar. The books *Ḥadá'iqu's-siḥr* ("Gardens of Magic") and *Fará'idu'l-Qalá'id* ("Necklaces incomparable") are amongst his compositions. He has some fine verses. These three are written down for luck:—

[1] I.e., I long to sleep, for only in dreams can I hope to see thy face.
[2] I fancy that we should read مده for بده, "Do not give" or "surrender."

دیده‌را با تـو آشنائیهاسـت ' وز تو در دیده روشنائیـهاست '
عشق بر من شکست کوکبِ تو ' کاندرین حُقّه مومیائـیـهـاست '
گر سرِ زلـفِ تـو کشم شـایـد ' روز روزِ گـره کشائـیـهـاست '

" *The eye hath communings with thee, and from thee there is lustre in the eye.*
Thy star hath opened love to me, for in this casket are drugs to restore sight.
It is meet that I should lay hold of the tips of thy tresses, for to-day is a day for the unloosing of knots."

86. *Mahsati.*[1]

She has some fine quatrains. Concerning herself and a butcher-boy she says:—

هر کارد که از کُشته خود برگیرد ' واندر لب و دندانِ چو شکّر گیرد '
گر بارِ دگر بر گـلوی کُشْتـه نهد ' از زوقِ لبش زندگی از سر گیـرد '

" *Every knife which he withdraws from the victim he hath slain, and takes in his sugar-sweet lips and teeth,*
Were he to place it once again on the throat of the slain, it would renew its life for desire of its lips."

And again:—

قـصّـاب چنانـکـه عادتِ اوست مرا '
بفگند و بکُشت و گـفـت کاین خوست مرا '
سر باز بـغـدر[2] مـی نـهـد[3] بر پـایـم '
دم مـیـدمدم تـا بـگـنـد پوسـت مـرا '

" *The butcher, as is his custom, overthrew me, slew me, and said, 'Such is my habit!'*

[1] See n. 1 on p. 736 *supra*.
[2] C.[1] بعذر *male*.
[3] C.[1] نهم.

Again he treacherously lays his head on my feet, breathing on me that he may flay me!"

87. *'A'yasha the Recitress.*

She has some fine quatrains, amongst them the following:

گفتم دلم از تو بوسهٔ خواهان است ،
گفتا که بهای بوسهٔ من جانست ،
دل آمد و در پهلوی جان زد انگشت ،
یعنی که بخر بیع بکن ارزان است ،

"I said, 'My heart craves of thee a kiss!' He replied, 'The price for a kiss from me is thy soul!'
The heart came and touched the soul with its finger, as though to say, 'Buy! Strike the bargain; it is cheap [at the price]!'"

88. *Firdaws the Minstrel.*

She was a minstrel. When Khwárazmsháh gained the victory over the kings of Ghúr, she said:—

شاها ز تو غوری بلباسات بجست ،
مانندهٔ چوژه از کفِ خات بجست ،
از اسپ پیاده گشت و رخ را بنهاد ،
فیلان بتو شاه داد وز مات بجست ،

"O King, the Ghúrí escaped thee by wiles, escaped like a chicken from the clutches of the hawk;
He alighted from his horse [asp, also = *knight* in chess], *turned aside his face [rukh,* also = *rook, castle]: the King surrendered to thee his elephants [fil, pil* = *bishop* in chess] *and so escaped mate!"* [1]

[1] The words *asp* (knight), *piyáda* (pawn), *rukh* (castle), *fil* (bishop), *sháh* (king), and *mát* (mate) all belong to the game of chess, but are all (except the last) used here in their ordinary significations of *horse, pedestrian, cheek, elephant,* and *king.*

89. *Bintu'n-Najjáriyya.*

She was a contemporary of . . . . . , and has some good verses.

مارا بدمِ تیرہ نگہ نتوان داشت ' در خانۂ دلگیر نگہ نتوان داشت '
آن‌را کہ سر زلف چو زنجیر بود ' در خانہ بزنجیر نگہ نتوان داشت '

" One cannot restrain me by hard words (?) *: one cannot keep me in the cheerless house :*
Her whose tresses are like chains one cannot keep at home [*even*] *with chains."*

(*Here follows ch.* vi, *on the city of Qazwín.*)

ART. II.—*The Exodus.* By Dr. EDWARD MAHLER.

ONE of the most important and significant of the epoch-making discoveries of the nineteenth century in ancient Egypt is that of a stele found by *Flinders Petrie*, containing a hymn of victory of King *Merneptah*. This victory was one obtained in the fifth year of his reign over the *Libyans*.

But the significance of *Flinders Petrie's* discovery does not lie in the poetic announcement of victory proclaimed by the otherwise weak and not over fortunate King *Merneptah*. The succeeding expulsion of the Libyans and their allies out of Egypt in the month *Epiphi* of the year v, which forms the only historic groundwork of the entire hymn, was already known to us, for *Merneptah* had caused this event to be carved on the inner side wall of one of the southern outer courts of the great temple of Ammon at *Thebes*. The occurrence of the name

i.e. "Israel," amongst the nations mentioned on the newly discovered stele forms the most striking and important feature of *Flinders Petrie's* discovery. The Bible tells us (Exodus, xii, 40, 41) that the Israelites sojourned in Egypt for 430 years. The passage runs thus:—

ומושב בני ישראל אשר
ישבו במצרים שלשים שנה
וארבע מאות שנה. ויהי מקץ
שלשים שנה וארבע מאות
שנה ויהי בעצם היום הזה
יצאו כל-צבאות יהוה מארץ
מצרים.

"Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years. And it came to pass at the end of the four hundred and thirty years, even the selfsame day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt."

The excavations and researches of the famous *Geneva* Egyptologist, *Ed. Naville*, have fixed for us the geographical position of the whole land of *Goshen*, that fertile district in which the Israelites had taken up their abode in Egypt. We know to-day the exact situation of the important places of Scripture—*Pithom*, *Rameses*, *Succoth*, *Migdol*, and *On*—and we also know who were their builders. But nowhere had a monument been found on which the name of "*Israel*" or "*Judah*" had been inscribed. One would be rightly led to expect that the name of a people living for so long a period in Egypt would be found to have been inscribed somewhere or other. It was first thought that the name of the *'Apuirui*, who often come before our notice from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Dynasty, and who also took part in the building of the temples and great storehouses at Pithom and Rameses, was the Egyptian for *'Ibrîm* = *Hebrews*. But this theory has been proved untenable by *Heinrich Brugsch*,[1] and he has recognized in the Egyptian word "*'Apru*" the tribe of the Erythryaeans living in the mountainous region *'Aian*, i.e. the Mokattam mountains lying opposite to *Memphis*.

Again, *Lepsius* had attempted in an ingenious manner in his "Einleitung in die Chronologie der Aegypter" to prove the agreement of the Biblical narrative of the departure of the Israelites from Egypt and of Biblical genealogy with the events portrayed on monuments, already at that time credited with being historic, and to point out *King Merneptah as being the Pharaoh of the Exodus*. All German investigators were of the opinion of Lepsius. *Flinders Petrie* has now found a stele of this King Merneptah where can be read the name of "*Israel*," hitherto wanting on Egyptian monuments. Naturally this has aroused the liveliest interest amongst men of letters and science; and, indeed, not only philologists, but also historians and Biblical students have striven to interpret and give a scientific use to the

[1] "Diction. géogr.," p. 113; "Geschichte Aegyptens unter den Pharaonen," pp. 541 and 593.

inscription on the Merneptah stele. For now, according to the opinion of distinguished investigators, the most infallible proof had been given that the theory of Merneptah being the Pharaoh of the Exodus was founded on fact.

We will now examine whether this fact may be drawn from *Flinders Petrie's* discovered stele. If confirmed, it decides an eminently important question in historical chronology, and if unconfirmed, let it be our task to consider those historical and Biblical arguments which bring us nearer to the solution of this question.

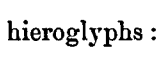
The passage under consideration in Merneptah's hymn of victory runs thus:—[1] "Re has again inclined himself to Egypt. He is born to avenge her, King Merneptah. The princes are humbled and present their homage. Amongst the Nine-bow-nations (Neunbogenvölkern) none raises his head. Thnw is laid waste, Cheta at rest, Canaan with all that is wicked is abased. Askelon has been carried away, Gaza taken."

Then follows:—

which passage *Spiegelberg*[2] thus translates: *Jenoam* has been brought to naught, *Israel* is laid waste and his crops destroyed."

We must be allowed to pass some criticisms at this point. It must certainly strike us that whilst all the names of the peoples here mentioned possess the hieroglyph = "strange" or "foreign country," that of Israel does *not*

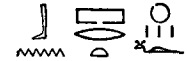
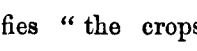
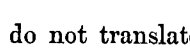
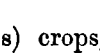
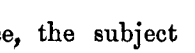
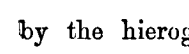
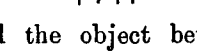
[1] See *Spiegelberg* in "Zeitsch. für aegypt. Sprache," 1896, vol. xxxiv.
[2] See ibid., p. 14.

possess this symbol. It is only accompanied by the following hieroglyphs:  . Of these signs is the expression for "strange," "barbarian," "Asiatic"; the group is the usual symbol for "men" or "human beings." The hieroglyphs accompanying the name of "Israel" do not therefore signify a country, but are a group, which, taking into account the plural sign , indicates "*barbaric people*," "*horde*," "*strangers*," "*Asiatics*," perhaps "*nomads*" or something similar.

Also, I am unable to share the views hitherto held with regard to connecting the following expression "fekt" with the symbol for "bad things." The examples brought forward to confirm the equation "*fekt*" = "*to lay waste*" or "*to destroy*," are not quite free from reproach. For there "fek" is determined by the group , of which the sign (like the hind-part of a lion) = *ph* = "end," and the sign indicates more exactly that which demands strength.[1] But in the case we are considering the abstract noun "fek-t," formed from the verb "fek" by the termination "t," is determined by the hieroglyph , the bird attracting "bad things." "Fek-t" therefore signifies a noun possessing the quality of "bad" or "wicked," and which by virtue of the radical stem is connected with "to destroy" or "to lay waste." It denotes, then, that which we are accustomed to express by the word "*horde*,"[2] and is consequently the apposition to the word "Israel," which is determined by "Amu = Asiatics, barbarians or strangers."

[1] *Erman*: "Aegypt. Gram.," 175.

[2] See *Hommel's* "Merneptah u. die Israeliten," in "Neue kirchl. Zeitsch.," vii, 7, p. 584.

I am also unable to agree entirely with the explanations hitherto given with reference to the group that follows  "bn prtwf." does indeed mean — as *Spiegelberg* has quite correctly proved—"to destroy,"[1] and signifies "the crops," hence  = "his crops." But I do not translate  "destroyed are his (Israel's) crops," but hold  to be the predicate of the sentence, the subject being "Israel," determined by the hieroglyphs  and more closely defined by  , and the object being  . We then arrive at the following translation:—

> "*Askelon* has been carried, *Gaza* taken. *Jenoam* has been brought to naught; *Israel*, the horde, destroyed his crops."

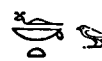
We have at once a parallel case to this in a passage occurring in the "Liber Judicum" (chap. i). We are there told of the conquests undertaken by Judah under Joshua's leadership. We read there (verse 18):

וילכד יהודה את־עזה ואת־גבולה ואת־אשקלון ואת־גבולה.	"Judah conquered *Gaza* with her territory, as well as *Askelon* with her territory."

But in whatever manner this passage may be interpreted and translated, so much is clear, that Israel was reckoned amongst those peoples who did not belong to Egypt, but who, like Cheta, Jenoam, Canaan, and Askelon, dwelt in

[1] His meaning is indeed "woe," "bad," "not," "without," etc.

that territory of Asia which we include under the name of "Palestine." Israel was therefore in the 5th year of Merneptah no longer in Egypt, but already in that land which according to Scriptural tradition had already been pointed out to the patriarch Abraham as the dwelling-place of his descendants. If we consider the 40 years' wandering in the wilderness to which Israel was condemned before arriving in the Holy Land, we must admit in consequence of Flinders Petrie's discovered stele that Israel went out of Egypt long *before Merneptah.*

In consequence of Israel being defined as = "Asiatics," and as  = "horde," "nomads," or something similar, and not as = "strange country," we may even assume that Israel had indeed already entered the home Palestine, but was not yet so far organized that it could be regarded as a separate "country." As a matter of fact this was the case under Joshua's leadership, for it was only after he took the command that they had to march beyond the Jordan to conquer their own particular territory. Thus with a closer comprehension of the hymn of victory on the Merneptah stele found by Flinders Petrie, we arrive at the very important conclusion that the general belief in the Exodus having taken place under Merneptah is incorrect, but that it must rather have taken place earlier.

The question now arises—Under which Pharaoh did this event take place?

The Bible, taken in connection with the historic information inscribed on Egyptian monuments, gives us some dates which help us to solve this question.

There is no doubt that King *Amosis*, the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, was that prince to whom the words of the Bible (Exodus, i, 8) refer: "Now there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not *Joseph.*" He, who after vanquishing the border fortress *Auaris* had purified Egypt from the mighty *Hik-Shasu* and freed the state from the influence of all "foreign rule," naturally did not wish to

value any higher the great advantages which Joseph, the "stranger" and "alien," had obtained for Egypt, and he could no longer recognize the position which the also "alien" tribe of the Israelites had filled under the earlier dynasty. In the 22nd year of the reign of this ruler the quarries in the Mokattam mountains were opened, and with this began for the Israelites a time of hard and bitter oppression. For it was "aliens" who had to perform such painful labour, and therefore the descendants of Jacob, who were otherwise only accustomed to breeding cattle (cf. Genesis, xlvi and xlvii), had to carry out this work of bondage. Amosis had also many buildings erected in *Memphis* and *Thebes*. A new time of prosperity had come to the country, the "new kingdom" was set up, after the former splendour of the pharisaical power, established by the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty, had for centuries been fading away. Temples and storehouses, surrounded by walls and strong ramparts, were put up to the honour of the Sun-god, and it may have been under Amosis and his immediate descendants that the plan and foundation-stone of those towns were laid which were finished under Rameses II and named "Pithom (town of the god Tum)" and "Rameses (town of Rameses)." Therefore the Bible (Exodus, i, 11) tells us in simple words: "Therefore they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh treasure cities, *Pithom* and *Raamses*."

With the founder of the new kingdom began then for Israel a long period of hard oppression. According to Genesis xv, it had been announced in a "vision" to the patriarch Abraham that his descendants should be strangers in a land that was not theirs, and that they should be oppressed in bondage for 400 years. In Exodus xii, however, we are told that they were not 400 but 430 years in Egypt. We are informed with regard to this by an ancient rabbinical tradition that of the 430 years of the Bible 190 are to be deducted as having preceded the time of actual bondage and oppression. Now how does this

ancient Jewish tradition agree with the dates of Scripture and those of history as revealed by the Egyptian monuments?

According to the words of the Bible nothing should occur during *Abraham's lifetime* that could be in any way connected with the sad events declared to him in that vision. For we read (Genesis, xv, 14, 15): "And also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge: and afterward shall they come out with great substance. And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace." Hardly, however, was Abraham dead than the promise made to him began to be realized. A great famine broke out, and *Isaac* was compelled to leave his home. He went into the land of the Philistines. "But the Philistines stopped several of his wells and filled them with earth." Then Isaac departed and dwelt in the valley of Gerar. But even here he could not remain, and indeed it was again because of the wells. The first signs of the divine promise whereby Abraham's descendants should be oppressed by a strange people began to be seen immediately after his death. Abraham died at the age of 175 years (cf. Genesis, xxv, 7); according to Genesis, xxi, 5, he was 100 years of age when his son Isaac was born. The latter was therefore in his 75th year when Abraham died. When his son Jacob was born, Isaac was already 60 years of age (Genesis, xxv, 26); therefore Jacob was only in his 15th year when Abraham died. Jacob had completed 130 years when he was presented to Pharaoh by his son Joseph (Genesis, xlvii, 9). Consequently 130—14=116 years had elapsed between the death of Abraham and Jacob's arrival in Egypt. But at that time Joseph was not more than 38 years of age. For he was in his 30th year when he stood before Pharaoh (Genesis, xli, 46) and was appointed by him to be "*Ab* at the court of Pharaoh" and "*Adon* of his whole house," as well as "*ruler* of all the land." In the second year of the famine, which was the ninth year of his office as viceroy, Jacob his father had come to Egypt, therefore Joseph was then in his 39th year, i.e. when his father arrived he had completed 38 years of his life. When

Joseph died he was 110 years old. We have then to take into consideration the following numbers:—

From Abraham's death to Jacob's arrival in Egypt	130 — 14 years =	116 years.
From Jacob's arrival in Egypt to Joseph's death	110 — 38 years =	72 years.
	Total	188 years.

Bearing in mind the 190 years as handed down to us by the old Jewish tradition, the new dynasty of kings would accordingly have been inaugurated 2 years after Joseph's death. This is also perfectly admissible from history, for according to the information obtained from hieroglyphic inscriptions it was just then that the war of liberation begun by *Ra-Sekenen* against the last Hyksos king *Apopi III* was brought to an end, and a new and legitimate dynasty was enthroned with Amosis as the first king. But with this change of dynasty there began for the Israelites, who were also "aliens," the period of great and severe oppression, which is said to have lasted 240 years.

We must now determine the date of the accession of King Amosis to the throne. It is a sad but true fact that nowhere in scientific investigation do we fish so much in troubled waters as in the domain of historical chronology. It was well known that *Manetho* had not given at all a correct or even only a serviceable chronology, yet his figures have been taken as a starting-point for further hypotheses and combinations. It is somewhat more comprehensible that under such circumstances all the innumerable chronological systems that have been constructed according to Manetho should most thoroughly differ from each other in every detail. We will all the same attempt to determine chronologically the reign of Amosis, and will rather attach value to the numbers in the Egyptian monumental inscriptions than to the apocryphal ones of Manetho. Fortunately we have an abundance of such material at hand.

By a perfectly sure reading of the king's name we know for certain that *on the 9th Epiphi in the year* ix *of King Amenophis I* (successor to King Amosis) *the constellation of Sothis rose heliacally.* Again, since we know from other sources that Amosis during twenty-two years guided the destiny of Egypt, and the 22nd year of this king's reign is in fact the latest date that has as yet been found in inscriptions, we thus possess sufficient support to yield a correct solution of our problem. For according to *Oppolzer's* researches as to the length of the Sirius year and the period of Sothis[1] the year −1544, i.e. B.C. 1545, proves to be that Julian year in which for the 30th degree of latitude the constellation of Sothis rose heliacally for the first time on the 9th of Epiphi of the Egyptian movable calendar. We must therefore define the year B.C. 1545 as the 9th year of the reign of King *Amenophis I,* and hence assume that he ascended the throne in the year B.C. 1553.

Taking this into account, we find that his predecessor Amosis succeeded to the throne in the year B.C. (1553 + 22) = B.C. 1575. *The Exodus was therefore in the year* B.C. 1575 − 240 = 1335. It is certainly remarkable and worthy of note that we have obtained this information elsewhere[2] in a totally different manner, and in fact by interpreting the Egyptian darkness mentioned in the Bible as a solar eclipse. We there found as the date of the departure of the Israelites from Egypt *the 27th March in the year* B.C. 1335. We must not treat this striking agreement in the results of two utterly independent researches as haphazard; it should rather convince us that we must indeed accept the year B.C. 1335 as the date of the Exodus. The question now remains as to who was then king of Egypt.

After Amenophis I the following kings reigned in succession: *Thutmosis I, Thutmosis II,* and *Thutmosis III.* It is true that after the death of Thutmosis II the reins of government had been seized and the crown worn by his

[1] Sitzungsber. der kais. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, vol. xc.
[2] Ibid., 1885.

tyrannical sister and consort, *Hatshepson*. Her name, however, is omitted in the succeeding line of kings; she only appears there as the legitimate representative of her brother Thutmosis III, who was still a minor, and the latter as the true reigning king, to whom belonged by right both sceptre and throne. Thutmosis III ascended the throne on the 4th Pachon = 20th March, B.C. 1503,[1] and died on the last day of the month Phamenoth in the 54th year of his reign (according to his captain Amenemheb), i.e. on the 11th February, B.C. 1449. Thus his son *Amenophis II* ascended the throne of his fathers in the year B.C. 1449. He appears only to have reigned a short time. The highest number on the monuments of the years that he reigned is the year iii ("year iii, month Epiphi, day 15"). He was succeeded by *Thutmosis IV*, who according to the monuments reigned 7 years. Then followed *Amenophis III*, with a reign of at least 36 years. An inscription in the quarries of Silsilis is dated from the 1st Pachon of the 35th year of his reign, and a rock inscription on the peninsula of Sinai bears the date of the month Mechir of the 36th year of his reign. The monuments show just as clearly that *Amenophis IV* reigned at least 12 years, for "in the year xii, month Mechir, day 18" he celebrated the victory over the Syrians and Cushites. The greatest date of his successor *S'akere'* is his 4th year, and the succeeding kings *Ai*, *Tuta'nchamon*, and *Sere'-Teti* only reigned altogether for 8 years. Their successor, *Haremheb*, a brother-in-law of King Amenophis IV, reigned 21 years. According to a monument at Leyden, he conducted as head court-official to Amenophis IV the captives to the king. He married as the king's highest dignitary the latter's sister-in-law *Mutnedmet*. But Amenophis III had already known and honoured him. A piece of limestone bears the date: "Year xxi, month Payni, day 1." His successor, *Rameses I*, commenced the Nineteenth Dynasty according to Manetho, but only reigned a short time. A monumental stone found at

[1] Zeitsch. f. aegypt. Sprache, vol. xxvii, p. 103.

Wadi Halfa is dated from the year ii. The length of reign of the succeeding king, *Seti I*, is given by the date "year ix, Epiphi 20." His son and successor, *Rameses II*, reigned quite 67 years. By referring to these dates we can construct the following table:—

Names of the Kings.	Length of Reign.	Years B.C.
Thutmosis III	54 years.	1503–1449.
Amenophis II	3 ,,	1449–1446.
Thutmosis IV	7 ,,	1446–1439.
Amenophis III	36 ,,	1439–1403.
Amenophis IV	12 ,,	1403–1391.
S'akere'	4 ,,	1391–1387.
Ai Tuta'nchamon Sere'-Teti }	8 ,,	1387–1379.
Haremheb	21 ,,	1379–1358.
Nineteenth Dynasty.		
Rameses I	2 ,,	1358–1356.
Seti I	9 ,,	1356–1347.
Rameses II	67 ,,	1347–1280.

These dates, upon which we could only decide by a careful investigation of the known inscriptions on monuments, are remarkably confirmed by an astronomical event recorded in the picture on the ceiling of the Ramasseum. We there learn of the commencement of a Sothis period, which was celebrated in the 30th year of the reign of Rameses II. But since, according to the above-mentioned astronomical researches of *Oppolzer*, this Sothis period began in the year $-1317 =$ B.C. 1318, the year B.C. 1318 was therefore the 30th year of the reign of Rameses II, and thus B.C. 1347 was the first year of his reign.

The above dates are still further corroborated by the contents of a hieratic papyrus at *Leyden*, which dates from the 52nd year of the reign of Rameses II. We there read (I, 350, back, col. iii, line 6):

> "Month Mechir, day 16, in the town of Rameses II, day of the festival of New Moon."

Now 1st of Thoth of the Sirius year				= 20th July,	Julian.
1st	„ Paophi	„	„	„	= 19th Aug. „
1st	„ Athyr	„	„	„	= 18th Sept. „
1st	„ Choiak	„	„	„	= 18th Oct. „
1st	„ Tybi	„	„	„	= 17th Nov. „
1st	„ Mechir	„	„	„	= 17th Dec. „

The 16th Mechir fell therefore on the 1st January, and lasted from sunrise on the 1st January to sunrise on the 2nd January. Now if the year B.C. 1347 were the first year of the reign of Rameses II, the 52nd year of his reign must have fallen in the year B.C. $129\frac{7}{8}$, and consequently the new moon must have occurred on the 1st January, B.C. 1296, i.e. in the night of the 1st to the 2nd January of this year. And such was indeed the case, for calculation shows that in the night of the 1st to the 2nd January of the year B.C. 1296 at 1.46 a.m. (Memphis time) the new moon had appeared.

It is true that various doubts have recently been raised against the above chronological conclusions. Above all has *Eisenlohr* raised his warning voice against the *results* of my investigations.[1] According to him, by taking into account the moon's phases as mentioned in the inscriptions (especially new moons), I have introduced "a new and important element in the chronological reckoning of dates."[2] *Eisenlohr* cannot allow, as I did,[3] that the chronological determinations of the date of the reign of King Thutmes III should be founded on a *fixed* solar year. "They are dates of events

[1] Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., xvii, 281; Actes du Xme Congr. intern. des Orientalistes à Genève, 1894, Sect. iv, pp. 86, 87.

[2] See *Eisenlohr's* paper: "Die Bestimmung histor. Daten durch die Hülfe der Astronomie" (Xme Congrès intern. des Orientalistes, Sect. iv, p. 84).

[3] Zeitsch. f. aegypt. Spr., 1889.

in a citizen's life which must be related to the period of a planet's revolution," cries Eisenlohr. But why "must" is nowhere proved. Whereas it is a fact that the Egyptians reckoned the dates of their religious festivals by the fixed year, or rather the *Sirius year*, which was called even in the days of Ptolemy the "*Sacred year*," and which by virtue of its length completely resembled the Julian year. Because Ptolemy in his astronomical researches stated in the "*Almagest*" founds the dates there given on a year of exactly 365 days, and because the dates of the lunar eclipses which he reckoned by such a year have proved perfectly correct, it has therefore been generally believed that the ancient Egyptians always used only this form of year in ordinary practice, whilst the actual length of the solar year remained only a secret of the priests. Now, however, we have numerous proofs that the ancient Egyptians not only knew the fixed solar year to be $365\frac{1}{4}$ days long, but also *made practical use of it*, and indeed in the form of the so-called "*Sirius year*," in which *New Year's Day* (therefore 1st Thoth) *was the day of the heliacal rising of Sirius* and which *at the time of the Egyptian supremacy was almost completely identical with the length of the Julian year, therefore* $365\frac{1}{4}$ *days long*. This is best shown by the following table, which has been calculated according to *Oppolzer's* researches:—[1]

Year.	Length of the Sirius Year.	Difference between Sirius and Julian Years.
	Days.	Days.
B.C. 3000	365·2500471	0·0000471 = 4·07 secs.
,, 2000	365·2502908	0·0002908 = 25·13 ,,
,, 1000	365·2505990	0·0005990 = 51·75 ,,
,, 0	365·2509715	0·0009715 = 83·94 ,,

[1] Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, vol. xc, p. 578. Oppolzer here devises the following expression for the length of the Sirius year:
"$365^d\ 2510284 + 0{\cdot}0000004137\ (t-139) + 0{\cdot}0000000000322\ (t-139)^2$."

This fixed Sirius year was everywhere acknowledged, and regulated the calendar of the ancient Egyptians, hence it can be rightly called the *normal year*; agriculture and all sacrificial worship were adjusted to it. We also find proofs enough to show that in fact *the heliacal rising of Sirius was associated with the beginning of the year and the rising of the Nile, which occurred at that time.* Thus we read in a text of the astronomical hall of the Ramasseum at Thebes a passage which, according to *Heinrich Brugsch's* translation, runs thus:—

> "He lets thee rise in splendour, like *Isis-Sothis* in the firmament *on the morning of New Year's Day.*"

In a text in the temple at Dendera, Sothis is called

> "The beautiful one, who appears in the heavens, the truth, which rules the world at the helm of the sun's barque."

In another passage there we read:—

> "*The years are counted according to their rising.*"

Elsewhere we again find:—

(1) "Their rays unite with the rays of the bright god on that glorious day of the birth of the sun's disk on the morning of the New Year's festival."

(2) "She comes at her glorious festival of New Year's Day to unite her grandeur in the heavens with her father."

(3) "The right eye (Sirius) unites with the left eye (Sun) *at the beginning of the year, the 1st Thoth.*"

(4) "She (Sothis-Isis) shines in her abode on the day of the New Year, and she unites with the rays of her father (the Sun) in the sphere of light."

In another place she is described as:—

> "Isis, the great one, the mother of God, mistress of Adut in Anet, *mistress of the year's beginning, who rises on New Year's Day, to open a happy year.*"

Her connection with *the rising of the Nile* is described thus:—

> "*Isis, the great one, the mother of God, who causes the Nile to rise, when she shines at the beginning of the year.*" (Dend.)

Hence she is also called:—

(1) "*Mistress of the beginning of the year, who tempts the Nile from his source.*"

(2) "*The divine Sothis, the sublime one, mistress of the beginning of the year, who causes the Nile to rise at his proper time.*"

(3) "*So this in the heavens leads the Nile at the beginning of the year.*"

(4) "*Great Sothis shines in the heavens, and the Nile comes forth from his two sources.*"

And so on.

The Egyptians therefore knew from very early days, certainly already at the time of the new kingdom that commenced with the Eighteenth Dynasty, the fixed year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days as the so-called Sothis year; and if Ptolemy in the second century B.C. found his astronomical dates on a movable year, and even refers the Babylonian dates of the eclipses back to such an Egyptian year of 365 days, this proves practically nothing for the old Egyptian calendar. We must not forget that in the last centuries before Christ the Egyptians were under *Greek-Macedonian* influence, and Hellenism had everywhere made itself felt. Since the gates of Egypt stood open to Greece, the Egyptian people withdrew more and more into the background, and Greek customs as well as Greek culture took root in Egypt. Psammetich's son Neko II had even already dedicated the coat of armour which he had worn in battle to the great Milesian oracle of Branchidæ, besides which Egypt was first opened to the Greeks by Psammetich I.[1] Under the Ptolemys the Egyptians are the subjects, the Macedonians

[1] "Geschichte des alten Aegyptens," ed. *Mayer*, p. 367.

and Greeks the ruling people. All high offices in the government of the country are entirely in their hands, only the lower ones are entrusted to Egyptians.[1] We can well understand that at such a time, when the foreign element reigns supreme, the foreign calendar also should come more and more to the front at the expense of the native one, and we find in fact that under the Ptolemy rule even royal decrees[2] had not only to be drawn up in *two languages* (Egyptian and Greek), but that they must also contain the foreign (Greek-Macedonian) date next to the Egyptian one, otherwise it would have been unintelligible to the people. It is no wonder, then, that the native calendar (based on a four years' cycle, in which three years included each 365 days, but the fourth 366 days) was by degrees forgotten, and *Ptolemy Euergetes* was obliged by a royal decree to order the reintroduction of the ancient Egyptian form of year. This decree, known by the name of "*the decree of Canopus*," is dated from "*the 7th Apellæos*, that is, *the 17th* TYBI *of the Egyptians, in the 9th year of the reign*," and contains the command that "*from this year onwards in the upper and lower country, therefore in all Egypt, on the day of the rising of the divine Sothis, which is called in the sacred temple inscriptions New Year's Day, in his name shall a brilliant feast be held, which festival falls in the 9th year of the king's reign in the day of new moon in the month Payni, and shall in the future be always solemnized on the day of the rising of Sothis.*"

This is not the place to return to those polemics and deductions to which the contents of this decree have given rise. I will refer here to my researches which I have elsewhere described, and which bear on this subject.[3] We will only here point out the fact that it is absolutely incorrect to maintain that the Egyptians always used only the movable year with its 365 days, and never used for

[1] See also the above, p. 400.
[2] Decree of Canopus; inscription of Rosetta.
[3] Transactions of the Ninth Congress of Orientalists, London, 1892: "The Decree of Canopus."

practical purposes the fixed year of 365¼ days. The same ghost has crept in here as previously over the year of 360 days, and all the easier in this case since we have proofs that it was through *astronomical* calculations that the year of 365 days came into use, and that simply because the number 365, taken as a year's length, has some connection with the average length of the synodical month, which was well known to the Egyptians. I have elsewhere proved[1] that the Egyptian *Apis period* of 25 years was nothing else than a lunar period of 25 years, which enabled them to predict with marvellous precision the entry of the full moon. This event was to them of the greatest importance, since the crowning of the divine Apis had always to succeed the day of full moon. Twenty-five years of 365 days each yield 9,125 days, and 309 synodical months ($309 \times 29{\cdot}53059$) = 9124·95231 days; thus the difference between 25 movable years (of 365 days) and 309 synodical months only amounts to 0·04769 days = 1 hour 8 minutes. Hence, after every 25 movable years the same lunar phases occurred again on the same day of this movable year. Thus, in ancient Egyptian astronomy the movable year of 365 days possessed a certain significance, and was treated accordingly by the priests, in whose hands lay the promoting of astronomy; on the other hand, however, the fixed year in the form of a Sothis year passed in matters of every-day life as the normal year.

But there is still another reason for making us choose the *fixed* year as our starting-point in determining the dates which fix the time of the reign of Thutmes III.

Prior to and during the time of the Ptolemys, the Egyptian kings celebrated[2] officially on two special days in each current year their accession to the throne. One of these days was the *actual* day of accession after the death of the king's immediate predecessor. The other was the

[1] "The Apis Period of the Old Egyptians": Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, 1894, vol. ciii, p. 832 ff.

[2] See also Zeitsch. f. aegypt. Spr., 1889, pp. 101, 102, where this circumstance has been already referred to.

pretended day, that is to say, the day of the succeeding vernal equinox, the idea being to do honour to the king as successor to the Sun-god, Rē', or as the rising sun of that year. The vernal equinox, together with the accession to the throne, was celebrated at the succeeding vernal new moon. Now we have the following dates at hand that bear upon *Thutmosis III* (see *Brugsch's* "Thesaurus inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum," pt. i, pp. 93 and 95):—

(*a*) "Year xxiii, month *Pachon*, day 4, day of the coronations as king."

(*b*) "In the year xxiii, month *Pachon*, day 21, day of the celebration of the new moon festival, corresponding to the fixing of the coronation festival at the beginning of the morning."

Therefore, between the 4th and 21st Pachon must have occurred the vernal equinox; also the new moon must have fallen on the 21st Pachon. Now it is shown by an astronomical calculation that the *vernal equinox*, i.e. the entrance of the sun into the constellation of the Ram, took place in the reign of *Thutmosis III* on *the 3rd April of the Julian calendar*. If we found the above-named dates on the fixed Sirius year, then the 4th Pachon fell on

the 20th March, ordinary year
the 19th March, leap year } Julian Cal.

and the 21st Pachon fell on

the 6th April, ordinary year
the 5th April, leap year } Julian Cal.

or the 21st Pachon, day of the coronation festival of *Thutmosis III* as successor to Rē', fell two days after the true vernal equinox. If, however, we accept the movable year of the Egyptians, we then obtain the following Julian dates for the 21st Pachon:—

TABLE COMPARING THE MOVABLE EGYPTIAN WITH THE JULIAN CALENDAR.

Year B.C.	Date of 21st Pachon.	Year B.C.	Date of 21st Pachon.	Year B.C.	Date of 21st Pachon.	Year B.C.	Date of 21st Pachon.
1500	20th May.	1488	17th May.	1476	14th May.	1464	11th May.
1499	20th ,,	1487	17th ,,	1475	14th ,,	1463	11th ,,
1498	20th ,,	1486	17th ,,	1474	14th ,,	1462	11th ,,
1497	19th ,,	1485	16th ,,	1473	13th ,,	1461	10th ,,
1496	19th ,,	1484	16th ,,	1472	13th ,,	1460	10th ,,
1495	19th ,,	1483	16th ,,	1471	13th ,,	1459	10th ,,
1494	19th ,,	1482	16th ,,	1470	13th ,,	1458	10th ,,
1493	18th ,,	1481	15th ,,	1469	12th ,,	1457	9th ,,
1492	18th ,,	1480	15th ,,	1468	12th ,,	1456	9th ,,
1491	18th ,,	1479	15th ,,	1467	12th ,,	1455	9th ,,
1490	18th ,,	1478	15th ,,	1466	12th ,,	1454	9th
1489	17th ,,	1477	14th ,,	1465	11th ,,	1453	8th ,,

We can from this see quite clearly that we need only here consider the information yielded from the *fixed* year.

We now arrive at the following result, which I have already elsewhere pointed out:—

Having found a satisfactory starting-point, based on the rising of Sothis, which is shown to have taken place on the 28th Epiphi under Thutmosis III, we looked out all the new moons which occurred during a fairly long period, viz. from 1505 to 1461. Amongst these, however, was only *one* combination corresponding to the given conditions, which demanded that new moons should fall on the 21st Pachon in the 23rd year and on the 30th Mechir in the 24th year of the reign of the above-named king. The new moons are those of—

B.C. 1481, April 5th (= Pachon 21st), and
B.C. 1479, January 15th (= Mechir 30th).

But since the vernal equinox of the year 1481 fell on the 3rd April of 12 h. 56 m. of average civil Greenwich time, and the new moon of the 5th April (= 21st Pachon), B.C. 1481, appeared two days after the vernal equinox, therefore the combination here found agrees well with the statement—

> "In the year 23, month Pachon,
> day 21,
> day of the celebration of the
> new moon festival,
> corresponding to the fixing
> of the coronation festival at
> the beginning of the morning."

We are therefore led to believe that the 23rd year of the reign of Thutmosis III began on the 19th March (= 4th Pachon), B.C. 1481. According to the inscription in Amenemheb's tomb, he reigned "*from the year* i *to the year* liv, *last day of Phamenoth.*" *Therefore Thutmosis III reigned from the 20th March,* B.C. 1503, *to the 14th February,* B.C. 1449.

Now it is true that I have explained in reply to Mr. Eisenlohr's written request that, if the movable year of the Egyptians be *throughout* adhered to, then the 16th May, B.C. 1482, and the 24th February, B.C. 1480, would have to be regarded as the dates of the new moons in the reign of Thutmosis III, which we are now considering, and then the year 1504, instead of 1503, would have to stand as the first year of the reign of Thutmosis III, instead of 1503. But although I have made this statement I do not at all wish it to be thought that I have abandoned my view regarding the Egyptian form of year and the accession of Thutmosis III. I have merely wished to show that even if we accept the theory of a movable year, the length of the reign of Thutmosis III as stated by me has been proved correct. In other words: while it was generally held that Thutmosis III had reigned at the latest during the last 33 years of the seventeenth century B.C., it was my wish to show that he only began to reign at the end of the

sixteenth century B.C. Whether it were 1503 or 1504, could make no difference to us in our attempt *to find a starting-point for further chronological investigations.* But on no account did I wish it to be thought that with my communication to *Eisenlohr* I had relinquished my standpoint, viz., that I believed Thutmosis III to have reigned from the 20th March, 1503, to the 14th February, B.C. 1449.

But this question must be looked at from another point of view. *C. F. Lehmann* raises in his work, "*Zwei Hauptprobleme der altorientalischen Chronologie und ihre Lösung,*"[1] some doubts regarding my determination of the duration of the reign of Thutmosis III, because *Mahler* in his calculations makes use of the theory that the Egyptians celebrated the *new moon festival* on the day of the *actual* new moon. But this theory is entirely *inadmissible.* The Egyptians reckoned by the solar year. We can indeed presume that they made exact lunar *observations,* but not exact *calculations,* such as are necessary to determine the exact time of the invisible new moon. Until the contrary be proved, we must believe that, like the *Arabs* of the present day, the Egyptians celebrated the new moon festival when her sickle first became visible."

But an important circumstance has not here been considered. Whilst, namely, the Egyptians had already at an early date abandoned the lunar year and adjusted their calendar by the solar year, they had still continued to consider most carefully the course of the moon. But it was not, as many still believe, the *new light* (Neulicht)—i.e. the first appearance of the moon's sickle after the actual conjunction—to which they paid attention. They regarded rather the appearance of the full moon, taking into consideration the fact that the moment of the real conjunction cannot be observed. Just as the Babylonians, Greeks, and still to-day the Jews, celebrate in the *new moon* the rejuvenescence or return of the moon after her accomplished circuit, so the *full moon* was to the Egyptians the completion of the

[1] Leipzig, pub. by *Ed. Pfeiffer*, 1898.

moon's monthly circuit; it was to the Egyptian mind on the day of *full moon* that the moon *renewed* itself or became *rejuvenated*. Thus we read (*Brugsch*, Thesaur. inscript. Aegypt., pt. i) :—

1. (p. 30): "Life and renewal occur eternally; *the moon returns to her place, and the eye of the full moon is endowed with her splendour.*"
2. (p. 34): "It is the gods who glorify the eye of the moon, *when it renews its course on the* 15*th day of the lunar month.*"
3. (p. 35): "The eye of the moon (the full moon) is unhurt, and she is endowed with its splendours so as to bring blessing; the eye is proof against all evil and *renews its youth every month.*"
4. (p. 38): "*The heavens rejoice as at a feast since they bear the form of the full moon.*"
5. (p. 45): "*The eye of the full moon is completed on the* 15*th day of the lunar month.*"

Etc.

Thus they celebrated the commencement of the new lunar month on the day of full moon. They divided the lunar month into two parts, viz. the days of the *decreasing* and the days of the *increasing* moon. On the ceiling in the Pronaos of the temple at Dendera the phases of the moon are portrayed amongst other astronomical inscriptions. The collective representation falls into three special divisions, which refer in order to the *decreasing, increasing*, and *full* moon. *Brugsch* writes thus about it, after a thorough investigation :—[1]

"*Picture I. Day of the decreasing moon.* In a barque inside a disc is seen the eye of the moon 'udat.' Seven divinities seated above and as many seated below represent the 14 days of the *decreasing moon.* The entire background is kept very dark so as to harmonize with it. Four jackal-headed divinities worship the disc, and so do four

[1] Thes. inscr. Aegypt., pt. i, p. 33 ff.

human-headed falcons on the opposite side. A two-lined inscription above the falcons runs thus: 'It is the gods who glorify the eye of the moon, when it renews its course on the 15th day of the lunar month. Behold! the goddess in her form of a glorious child, she has endowed the eye of the moon with her splendour.'

"*Picture II. The* 14 *days of the increasing moon.* Fourteen divinities, each belonging to a lunar day, and each seated on one of the steps of a flight of stairs. At the top of the latter the full moon shines towards them, floating about a pillar. Behind it the God Thot worshipping with uplifted hands. To the left of the pillar with the moon's eye above it is the following inscription: "The eye of the moon (the full moon) is unhurt, and she is endowed with its splendours so as to bring blessing; the eye is proof against all evil and renews its youth every month." On the right of the pillar is the following inscription: "Rejoice, inhabitants of the earth! the moon shines at her rising, and her ship, the seat of her splendour, is designed for those who tarry on the earth." Below the flight of steps described above, we find a specification of the 30 days of the lunar month according to their eponymic names and a list of the protecting divinities belonging to them.

If we look carefully into this specification, we shall notice two important points. The most striking of these is the bringing into greater prominence of the four chief phases of the moon: 1st lunar day = Ḥib-enti-paut = "celebration of new moon"; 7th lunar day = Ḥib-dena-tep = "celebration of the first quarter"; 15th lunar day = "celebration of the fifteenth" (therefore celebration of full moon); and 23rd lunar day = Ḥib-dena-sonnu = "celebration of the second quarter." On the other side we note that, while the first lunar day is shown to be "the celebration of new moon," the second lunar day is called "Ḥib-ābud" = "celebration of the month." At the same time we see that the day succeeding the "celebration of the month" bears the same name as the 16th day of the month succeeding

the day of full moon, viz. "Ḥib-masper." And the lunar day (i.e. the seventh) occurring 8 days *before* full moon has the *same* name as the lunar day (i.e. the 23rd) occurring 8 days *after* full moon, viz. "*celebration of the quarter.*" We learn from this that the Egyptians, whilst observing the full moon and counting the days of the decreasing moon from full moon to the *conjunction*, regarded the day held to be the first lunar day as the day of the actual conjunction, therefore the "*day of new moon*"; the second lunar day, day of the "*celebration of the month,*" was the day of the new light (Neulicht). Hence the 16th day, the first day after full moon, on which the *first visible decrease* of the moon's light takes place, bears the *same* name as the day following the day of the "celebration of the month," because this day is succeeded by the *first visible increase of the new light* (Neulicht). And, indeed, once they knew the average duration of the synodical month and gave all their attention to the appearance of the full moon, it was easy for them to determine beforehand the *time* (or at any rate certainly the *day*) of the true conjunction. And therefore the day of the conjunction was the day of the "celebration of new moon," and the succeeding day as being the day of the new light (Neulicht) was first the day of the "celebration of the month." With this a very important question is determined. For whenever we find a day denoted by the Egyptians as *ḥib-enti-paut*" = "*celebration of the new moon,*" that day must be regarded by us as the day of the *true new moon*, and upon that we must make our calculations. Now we read on the statistical table of Karnak, amongst other texts bearing on Thutmosis III—

"renpit xxiii, tep šemu, haru 21, *haru en ḥib en paut*";

i.e., "year xxiii, month Pachon, day 21, day of the celebration of new moon." Thus it was *necessary* to reckon with the *true new moon* as a basis, and *not with the new light* (Neulicht).

Having thus explained the reasons which oblige us to build upon the *true* new moon (i.e. the conjunction between sun and moon), I cannot better gather together the resumé

of my investigation than by quoting *Lehmann's* own words: "*Mahler's* theory for Thutmosis III might be perhaps possible from the point of view of *historical* chronology. Were it, however, free from objections from the point of view of *astronomical* chronology, we should then have to agree with it entirely."[1]

And, again, *Lehmann* says on p. 149 of his work ("Zwei Hauptprobleme"), in reference to my theory about Rameses II: "*Mahler's* theory of 1348 is *untenable.*"

"And the reason why *Mahler's* theory is false, can be also clearly seen. *Eisenlohr* has already pointed out (P.S.B.A., xvii, 281, and Report of Geneva Congress, p. 87) that *Mahler's* theory about Rameses II is very questionable, for he has, amongst other things, built up his calculations upon an incorrectly read date taken from a papyrus of the 52nd year of this king's reign, and has interpreted the festival celebrated on this day as being a new moon festival, whilst in reality the latter is very improbable."

But it was not the above-mentioned date from the Leyden papyrus of the 52nd year of Rameses II that *started* my calculations about the reign of Rameses II, but the festival of the Sothis period that was celebrated in the 30th year of his reign. According to *Oppolzer* the renewal of this period had taken place in the year B.C. 1318, and therefore it did not need any higher mathematics to calculate from this the first year of Rameses II. My decision was supported by the fact that the moon, as is shown by the hieroglyphic , was on the day of the Sothis festival at the 20th place of the lunar month, which in reality agrees with the 20th July, B.C. 1318.[2] I only used the date referred to in the Leyden papyrus to strengthen still more the year that had been discovered for the accession of Rameses II, and if the reading from the papyrus was not to be trusted, yet I shall hardly be blamed if I found the reading of *Brugsch* to afford, if not the *basis* of my investigations,

[1] "Zwei Hauptprobleme," p. 150, ll. 1–3.
[2] See Zeitsch. f. aegypt. Sprache, 1889, p. 99.

at least another proof in support of them. Should the reading of *Brugsch* be incorrect, this still does not affect the *result* of the determination of the time of the reign of Rameses II, since, as has been already shown, the date in the Leyden papyrus did not represent the *starting-point* of the calculation. Still, it is certainly striking that the date which was eventually read wrong in the papyrus agrees with the other determinations.

We will now examine *Lehmann's* results more closely. He finds that Rameses II reigned at the earliest from B.C. 1324 to 1258 (see his work, "Zwei Hauptprobleme," pp. 160, 164, and table iii). Starting from these dates he places the accession of Rameses III in the year B.C. 1235. But he makes an unfortunate clerical error (see p. 168 of his above-mentioned work, note 3) in the date 1258 by exchanging the places of the figures 5 and 8, and he therefore makes Rameses II reign from B.C. 1324 to 1285 instead of from B.C. 1324 to 1258. He then deducts 50 (the number of the years between Rameses II and Rameses III) from his incorrect date 1285, and thus obtains the number 1235. This he has placed in table iii without remarking that this number, which again comes near to those that I had given to Rameses III, owes its origin only to a bad clerical error. For if Lehmann had made no mistake in stating the length of the reign of Rameses II, and had put down the dates 1324 to 1258 which he had originally decided upon, he would then have been obliged to give to Rameses III not 1235 but 1258–50 = 1208. And the number 1208 should have made him hesitate all the sooner, since by considering the 32 years' reign of Rameses III and the 6 years' reign of Rameses IV, for which latter we have sure proof (see "Zeitsch. f. aegypt. Spr.," 1891, p. 73), we are led to fix the rising of Sothis, shown by the table of hours in the tomb of Rameses VI, to have occurred on the 1st Paophi in the year B.C. 1198. I am only surprised that *Lehmann* has not perceived the contradiction in his statements and also in the arranging of table iii, for he there writes: "Rameses II at the earliest

1324–1258, Rameses III from about 1235–1200 (32 years)." When he appeals to a remark on p. 168, he might have noticed that 1258–1235 = 23 and not 50. If we, on the contrary, begin from *my* starting-point, we shall find—

Rameses II, B.C. 1347–1280;
Rameses III, B.C. 1240–1208

(see "Zeitsch. f. aegypt. Spr.," vol. xxxii, p. 99 ff.). We have thus a period of 40 years for the kings *Merneptah, Seti II, Amenmesses, Siptah, Arsu,* and *Setnecht,* and we have still left B.C. 1208–1202 for Rameses IV, who reigned 6 years. The rising of Sothis on the 1st Paophi under Rameses VI brings us into the year 1318–(4 × 30) = 1318–120 = B.C. 1198, and we know that between Rameses IV and Rameses VI was another king, Rameses V, who was set aside by Rameses VI.

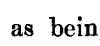
That the dates given above are sure is still further proved by the synchronism between *Amenophis IV, Burnaburias,* and *Assuruballit* on the tables of *Tell el-Amarna.* Hence we see that *the year* B.C. 1335, *which we have found to be the year of the Exodus,* was the 13*th year of the reign of Rameses II.*

Whilst it is thus generally believed that King Merneptah, son and successor to Rameses II, was the king under whom the Exodus of the Israelites took place, we here recognize in Rameses II the ruler under whose reign, so glorious and prosperous for Egypt, the departure of the Israelites was brought about. But then it must have been one of the sons of Rameses II (probably his presumptive successor) who pursued the children of Israel when they wished to encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea (Exodus, xiv, 2), and this was also the royal prince who met with his destruction together with numerous Egyptians.

We can also now solve another question. In *Tanis* (Zoan), the residential town of Rameses II, that was also called by him "city of Rameses," the people named an era after one of the Hyksos kings (Nubti), and its 400th year fell

in the reign of Rameses II. The number 400 was connected with that 400 years' oppression which was foretold in a vision to the patriarch Abraham, but the connection with Rameses II was obscure. But it becomes clear to us since we have recognized the Pharaoh of the Exodus in Rameses II; we can also see why the author of Genesis took the number 400 instead of 430. It had assuredly been handed down to him that the Exodus had taken place under Rameses II; he will also have known of those 400 years of the Nubti era; and since Jacob, as a matter of fact, had come to Egypt in the reign of a Hyksos king, the author of the corresponding part of Genesis will have placed this event in Nubti's reign and have reckoned those 400 years of oppression from that time.

But we now arrive at the corresponding explanation of the information obtained from the Merneptah stele mentioned at the beginning of this paper. Since the stele records an event occurring in the 5th year of Merneptah's reign, it must itself date from the year B.C. 1275, and therefore it falls in the 60th year after the Exodus. But this was just the time when Joshua had proceeded to divide the tract of country already occupied by the Israelites, although the conquest of the whole was by no means finished. For according to the "Liber Jehosuah" (chap. xiv, 7) Joshua was in his 40th year at the time of the Exodus, and since he attained to the age of 110 years (Jehosuah, xxiv, 29), he must have been a very old man when Merneptah made preparations to carry on a desperate war against the increasingly threatening Libyan invaders. But, according to the Biblical record, Joshua was still in such full possession of his powers that he could advise and lead the Israelites in all their undertakings. Individual tribes had had their property appointed to them, but the pacification of the country was not yet accomplished, and the people had everywhere to look out for the lurking foe. At one time it was the *Jebusites*, at another the *Ammorites* or the *Canaanites*, who could not be entirely subdued and who had therefore to be tolerated as inhabitants who paid tribute.

Since we have placed the Exodus in the year B.C. 1335 and the accession of Merneptah in the year B.C. 1280, it is now clear to us why we do not find in Merneptah's hymn of victory the usual hieroglyphic denoting a country accompanying the name of "Israel," but only the group = "Amu" = "Asiatics" or "Asiatic people." In consequence of the expeditions under Joshua which they undertook to conquer the Holy Land, and upon which they murdered and burnt down everything (see "Liber Jehosuah," chap. x–xii), they were denoted as being a  = *fkt* = "horde." And since we not only find on the stele the well-known Biblical name of "Canaan," but also the territories of Askelon and Gaza quoted close together and connected in such a way as to be perfectly parallel to the Biblical story, we can understand the connection that places Israel along with the other Asiatic peoples. And the *historical* meaning of it all now becomes still clearer to us.

Since we thus see in Rameses II that Pharaoh in whose reign Israel departed from Egypt, the question, it is true, crops up—What made the Israelites wish to burst their bonds and leave the country under the rule of a sovereign who bears in history the name of "the Great"? Was the political situation of Egypt at that time of such a nature that a people, reckoned as being "alien" and forced to groan under hard bondage, could suddenly rise up man for man in order to turn their backs upon this country?

We shall obtain some information upon this point by looking back into the history of that time. We know that in consequence of the conquests under the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the riches of Syria and other neighbouring territories must have been thrown open to the

Egyptians, but that at the same time foreign influences began to make themselves felt. This was all the easier since a people was dwelling in the country who maintained the Semitic culture and speech, and who at their departure counted over 600,000 warriors. These circumstances were specially unfortunate for Egypt under the last kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Then the bonds that should have bound Syria and her neighbouring territories to Egypt were completely loosened, and when Rameses I ascended the throne, the *Hittites* had already become a great power and taken the hegemony in Syria into their own hands. For quite twenty-one years did Rameses II fight against this people, and the war was only ended by a treaty, but not by the conquest of the enemy. It is not surprising that a people, cradled both in Palestine and Syria and having 600,000 warriors in their midst, should at such a time become filled with thoughts of freedom and should break away from bondage; it is rather a natural result of the general political situation of those times.

And when we read (Exodus, xii, 38), "And a mixed multitude went up also with them," this must certainly refer to those foreign troops whom the Egyptians had captured and enrolled as hirelings to their army. For already in the reign of *Seti I*, predecessor to Rameses II, European peoples (the Schardana, the Schakaluscha, and others) had come into Egypt and had been taken prisoners. They were, however, added to the native Egyptian army as foreign troops, and were therefore glad to be able to depart from the hated foreign land with the children of Israel. Hence these conditions are quite suitable if we let the Exodus follow under Rameses II, B.C. 1335.

We should also note that various characteristic signs connecting the old rabbinical tradition with the Exodus fall in exactly with the year B.C. 1335. We find in the "*Pirke di R. Elieser*" that the departure is affirmed to have taken place on a "*Thursday.*" This view is also held in the Talmud (cf. Sabbath 87[B]), and the *Schulchan-Aruch* also maintains that *the 15th Nisan, the day of the Exodus, was*

a Thursday. This all agrees with the year B.C. 1335, for in that year the 15th Nisan fell on a Thursday, and indeed on *Thursday the 27th March (Julian calendar).*

Having found the Exodus to have taken place in the year B.C. 1335, i.e. the 13th year of the reign of Rameses II, a succession of other difficulties that were connected with the question of the Exodus find a reasonable solution. Merneptah had been held to be the Pharaoh of the Exodus, and at the same time Rameses II was steadfastly maintained to be the foster-father of Moses. But the result of this was that no agreement could be found between the length of the reign of Rameses II as given on the monuments and the Biblical evidence for the age of Moses at the time of the Exodus. According to the evidence of the monuments Rameses II ascended the throne when he was 10 years old and reigned 67 years, thus attaining to an age of 77 years. *Virchov* has examined his mummy, which is preserved in the Museum at Kaina, and the external signs found on it completely confirm this age of 77 years. Moses was already 80 years old when he stood before Pharaoh and asked him to let the children of Israel depart into the wilderness (Exodus, vii, 7). Now if Merneptah were the Pharaoh of the Exodus, then Moses would have been 80 years of age about 4 years after the death of the Great Rameses; in other words, when Rameses was 81 years of age, Moses would have been 80 years of age. If, then, we believe that the Israelites left Egypt at the time of Merneptah, we cannot possibly accept as an indisputable fact the theory that Rameses II was the foster-father of Moses, for the former theory would make Moses to be only one year younger than his foster-father. If, on the other hand, we believe Rameses II to have been the Pharaoh whose daughter found the infant Moses in the ark of bulrushes, then the Exodus must have taken place long *after* Merneptah. Of the theories mentioned above the one is

as untenable as the other, and both contradict the historical evidence of the Egyptian monuments.

The Pharaoh of the Exodus was Rameses II. And since we place the Exodus in the year B.C. 1335, we find that Moses was born in the year B.C. 1415. That was the 25th year of the reign of King Amenophis III. It is known that the latter had chosen for his wife one who was not an Egyptian. We do not know, it is true, to which tribe the Queen *Thi* (daughter of a certain Juao and his wife Thuao) belonged, but we do know that she was of neither Egyptian nor royal descent, and was therefore an "*alien*," whom the priests hated and disliked. But Pharaoh, on the contrary, was greatly attached to her. We can understand why the daughter of such a woman, who was herself a *foreigner* and an *alien*, should dare to bring into the palace the child found in the bulrushes who was *not* of Egyptian birth; and it is also not surprising that Moses, child of an alien and hated race, should have been brought up in a royal manner at the court of a queen who was herself an alien hated by the people and the priesthood, and whose chief aim was to educate her children in foreign customs and culture.

The name also of "Moses" that was imposed upon the foundling by the Egyptian princess is one that corresponds to those times. The Bible itself tells us that the child did not receive this name from his parents, but from the Egyptian princess who discovered him. We have therefore to seek in the word משה = Moses for an *Egyptian* and not for a *Hebrew* name. This name was not an uncommon one under the rulers of the Eighteenth Dynasty. No less than five kings of this dynasty bore this name. The founder of the eighteenth royal house was called "*A'aḥmes* (Amosis)" = "*moon-child*." Four kings bore the name "*Thutmes* (Thutmosis)" = "*Thut-child*." Thus the foundling was called "*Mes* (Moses)" = "*child*." Etymology also points to the Egyptian origin of the word משה. In "Zeitschrift für aegypt. Sprache" (vol. xxx, year 1892, p. 9) we read of an extremely important discovery made by *Hommel*,

which shows that the Egyptian sounds and , which are generally held to be equivalent to *s*, are two *different* sounds, answering etymologically to the Semitic צ and to the Semitic ס. *Hommel* therefore proposes that , answering to the ס, should still be taken to represent *s*, but , answering to the Semitic שׂ, should be on the contrary represented by *ś*. We then find that the name משה comes from the Egyptian stem = *ms'* = "to bear," or "the child."

King Amenophis III, in whose reign we thus place the birth of Moses, had caused, like his grandfather Thutmosis III, numerous buildings to be erected in honour of Amon. In the very first years of his reign he carried on the working of the limestone quarries in the Mokattam mountains, which had been already opened by his royal predecessors. The buildings to contain the sacred things at Karnak were continued, and new temples were also added. He had set up in Luxor a new temple to Amon. He could rightly say of himself "that he had accomplished great monuments, marvellous works that had never been seen elsewhere." In working the quarries and building the temples he preferred to employ the "aliens," and thus the words of the Bible, telling us of the hard labour to which the Israelites were condemned, apply very well to his reign.

One other circumstance must be mentioned which shows that Merneptah was not king at the time of the Exodus. We are told in the book of Exodus that Pharaoh was visited with ten plagues before he allowed the Israelites to depart out of Egypt. The last of these plagues was the death of the first-born, amongst whom was also the first-born of the royal house. But Merneptah was succeeded by his son and heir, Seti II (who was called officially, User = cheperu = ra), who already in his father's lifetime enjoyed the peculiar distinction of being called the *crown-prince* of the kingdom.

We know on the other hand that the eldest sons of Rameses II had died during their father's reign, and it was only the fourteenth in the long succession of children whom destiny marked out to ascend the throne.

Thus the traditions received by the people agree with the historical dates on the monuments, and we must therefore believe, supported by the above exact statements of Egyptian and Biblical chronology, that *the Exodus did not take place under Merneptah, but in the reign of the king Rameses II, and actually on the 27th March,* B.C. 1335.

ART. III—*Notes on Persian MSS. in Indian Libraries.* By H. BEVERIDGE.

I. *The Mullā Fīrūz Library, Bombay.*—This owes its existence to the liberality and public spirit of Mullā Fīrūz b. Kawus,[1] a Parsi ecclesiastic and a friend of Jonathan Duncan, for whom he wrote the poem called the *Georgenāma*. The library is open to the public, but it seems to be little known to the citizens. It is situated in the native part of the town, in a lane off the Kalka Devi Road, and is near the Roman Catholic Cathedral. There is a printed catalogue (Bombay, 1873) by E. Rehatsek, a Hungarian scholar, who lived for many years in Bombay, and who died there in December, 1891.

The books are kept in an upper room of a house in the compound of a Parsi temple, and are well taken care of. There are many Persian manuscripts, but none perhaps of very great value or of much historical interest. The library is especially rich in astrological and astronomical works. There are also many MSS. in Zend dealing with the Parsi religion. Among the Arabic MSS. there is a fine, beautifully written copy of the *Canon Masudicus*. Among the Persian MSS. are one or two copies of the *Akbarnāma*, and a well-written copy of the *Tārīkh Alfī*. Unfortunately this last has blanks. For instance, there is a hiatus from Humāyūn's flight into Persia to his expedition against Balkh, and of

[1] There does not appear to be any biography of him, but Mr. Rehatsek gives some information about him in the preface to his catalogue, and the Mullā gives some particulars about himself in the book of his poems and in his *Dīn Khirad*, pp. 60, 181, and 215 of Rehatsek's Catalogue. He was a native of Broach, and went to Persia with his father when he was 10 years old, and stayed there twelve years. He died in 1830. From Sir Alexander Johnstone's report, Appendix, Transactions R.A.S., vol. iii, it appears that Mullā Fīrūz's father was sent to Persia at the expense of the Parsīs. Maria Graham (Lady Callcot) describes the Mullā's personal appearance in her Journal (London, 1812).

this no warning is given, the narrative passing from one subject to the other on the same page. There is also apparently no account of Humāyūn's death in the MS. An interesting and apparently rare MS. is a Turkish-Persian and Persian-Turkish dictionary by Aẓafarī, the poetical name of Mīrzā 'Alī Bakht, son of Mīrzā Muḥammad Wali. The author speaks of his ancestors having lived in the time of Aurangzib, and claims descent on the one side from Timur and on the other from Haẓrat Khwāja Buzurg Khwāja Naqshband. In Dr. Sprenger's Catalogue of the Elliot MSS., J.A.S.B., 1855, vol. xxiii, p. 247, there is a notice, No. 119, of a manuscript called the *Wāqi'yāt Aẓafarī*, and this is stated to be the memoir of Muḥammad Izahya-d-dīn Mīrzā 'Alī Bakht, who was familiarly called Mīrzā Gurgānī. He was descended, we are told, from the royal house of Delhi, and was alive in 1215 (1800). The MS. also contained the author's Rekhta dīvān. This is one of the MSS. which did not reach the British Museum. Mr. Rehatsek says (p. 54, No. 27) that there is no date to the MS. in the Mullā Fīrūz Library, but the colophon says it was written in 1220 (1805) at Mandraj Chinnapattam (Madras). It was in this dictionary that I found the explanation of the word *tashqāwal*, which occurs in Bābar's Memoirs and in the *Akbarnāma*.

There is a jest-book or book of anecdotes called *Luṭāīf alẓarāīf*, No. 44, p. 230, of the printed catalogue, and No. 546 of the manuscript one, which Mr. Rehatsek describes as being by Ḥusain Waiẓ Kāshfī, but in reality it is by his son Ali. See Rieu, 757*b*, MS. Add. 18,408, where it is called *Laṭāīf-al-tawāīf*. There is also a manuscript of Omar Khayyām's quatrains, No. 78, p. 149, of the printed catalogue, and No. 334 of the manuscript catalogue, but it does not appear to be of much value.

It is to be noted that the books in the library are not arranged according to the numbers of Rehatsek's Catalogue, but according to a manuscript catalogue prepared when the contents of the library were going to be insured. For example, the *Tārīkh Alfī* is No. 42, p. 94, of Rehatsek's

Catalogue, but the numbers in the manuscript catalogue are 116 and 117. Unless the numbers of the manuscript catalogue are given, the librarian has a difficulty in finding the MS. that is wanted. Mr. Rehatsek's Catalogue is a good and meritorious one, but it was written before the publication of the British Museum Catalogue, and it contains no references to the contents of other libraries. The author was a solitary scholar, and had the defects of his qualities.

II. *The Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*—The Society has magnificent rooms in the Town Hall, and it has a splendid library of printed books, but there are no Persian MSS.

There are several second-hand booksellers in the Kalka Devi Road and elsewhere in Bombay, but they do not appear to have any MSS. The lithographed publications of the Bombay Educational Society—e.g. Ferishta, *Habīb-us-Sair*, etc.—are now almost unprocurable in Bombay. The Bombay Branch of the R.A.S. does not hold regular meetings, and on the whole Bombay seems to be given over to commercial pursuits. Oriental studies have much decayed since the time of Sir James Mackintosh.

III. *Jaipur Library.*—I found only one Persian MS. in the Jaipur Library, and that was one of no value. The library has been celebrated a good deal in India and elsewhere, but it contains nothing except printed books, and these are mostly English. Jai Singh was a great and stirring man, but it seems a pity that he was bitten by the Indian mania of founding a capital, and left the picturesque Ambar for the prosaic flatness and regularity of Jaipur. In the Maharajah of Jaipur's private library the only Persian MS. is the *Razmnāma*, a Persian translation of the *Mahābhārat* made in Akbar's time. It is a superb copy, and is averred to be the original which was made for Akbar. It appears to have been presented by Muḥammad Shah to Jai Singh.[1] It has been bound in four volumes. There are numerous

[1] See Dr. Heudley's *Memorials of the Jeypore Exhibition*, London, 1883. There are old seals on the MS., but I could not read them, and Dr. Hendley says they are illegible.

pictures in it, and some of them are very beautiful, e.g. that of Bikhya[1] standing over the sleeping prince and altering the words of the letter. Each picture is protected by a thin membrane made of the skin of the Sāmbar deer. The handwriting is very fine, and the copy appears to be complete. It contains Abul Faẓl's preface. There are also in the Maharajah's library some interesting portraits of the Moghul emperors and others. Among the latter is one of Samru (Walter Reinhardt) in an Oriental costume.

IV. *Alwar Library.* — This is in the Palace, and was formed by Rajah Bani Singh. It is a noble monument of his liberality and literary tastes. It is especially rich in Sanskrit MSS., and these have been catalogued by Professor Peterson. Some account of the library will be found in Dr. Hendley's *Alwar and its Art Treasures*, London, 1888. The best known of the Persian MSS. is the splendid copy of the *Gulistan*, which cost half a lakh of rupees. It has been described by Eastwick in Murray's Handbook, in Major Powlett's statistical account of Alwar, and the book of Dr. Hendley above mentioned. A curious thing about the book is that the penmanship is by an Armenian, Aga Sahib, who was converted to Muhammadanism at Delhi by one Razavī Sahib, but whose wife remained a Christian. One of the pictures represents him presenting his book to the Rajah. The pictures and arabesques were done by native artists.

The library contains the *Sharafnāma*,[2] a history of Abdullah Khān Uzbek, and a very good copy of the *Haft Iqlīm*, but the real glory of the library is a magnificent copy of Bābar's Memoirs, *Wāq'iyāt Bābarī*. I have described this MS. elsewhere (vide Asiatic Quarterly Journal for July, 1900). According to the colophon it was made in 937 A.H. by 'Alī-al-Kātib, a famous calligrapher (vide the *Haft Iqlīm*), at Mashhad. There are specimens of 'Alī Kātib's handwriting in the British Museum; see the album there, Or. 1372, pp. 786 *a* and *b*. One of the specimens has the date 939,

[1] Visa in Sanskrit. She changed Visn, poison, into her own name; or in Hindī, Bikh into Bikhyā. The prince was Chandrahāsa.

[2] See Supplement to Rieu's Catalogue, No. 73, p. 49.

and this is expressed in a chronogram as well as in figures. There are also specimens of his handwriting in Room XVI of the Oriental Department of the South Kensington Museum. Apparently he died in 950 A.H., and as the Persian is identical with that known as 'Abdu-r-raḥīm's translation, its existence seems to be destructive of 'Abdu-r-raḥīm's claim to be the translator of the Memoirs. There are seals on it of Humāyūn dated 942, and of Akbar dated 981. I could not find any history of this remarkable copy, except that it was bought in Samvat 1893 (1836). There are extracts from it in a MS. made for Sir Henry Elliot in 1850, and now in the British Museum, Or. 1827, Rieu, iii, 926*a*. There are on the flyleaves notes in English and in Persian to the effect that the extracts were sent from Alwar and were made from the Rajah's book. Dr. Rieu describes the manuscript as "three detached portions of the translation of the Memoirs of Baber by Mīrzā 'Abdu-r-raḥīm," which shows that he found the translation to be the same as that known as 'Abdu-r-raḥīm's. There can be little doubt that these extracts were made from the copy seen by me in the Palace at Alwar, and so unless the colophon and the seals of Humāyūn and Akbar are forgeries, the story that 'Abdu-r-raḥīm translated the Memoirs must be given up.

The Alwar Library contains some interesting portraits. Among them is one of Bābar enthroned, and with a red purse or a *kharīta* in his hand. Humāyūn kneels before him, and a vizier called Mīrzā Hushyār stands behind. There is also a full-length portrait of Akbar as an old, fair-complexioned man holding a rose. One of the treasured MSS. in the Library is the *'Ajāīb-i-Makhlūqāt* of Abul Husain, son of Mīr Kalān Razavī. It is a book on natural history, and has many illustrations. The last picture depicts the author presenting his book to the blind Shah 'Aalam.[1]

I did not visit Jodhpūr or Bikanīr, but I learnt by correspondence that there were no Persian MSS. in the

[1] Joshī Gangādhar, the old librarian seen by Mr. Eastwick, was still alive when I was at Jaipur, but had retired, and been succeeded by his son. The book is probably a translation of *Al Qazbīnī*, Rieu, ii, 462.

libraries there. Nor did I visit Udaipur, but I learnt through Captain Yate that the Victoria Library possessed some MSS., among which was a copy of Khwandāmīr's *Kānūn-i-Humāyūn*. I also obtained a copy of the same work from a private individual in Udaipur.

V. *Delhi.*—There is a firm of booksellers in the Dariba Lane, Mukhan Lāl & Co., who have a good many MSS., chiefly dīvāns, but the only library I saw in Delhi was that of Nawāb Mīrzā Syedu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān of Lahārū. His father's name was Nawāb M. Ziāūddīn Aḥmad. The library is in Qasim Jān Lane. In it I saw a copy of Mīrzā Haidar's *Tārīkh Rashīdī* and one of Jauhar's *Memoirs of Humāyūn*.

VI. *Agra.*—I did not find any libraries in Agra. The Agra College had once a good many MSS., though the printed catalogue which still exists and which I have seen somewhere in India shows that none of the MSS. were very rare. However, such as they were, they were all destroyed by the rabble at the time of the Mutiny, except the Memoirs of Bābar and one other MS. These owed their preservation to their having been out on loan at the time, a fact which may be an argument in favour of lending MSS. The *Bābarnāma*, as it is called, is a fine copy, but inferior to the Alwar one, and has no colophon. The illustrations look like reductions of the splendid copy in the British Museum—No. 75, p. 51, of Rieu's Supplement. At the beginning of the book, and on the back of the first page, I think, there is a note expressing gratitude to God for having come into possession of this book, and then follows in the same handwriting the words "taḥrīr Ṣāḥib Qirān" (perhaps "Ṣānī" may be read after these words, but it is indistinct). This would seem to show that the note is by Shah Jahān. The writing of the MS. is good, and resembles that of the Alwar copy.

VII. *Rāmpur in Rohilkand.*—This library is in the town of Rāmpur, and is the property of the Nawab. It is the best private library that I have seen in India, and also probably the best collection of Persian and Arabic MSS. in that country. The Arabic MSS. are said to number 4,467, and the Persian 4,253. The MSS. seem much more

numerous than those in the Asiatic Society of Bengal's Library, and they are certainly better kept and cared for. It was quite a pleasure to see books so well housed as they are here, and to find so intelligent a librarian, Aḥmad 'Alī Khān, in charge of them.

Among the Persian MSS. I noticed a copy of the *Tārīkh Bābarī* of Shaikh Zain Khwāfī, which seemed to contain much more matter than the British Museum copy. It mentions the Bābar diamond (p. 124), and puts the account of it into the mouth of Humāyūn. It also notices Shah Tahmasp's present of two Circassian girls to Bābar, and states that he received them into his harem. Probably this is the foundation of Ferishta's scandalous remark that the middle-aged King became inordinately fond of them. This notice of the arrival of the Circassian girls is immediately followed by the story of the poisoning, and so gives some countenance to Father Catrou's story of the cause of that crime. It also appeared from the Rāmpur MS. that Ibrāhim's mother as well as his son were sent to Kabul. The MS. also gives an account of the productions of India, which, according to Professor Dowson, is not in the Elliot MS., and it has, though not in tabular form, the list of the provinces of India and their revenues, which Pavet de Courteille gives in his translation of Ilminsky, but which Erskine had already given in an appendix to his History of Bābar and Humāyūn. I believe that this work of Shaikh Zain is the *Tārīkh Bābarī* referred to by Niẓāmu-d-dīn in the preface to his *Tabaqāt Akbarī* as a work distinct from the Memoirs (see list of Niẓamu-d-dīn's sources in Rieu's Catalogue, i, 220*a*). I also think that it is the book referred to by Badāūnī[1] as dealing with the conquest of India. He also speaks of a translation of the Memoirs by Shaikh Zain as if it was a separate work. I believe, however, that he only means the second part of Shaikh Zain's Tārīkh, viz., that dealing with the events after

[1] *Bib. Ind.*, 1st ed., pp. 472 and 341 (pp. 611 and 448 of Dr. Ranking's translation).

the first victory by Bābar. In the catalogue of the Oriental MSS. in the Government Library at Madras there is the entry of a *Tārīḵh Bābarī*, but I have ascertained from the Secretary to the Government that this is merely the ordinary Memoirs. In Dr. Sprenger's Catalogue of the Elliot MSS. i.e. p. 241, there is an entry, No. 79, of a history of Bābar, *Tabaqāt Bābarī*, which is described as "a history of Babar by Zain Khwāfī, who says that he had written in Persian what the emperor dictated in Turki. It may be a translation of the *Wāq'iyāt*." This MS. is not among the Elliot MSS. which were acquired by the British Museum, the copy in that library Or. 1,999, Rieu, iii, 926*a*, being another one dated 998 A.H. Probably No. 79 did not come to the British Museum, as it was not Sir Henry Elliot's property. It belonged to a friend of Sayid Jān, of Cawnpore, and presumably was returned to the owner. It is described as a very old copy, and it evidently was a much larger work than the one in the British Museum, for it contained 326 pages of 15 lines each, whereas the Elliot copy in the Museum only contains 112 pages of 15 lines. Probably the Cawnpore copy agreed with the Rāmpur one.

There is also in the Rāmpur Library a copy of Ḥājī M. 'Āārif Qandahārī's history of Akbar. The author was a servant of Bairām Khān, and accompanied him on his pilgrimage to Mecca. He was with his master when the latter was assassinated (p. 29*a*), and he himself completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, going by sea to Ormuz and thence by land. As the book is a new source for the history of Akbar, I arranged to have a copy made of it, but as far as I could judge from a partial perusal, there is less novelty in the book than one would expect. The librarian has triumphantly copied into the beginning of the book the statement in Elliot, vi, 572, that no copy of Ḥājī Muḥammad appears to be extant. But the work described by Elliot is a general history, which this is not.[1] There

[1] Apparently the general history was once among the Elliot MSS; see Sprenger's Catalogue, l.c., p. 252. The *Tawārīḵh Qandahār* there mentioned is really M. 'Aārif's history, and it is described as beginning with Kayumars and coming down to 1020 A.H.

is another copy of this history of Akbar in the Cambridge University Library; see Browne's Catalogue, pp. 160–2.

Among the Arabic MSS. is a fine copy of the *Canon Masudicus*, dated 1035 A.H., and there is a work by Alberūnī, in Persian, called *Taf̱hīm-at-tanjīm*; see Rieu, i, 451*b*, MS. Add. 7,697. There is a copy of the *Tārīk̲h Gazīda* dated 843 A.H., a copy of the *Tārīk̲h Akbarī* dated 1041 A.H., and a copy of the *Tārīk̲h Ṭāhirī*, perhaps the work described in Elliot, vi, 195.

There is a small volume of Turkī verses said to be in the handwriting of Bābar. This fact purports to be attested by a note in the handwriting of Shah Jahān.

VIII. *Bhopal.*—There are no MSS. of any value in the possession of the Begam of Bhopal. I was shown two, viz. a volume of the *Akbarnāma* and a copy of the *K̲hulāsat-at-Tawārīk̲h*.

IX. *Aligarh.*—There are a few MSS. in the college, but none apparently of any value. One of them is a copy of Bābar's Memoirs in Persian. Both Aligarh and Deoband are regarded as centres of Muhammadan learning, but neither appears to pay any attention to Persian literature. The Principal of the Deoband College told me that they had no Persian MSS., and in Aligarh I could not procure even a copy of Shaikh Ahmad's account of Delhi (*Aṣār Sanādīd*). Possibly Syed Muḥammad has some of his father's MSS., but if so they are inaccessible.

X. *Allahabad.*—This is a modern city, and there are no Oriental libraries or Oriental bookshops in it. In the Thornhill Library I saw a book which had belonged to Professor Blochmann. It was a collection of Persian epigrams, partly printed and partly manuscript. Apparently Mr. Blochmann had intended to publish the collection. It contained some translations by Mr. Whalley. Mr. Richard Burn, I.C.S., kindly procured me a sight of Sādha Sukh's book described in Elliot, viii, 403. It is still in the possession of the author's descendants. Bihārī K̲hān Gaur, a great-grandson of the author, has copied out Professor Dowson's note and prefixed it to the MS. Sādha Sukh's

takhallaṣ was Niṣar and not Niyāz. He was a native of Delhi, and became a follower of Bayāzīd Bisṭamī and wrote many thousand verses. The MS. is, as stated in Elliot, very illegible, and it is extremely doubtful if it is worth printing.

XI. *Patiala.* — In the Victoria Library here I found a MS. which seems to be unknown in Europe. It is called *Ṣamrat-al-filāsafa*,[1] and was written by 'Abdu-Sattār b. Qāsim, of Lahore, who assisted Jerome Xavier in his Persian studies. I was led to find it by a passage in the *Darbārī Akbarī* of Shams-ul-Ulamā M. H. Azād. He describes it at p. 118 (see also p. 68) as beginning with an abridgment of Greek and Roman history, and as afterwards dealing with the biographies of ancient philosophers. The learned author wrongly describes it as being in the possession of the Khalifa family. It really is in the public library, which is maintained by the Rajah. I had not time to examine the manuscript, but saw that the copyist was Akbar Alī, of Lahore, and that the copy was finished on 19th Rabī, in the 43rd[2] year of Akbar's reign. The book was written by Akbar's orders, and is probably a translation from some work by Jerome Xavier, whose name is mentioned in the preface. I have applied to the Patiala Darbār for a copy of the MS., and hope to receive it shortly. I am told that the original is very incorrectly written. Though, as I have said, the work seems to be unknown in Europe, yet it is apparently mentioned in Dr. Sprenger's Catalogue,

[1] A MS. with a similar title (*Ṣamar-al-filāsafa*), and dealing with the same subject, is mentioned in Palmer's Catalogue of the MSS. in King's College, Cambridge (J.R.A.S., N.S., Vol. III, p. 126). But unless some mistake has been made in cataloguing it cannot be the same work, for it is entered as an Arabic MS. 'Abdu-Sattār was also the author of an abridgment of the *Ẓafarnāma* of Sharafu-d-dīn Yazdī (Rieu's Catalogue, i, 177*b*, Add. MS. 16,685). There is a slight mistake in the beginning of Dr. Rieu's notice. It says: "the abbreviator, who lived under Jahāngīr, and describes himself as having lately entered the ranks of His Majesty's servants." The author does not say this, nor could he, for he was an old servant, and had served under Jahāngīr's father. What he says (p. 2*b*, ll. 9 and 10) is that when Jahāngīr came to Ajmīr in 1024, after his victory over Rāna Umra, and after the latter had entered the ranks of Jahāngīr's servants, he, 'Abdu-Sattār, was ordered to abridge the *Sharafnāma*. There is an abridgment of the same work by another hand in the India Office Library.

[2] So in my notebook, but there must be some mistake, for the book was not written till the 48th year.

loc. cit. This is the source of Dr. Rieu's note, Persian Catalogue, iii, 1,077*a*, where the Royal Asiatic Society is a mistake for the Asiatic Society of Bengal (see also Rieu's note, vol. iii, preface, p. xxiii). Dr. Sprenger (No. 197, p. 259) calls the work *Aḥwāl Firingīstān*, and says: "The translator of this book was ordered by Akbar to learn the language of the Firinghis in order to be enabled to translate books into Persian relating to their religion and history. He therefore studied under a missionary whose name is spelt ژیرونمو ثویر (Geronimo Xavier). After a study of six months he wrote this work, which contains an outline of the histories of Greece and Rome and of the lives of the ancient philosophers." He then gives the opening words. This description agrees with the preface in the Patiala copy. Though the above work is marked E. in Sprenger, it is not among the MSS. in the British Museum.[1]

I should here like to draw attention to the *Darbārī Akbarī*. It is in Hindustani, and is by far the best account of Akbar and his Court that has been given by any native of India. The writer is a vigorous and liberal-minded man, and possessed of much learning. I believe he is a Shī'a in religion, and he stands up manfully for the religious views of Akbar and Abul Faẓl. Unfortunately he has been for some years out of his mind. His book was published without his knowledge at Lahore by Saiyid Mamtāz 'Alī at the Rafā 'Aām Press in 1898, and may be had there for three rupees.

XII. *Lucknow.*—There are a few Persian MSS. in the library attached to the Museum; most of them were received a few years ago from the Queen's College, Benares. None are of great value, but some are interesting from having the seals of the Oudh royal libraries impressed on them. There are also a few MSS. in the Jalsa Taẓhīb Library at the Rafā 'Aām Institution in the Lyall Town Hall, but they are not rare or very valuable. In the proceedings of the Library Committee for the Lucknow Museum for 1885–86 it was

[1] The copy which was courteously made for me by Mushīr-ad-daula, the Khalifa Ṣāḥib, is now in the British Museum.

stated by Mr. Constable that the remaining volumes of Dr. Sprenger's catalogue of the Oudh libraries were still in existence in manuscript. But I was unable to obtain any confirmation of this statement. They would be most valuable, but I fear they never existed, as Dr. Sprenger says nothing about them in his preface to the printed volume or in the catalogue of his own MSS.

Two brothers in Yahyaganj, Lucknow, named Abul Husain and Wājid Husain, carry on separately the business of second-hand booksellers, and I got some good MSS. from them. One MS. which I got from Wājid Husain was a Persian translation of a work upon drugs by Alberūnī and called *Saidlana*. The Arabic original is mentioned by Ḥājī Khalfa, but appears to be lost. See Dr. Lucien le Clerc's work, *Histoire de la Médecine Arabe*, Paris, 1876, vol. i, p. 480.

I am inclined to think that Lucknow is the best hunting-ground in India for Persian MSS., and would recommend anyone going there in search of MSS. to visit the two brothers above named.

XIII. *Bankipore.*—I spent two days in examining Khudā Bakhsh K. Bahadur's library here. It is in his house in the west part of the city of Patna, and is a valuable and well-arranged collection and one which reflects great credit on the founder. A notice of it will be found in Eastwick's handbook for Bengal (Murray). Among the MSS. there were M. Kāmrān's dīvān containing an autograph of Jahāngīr; four volumes of the *Ṣubaḥ Ṣādiq*, the author of which belonged to Dacca and was a follower of Shah Sujāh; the *Maaṣir al Kirām* of Mīr Ghulām 'Alī of Bilgrām, and also his *Tazkira Khazāna 'Āmra* and his *Īd Baiza*, the last largely an autograph; two copies of Āmīr Humāyūn poems, one being dated 1045; a copy of the *Tārīkh al Ḥukamā* of Shamsu-d-dīn Shahrazūrī, bought from Mr. J. B. Elliot of Patna's library in 1859, and which formerly belonged to Sir Gore Ouseley; a fine copy of Faiẓī's complete works; the poems of Maulāna 'Askari; and a good copy of the *Maaṣir Raḥīmī*, though inferior to that in the library of the

Asiatic Society of Bengal. Maulvī Khudā Bakhsh drew up a catalogue of his library, and published it at Haidarabad in the Deccan when he was Chief Justice there. It is dated 1314 A.H. (1896), and is called the *Maḥbūb-al-albāb*. There are, I believe, many valuable Arabic works in the library, but with those I was not competent to deal. The finest Persian MS. in the collection was one called the *Tārīkh-i-Khāndān Taimūrī*. It is a splendid folio, and is referred to by Eastwick. The author's name does not appear, for the first page or so is wanting. An autograph note by Shah Jahān says that the book was written in the time of Shah Baba, "*dar 'ahd-i-daulat* Shāh Bābā," meaning thereby, I was told by M. Khuda Bakhsh, his grandfather Akbar, and that it describes Taimur and his descendants down to the 22nd year of Akbar. The description given in the MS. of Humāyūn's dancing in his exultation over Akbar's horoscope seems to be taken from the *Tārīkh Alfī*. It gives Monday, Rabī' ul-awwal, as the date of Humāyūn's marriage with Akbar's mother. The MS. contains many fine and interesting illustrations, and indeed this is what constitutes its value. Among them is a very striking picture of the birth of Akbar, folio 234.[1] He is represented as being born inside of the fort of Umarkot, though according to local tradition he was born in a field about a mile from the fort. His mother is lying exhausted on a couch in a green robe, and the baby Akbar is in the arms of a nurse (Maham Anaga?) with a high, conical Tartar cap. Women are rejoicing, and in the lower part of the picture we see a stout man emerging from the fort and a maidservant communicating the fact of the birth to an astrologer. Below all, there is a picture of Tardī Beg announcing the birth to Humāyūn. The library possesses a copy of Bābar's Memoirs in Persian, here called the *Tuzuk Bābarī* and dated 1082; also a copy of the *Safina Khūshgo*, an anthology, and

[1] Mr. Bourdillon, I.C.S., kindly photographed some of the illustrations for me, and I send them for the inspection of the members. The photograph of the picture of Akbar's birth is so interesting that it might perhaps be published, though it only gives a faint idea of the original.

a Turkī book of genealogies which goes down to Jahāngīr's time.

XIV. *Bohār in Bardwan.*—Bohār is a village about twelve miles from Maimāri, a station on the East India Railway. It is the residence of Ṣadru-d-dīn Munshī, a lineal descendant of the Ṣadru-d-dīn who was Graham of Bardwan's munshī, and who gave evidence against Nandakumār. The learned owner possesses some finely illuminated MSS.,[1] and he has many books, both Arabic and Persian. But most of these are printed, and I could not find in his library any valuable Persian MSS.

XV. *Calcutta.*—The Asiatic Society's library is a good one, but it is not well cared for, as none of the paid officials are acquainted with Persian. Several valuable MSS. appear to have been lost. There is a printed catalogue of the MSS. Among them is a copy of Bābar's Memoirs in Turkī. Apparently this came from Tīpu Sulṭan's library; see Stewart's catalogue thereof. The grandly named Imperial Library has no Persian MSS. What have been sometimes described as such are merely complimentary letters from Indian princes. There are several second-hand booksellers in College Street and in the China bazaar, but none have any MSS.

XVI.—I visited Surat, Lahore, Multan, Budāūn, Benares, Jaunpūr, Amroha, and Bilgrām, and corresponded with residents in other towns of India, but without finding any libraries. In Lahore there was a curiosity dealer named Bahadur Shah, residing near the Muchī Gate, who sold me some good MSS. Among these were a copy of Shaikh Zain's *Tārīkh Bābarī*, the preface to Sharafu-d-dīn's *Ẓafarnāma*, and a complete copy of the *Iqbālnāma* of M'utamid Khān, containing all three parts.

The public library at Bareilly possesses some MSS. I obtained a list of them, but I did not visit the library.

XVII. *Madras.*—The alphabetical index of MSS. in the Government Oriental MSS. Library printed in the office of

[1] One is a fine copy of the *Shāhnāma*, which cost Rs. 700, and another is a copy of Ḥakīm Sanāī's poems, with an especially beautiful frontispiece.

the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1893, shows that the library has a very fair collection of Arabic and Persian MSS.

XVIII. *Haidarabad, Deccan.*—I visited this city last of all, and unfortunately had not time to examine its libraries thoroughly. By far the best as regards historical manuscripts is that formed by Sir Salar Jung, and now preserved in his house. That great statesman was fond of the study of history, and delighted in having histories read to him. He collected some valuable MSS. Unfortunately the present librarian is not an efficient man, and could not produce a MS. entered in the catalogue as the *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn*, and which possibly may be Gulbadan Begam's Memoirs. I am still in correspondence with S. 'Alī Bilgrāmī about it, and I also hope to get from him a full catalogue of the library and copies of some MSS. Among the MSS. I noticed a fine copy of the Turkī *Wāq'iyāt Bābarī*, another of the Persian translation, a copy of the *Tārīkh Rashīdī*, dated 1056 A.H., a life of Chingīz Khan by M. Sharīf Sāid Samarqandī, and an excellent copy of the *Shigarfnāma-i-Wilāyat* of 'Itiṣāmu-d-dīn.

Conclusion.

I was nearly seven months in India, viz., from July 28th, 1899, to February 18th, 1900, and during that time I visited the chief towns of Upper India, and corresponded with and interviewed many native scholars and booksellers. I was disappointed in the main object of my journey, viz., to find another copy of Gulbadan Begam's Memoirs, so as to supplement the imperfect copy in the British Museum. No one in India seemed to have seen a copy, and very few had ever heard of it. Shams-ul-Ulama Āzād refers to it on p. 737, top line, of his *Darbarī Akbarī*, but when I saw him he denied all knowledge of it, and said that the only *Tārīkh Humāyūn* he had ever possessed was Jauhar's, and that he had given it to Mr. Tolbort. I looked over his

shelves and could not find it, and I suspect that the remark in his book is only hearsay. Had he really seen the book, which he terms a monument of Gulbadan Begam's abilities, he would not have made some mistakes which occur in his work. Possibly, now that I have drawn attention to the book and advertised for it in English and vernacular newspapers, a copy may turn up some day.

Though, however, I failed in my main object, I did procure some good MSS., and I obtained some interesting pieces of information. Perhaps, therefore, I ought to be satisfied with the result of my journey. Undoubtedly the most important indirect result was the discovery, if it be a genuine one, of a MS. of the Persian translation of Bābar's Memoirs in the Alwar Library bearing the date of 937 A.H. I also saw in the village of Antarī, in the Gwalīār State, the tomb of Abul Faẓl, the existence of which was but little known formerly. I was indebted for the information about it to the *Darbāri Akbarī*, p. 487. At Umarkot I saw the precise spot where Akbar is said to have been born, and at Budaon I saw the grave of Badāūnī, which Mr. Blochmann's correspondent had been unable to find.

Though probably there are more Persian MSS. in Europe than in India—and there is certainly no library in the latter which can compare with the vast collections of the British Museum, the India Office, the Bodleian, and of the Berlin Library—yet I am persuaded that there are still many valuable MSS. hidden away in India. The contents of the Delhi and Lucknow Libraries were dispersed at the time of the Mutiny, and doubtless many MSS. were destroyed at that time, but many fragments of them must still exist in remote villages. Every now and then a solitary manuscript emerges, and may be picked up by a watchful collector. But I doubt if this process can be greatly quickened by short visits to the country. There are very few native dealers in MSS., and such MSS. as they possess are chiefly religious books and dīvāns. Most natives regard printed books as far preferable to hand-written ones, and

cannot understand the Western desire for the latter. The study, too, of Persian in India has been declining for many years. It is melancholy to visit such places as Amroha and Bilgrām, which were celebrated abodes of learned men, and to find that they now contain neither Maulvis nor manuscripts. Nearly everywhere I was told the same story, viz., that there had been libraries, but that they were now all burnt or dispersed, and that the only collection now in Upper India was that of Khudā Bakhsh in Patna. Benares, where one might have expected a harvest, especially as it is the residence of the last descendants of the Delhi princes, appeared to have absolutely no manuscripts, and things were no better in the old and famous city of Jaunpūr.

ART. IV.—*The Upāsakajanālaṅkāra.* By L. D. BARNETT.

THIS book, the work of the Mahāthera Ānanda, is all but unknown in Europe, and though copies exist in Ceylon they have never, I believe, been published.[1] A Sinhalese MS. in the possession of Mr. Easton, of Opawa, Christchurch, N.Z., was recently shown to me by the possessor, to whose courtesy I am indebted for permission to publish the following excerpts, to which I add a few doubtful conjectures.

The work consists of nine *paricchedas*, and, as the title indicates, is of a popular and edifying character, containing some Jātakas. After the usual *namo tassa*, etc., it begins with the verse—

visuddhavaṇṇaṃ sugataṃ namitvā
suvaṇṇitaṃ dhammavara[ñ] ca tena
tathā vimuttaṃ gaṇaṃ aṅgaṇehi
upāsakālaṅkaraṇaṃ karissa[ṃ]

and so on in the same metre for several more verses.

A greater interest, however, attaches to the historical and autobiographical statements contained in a sort of epilogue, which I transcribe—

iti abhinavasādhujanapāmojjatthāya kate upāsakajanālaṅkāre puññaphalasādhananiddeso nāma navamo paricchedo.

Here follow six çlokas on the object, etc., of the book, which I omit. The author then proceeds as follows:—

sirivallabhanāmena vissute pavare pure |
saddho mahaddhano pubbe visālakulasambhavo ||

lokuttamo ti paññāto āsi yo bhikkhu tena tu |
vītasāsanam (?) appe tu dinnovāde susaṇṭhito ||

[1] A MS. is in Copenhagen, and has been described by Westergaard in his *Codices Havnienses*, but briefly and imperfectly. It seems to be very corrupt.

paṇḍubhūmaṇḍale yo bhuvañño sāmantabhūmipo |
sadā saddho naye dakkho colagaṅgo ti vissuto ||

tena kārāpitā rammā vihāravaradassanā |
tayo āsu mahīkantā kirīṭam iva bhāsurā ||

yo tesaṃ pavaro āsi vihāro cārudassano |
sītaladakasampaṇṇo nānādumagaṇālayo ||

anekajanasammodanayanālisamāgamo |
kulotassakittilatāpupphamañjariyabhāsuro ||

[tidasālayanisseṇi[ṃ] vijayan tu parāyaṇe |]

abbhappaharaṇo rammo pharaṇīsu ti vissuto |
guṇākaraperampalli iti viññuhi dassito ||

laṅkādīpaṃhi sakale ḷamiḷānalasamākule |
āgatā pātum attānam bhūyo sāsanavuddhiyā ||

tambapaṇṇiddhajā therā sadā saddhammagocarā |
āgamam anurakkhantā yasmiṃ vāsam akappayuṃ ||

tassa pubbuttare ramme pāsāde vasatā mayā |
racito 'yam alaṅkāro sadā sajjanarañjako ti ||

iti sīhalācariyabhadantānandamahātheravirācito upāsakajanālaṅkāro niṭṭhito.

The scribe's colophon then follows.

The MS. in these verses contains a few mistakes in spelling, etc., which I have tacitly corrected; e.g., in the sixth çloka °*bhāsurā*, in the next line *parāyaneṇā*, and in the last çloka, by a touch of 'local colour,' *alaṅkāre*. The half-çloka after the sixth verse is evidently a fragment from some other work that has come here by accident. *Tambapaṇṇiddhajā* is a correction of the manuscript reading *tattha p. Vīta* in the second verse should be *vuttaṃ* or the like.

The text tells us that a Cola king, *Colagaṅga* by name, came under the influence of a renowned Buddhist friar, and was thus induced to found three *vihāras*; the finest of these was that styled Guṇākara-pĕrampalli, whither came a colony of *theras* to take refuge on the occasion of some unspecified

incursion of the Tamils. Here also, on the north-eastern *pāsāda*, was the cell of the author, Ānanda Mahāthera. Whether Ānanda came with this colony of *theras*, or settled here later, is not distinctly stated; but in the absence of express statements to the contrary the text favours the former supposition.

The king mentioned is beyond a doubt Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva, who succeeded in 1078 A.D. At that time the Cola kingdom was asserting itself vigorously at the expense of the Paṇḍya kings, to which our author distinctly refers in the word *paṇḍubhūmaṇḍale*, which, however, need not be pressed to mean that at the time Colagaṅga regularly held his court in the Paṇḍya capital. Probably it is vaguely used, and signifies merely the suzerainty of the Colas over the Paṇḍyas.

The next point to be raised is the personality and date of Ānanda. There is some probability, I think, that he is the famous Mahāthera Abhayagiri Kavicakravarti Ānanda, the author, among other works, of the Saddhammopāyana.[1] Now the *sanne* to that treatise is said to be written by an Ānanda Thera, a disciple of Dimbulāgala Medhaṅkara; the original work, then, can hardly have been written much, if at all, later than *c.* 1220. Whether these two Ānandas are really one is a question to which I shall return.

Incursions by the Tamils were unhappily only too frequent in that age; but one is tempted to refer that mentioned in our text to the particularly disastrous and bloody raid of Māgha and his Kaliṅgas in 1214. If so, and if, as seems to be suggested by our text, Ānanda came with the refugee theras, the date of the present work may be fixed at *c.* 1215–1220.

Against this must be set the statement of the Kalyāṇī inscription, which informs us that Ānanda Thera—probably our Mahāthera—set sail in 1181 for Pagan with Chapaṭa, Sīvali, Tāmalinda, and Rāhula, and in his new home founded a *Sīhalasaṅgha* of his own, as did his colleagues. But dates

[1] Edited by Dr. Morris in the Journal of the Pali Text Society for 1887.

of this sort should not be pressed too closely; and even supposing the statement of the inscription to be correct, it is conceivable that Ānanda may have later returned, at least for a time, to Ceylon, and there in his old age, *c.* 1215, have composed our present work. That such was actually the case is suggested by the fact that here no mention is made of any connection with Abhayagiri; evidently Ānanda had long before broken off all relations he may have had with it, probably before he left Ceylon for Pagan.[1]

But a further point rises. If our author is Abhayagirī Kavicakravarti Ānanda Mahāthera, who wrote the Saddhammopāyana, is he identical with the Ānanda Thera who composed the *sanne* on that work? I believe so. The evidence is strong. Besides the names, the dates strikingly agree, as we saw, for even *c.* 1200 Ānanda was not too old to learn from Medhaṅkara. Moreover, we should note the language in which Dīpaṅkara Buddhappiya speaks of himself and his master at the end of his Rūpasiddhi. Buddhappiya was, as we know, a devoted pupil of the Ānanda Thera who wrote this *sanne*; and if he speaks of his master in terms evidently borrowed from a work of the Mahāthera Ānanda, this strongly suggests that the Mahāthera and the Thera are one and the same. Now Buddhappiya actually calls himself *vikhyātānandatheravhayavaragarūnaṃ tamba-paṇṇiddhajānaṃ sisso*, and this striking epithet applied to the master is again used by the author of the verses before us. It is surely not too bold an inference that the author of the Upāsakajanālaṅkāra and Saddhammopāyana is the same as the grammarian Ānanda Thera who commented on the latter work.

[1] The author of the Upāsakajanālaṅkāra, indeed, claims as a merit of his work that it is *mahāvihāravāsīnam pavattiphalanissito*. This statement admits of being taken as an argument against the identification of our writer with the Ānanda of the Saddhammopāyana, though it is not a very strong one. From the statement of the Kalyāṇī inscription that Ānanda spent fifty-four years in Pagan after founding his Sangha, and died in 1245 A.D., a like inference may be drawn, but hardly with safety.

ART. V.—*Description of an Arabic Manuscript bought in Egypt* 1898–1900 A.D. By A. R. GUEST, M.R.A.S.

THE manuscript consists of 827 folios with two detached leaves. The paper on which it is written measures 10 in. by 7½ in., and is generally creamy white and thick. A few sheets are coloured brown, and there are a few sheets of very thin paper.

The writing occupies a space of 6½ in. by 4 in., in seventeen lines to the page; it is in black ink, in a well-formed cursive Naskhi hand. The diacritical points are frequently omitted. Headings in red ink. A fourteenth-century MS.

On one of the detached leaves are half a dozen lines of poetry "written by el Mari al Hanbali" (W.[1] 555), d. 1033 A.H., which show that el Mar'i must have owned or handled this book.

The title appears to begin with

"NATHR EL JUMAN - . . ."

A note on the last volume says: "One of eleven parts of Nathr el Juman FI TARAJIM EL A'YĀN."

This note is not in the hand of the original scribe, and the title stated seems open to doubt, for the book is by no means solely confined to obituary notices. More than half of the subject-matter is a chronicle of events principally Egyptian, which becomes extremely detailed between the years 600–745 A.H., at the last of which the book ends.

The book also contains digressions on matters of interest and otherwise, besides many detailed archaeological notes referring to "Misr wa'l Qahirah," which seem important.

[1] W. refers to Wüstenfeld's "Geschichte Schreiber der Araber," 1882.

Assuming the part of the note above referred to, which states that the book was in eleven volumes, to be correct, and taking the number of folios, viz. 136, in the last volume, which seems almost complete, as the average number for a volume, it would appear that the volumes to which the fragments belong are the following:—

Vol. ii (a part).
Vol. iv (nearly complete).
Vol. vi (a part).
Vol. vii (nearly complete).
Vols. ix, x, and xi (nearly complete).

Vols. i, iii, v, viii are missing entirely.

The fragments have been arranged in five sections, which are nearly consecutive, the gaps in each section being few. The following is a description of these sections:—

Section I. Most probably a part of vol. ii, 90 ff., A.H. 534–567.

The first page is mutilated. F. 1, v, begins with the year 534 A.H.[1] F. 66, v, gives a detailed account of Shawar and the downfall of the Fatimite dynasty. F. 90 resumes the chronicle at 565 A.H.

This part of the book has not a regular chapter of obituary notices at the end of the accounts of the events of each year.

The following authorities are quoted in this section:—

(1) Umarah, W. 263.
(2) El 'Imad, W. 284.
(3) Ibn el Athir, W. 315.
(4) Ibn Abi Tai, W. 316.
(5) Ibn Shaddad, W. 318.

[1] From Abi Tai, W. 316.

Section II. 134 ff., A.H. 624–640.

This would appear to be the fourth volume, nearly complete.

The history of events is more detailed than in Section I. At the end of each year in this and each section following there is a chapter of obituary notices.

At f. 10, v, there is a note on the margin. ["This belonged, by the grace of my Master, to my uncle, Maula Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Qalaun. God cover him with His mercy."]

ملكه من فضل ربى عمى مولا حسن بن محمد بن قلاون تغمده الله برحمته

A few pages seem to be missing from this section.

Among the authorities quoted in Section II are:—

El [Qadi el] Fadil,	W. 283.
Ibn el Athir,	W. 315.
Abu Muzaffar,	W. 352.
Ibn es Sai,	W. 355.
El Khazraji,	W. 384.
Ibn Musnad	?

Section III. 193 ff., A.H. 670–689.

Possibly a small part of vol. vi and nearly the whole of vol. vii.

Section III is more detailed than Section II. It contains digressions on the Nubians and the Hindus, and on medicine. There are some lengthy poems in it.

Among the authorities quoted in Section III may be noticed:—

El Jazari[1] (other it would seem than	W. 348).
Ibn Abd ez Zahir,	W. 366.
Abu'l Fida, †732,	W. 398.

[1] El Jazari. I expect Shihab el Din Muh. ibn Ibrahim mentioned by Ibn Iyas.

There is also a mention of Ibn Saiyid en Nas as "our shaikh," and a reference to "my father" in this section.

Section IV. 274 ff., A.H. 701–734.

Would seem to contain vols. ix and x almost complete, though a few gaps occur.

The first page is mutilated, but appears to commence the year 701 with an account of the then reigning princes. After this there follows a digression of about 60 ff. on the seven climes, birds, the sea, fishes, the peoples of the world, etc. About 30 ff. at the end of these sixty are devoted to an account of the genealogy of the various Arab tribes.

The archaeological notices in this section seem to be of considerable importance, e.g., the digging of the Nasiri Khalij and Birkah, etc.

For the cosmographical part of this section, the well-known early authors, such as Ibn Qutaibah, El Biruni, Eth Thalabi, besides others unknown to me, are quoted. In the historical portion I see no authorities named.

Section V. 136 f., A.H. 734–745.

The year 745 ends the book.

The first page of this section bears the inscription referred to previously: "This is one of eleven parts of Nathr el Juman fi Tarajim el A'yān."

The last page, which is mutilated, has the colophon—

"[This] book [is ended]: praise to
My Gracious Master, etc."—

without date.

Date of Composition, Transcription, and Author.

As the author gives us a verse written by him to Ibn Saiyid en Nas and the answer of that Shaikh, who had lent him a book, it appears reasonable to assume that he must have been at least twenty years of age at the time of Saiyid en Nas's death, and that it is possible he may have been any number of years older at this period.

Ibn Saiyid en Nas died in 734 A.H. according to W. 400 and Es Suyuti, in 740 A.H. according to Ibn Iyas.

This appears to me to fix the date of the birth of the author at not later than 720 A.H. The author was a disciple of the Shaikh, as he tells us in more than one place.

There is reason, from references in the book, to believe that its author was a native of El Fayum: Hajji Khalifah mentions Nathr el Juman "by el Fayumi," but gives no further information.

We have other indications as to the date of composition.

(1) El Mujahid, king of Yemen,[1] was still reigning (see extract). He died 766 A.H. (v. Ibn Khaldun).

(2) This copy itself belonged to Sultan Hasan (see description of Section II). He died 762 A.H.

As this history goes up to the end of 745 A.H., it must have been finished between 746 A.H. and 762 A.H., and the fragment under consideration must have been transcribed between those dates.

I cannot identify this history with any mentioned by Wüstenfeld for the period, but it appears impossible that a work of such bulk can have been compiled without any record having been made of it by the numerous chroniclers of this epoch.

[1] Brought a prisoner to Cairo in 752 A.H.

ART. VI.—*Notes on Indian Coins and Seals.* Part IV. *Indian Seals and Clay Impressions.* By E. J. RAPSON, M.A., M.R.A.S.

CLAY impressions bearing the well-known Buddhist formula, *Ye dharmā hetuprabhavā*, etc., are well known and have often been published.[1] The specimens to be described in the present article seem to be partly non-religious—simply the signets of individuals—and partly Hindu (Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva). The last-named class, represented here chiefly by a number of specimens belonging to Mr. L. White King, seems hitherto to have attracted little or no notice.

These clay discs are found in very great numbers on different ancient Indian sites. Mr. H. Rivett Carnac gave an account of specimens which he obtained at Sankisa, Behar, and other places in the N.W.P., in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1880, pp. 127, 137; but his article deals chiefly with the symbols occurring on these objects, and the analogy which they present with similar objects found in ancient ruins in Greece and Italy. He did not devote his attention so much to the inscribed specimens. General Sir A. Cunningham also notices these clay impressions in several instances among the antiquities described in his Reports on the Archaeological Survey of India. But beyond this, very little has been written about this small branch of Indian archaeology.

The Jain inscriptions discovered by Dr. Führer in the Kaṅkālī Tīla at Mathurā, and published by Hofrath G. Bühler in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vols. i and ii, in many ways resemble those of the oldest clay impressions here

[1] Burgess, Arch. Surv. West. Ind.: *Elura Cave Temples*, p. 13, and reff. in note 3. I am indebted to Professor T. W. Rhys Davids for a reference to what is, no doubt, the earliest occurrence of this formula—Vinaya: Mahāvagga, i, 23, 5.

described. There can be little doubt that, in point of date, they belong like them to the early centuries of the Christian era.

VIṢṆUDĀSA, DEDICATED TO ŚAṄKARA AND NĀRĀYAṆA.

1. *Obv.* श्रीविष्णुदासस्य (*Śrīr Viṣṇudāsasya*); above, conch-shell.

Oval, ·6 by ·85.

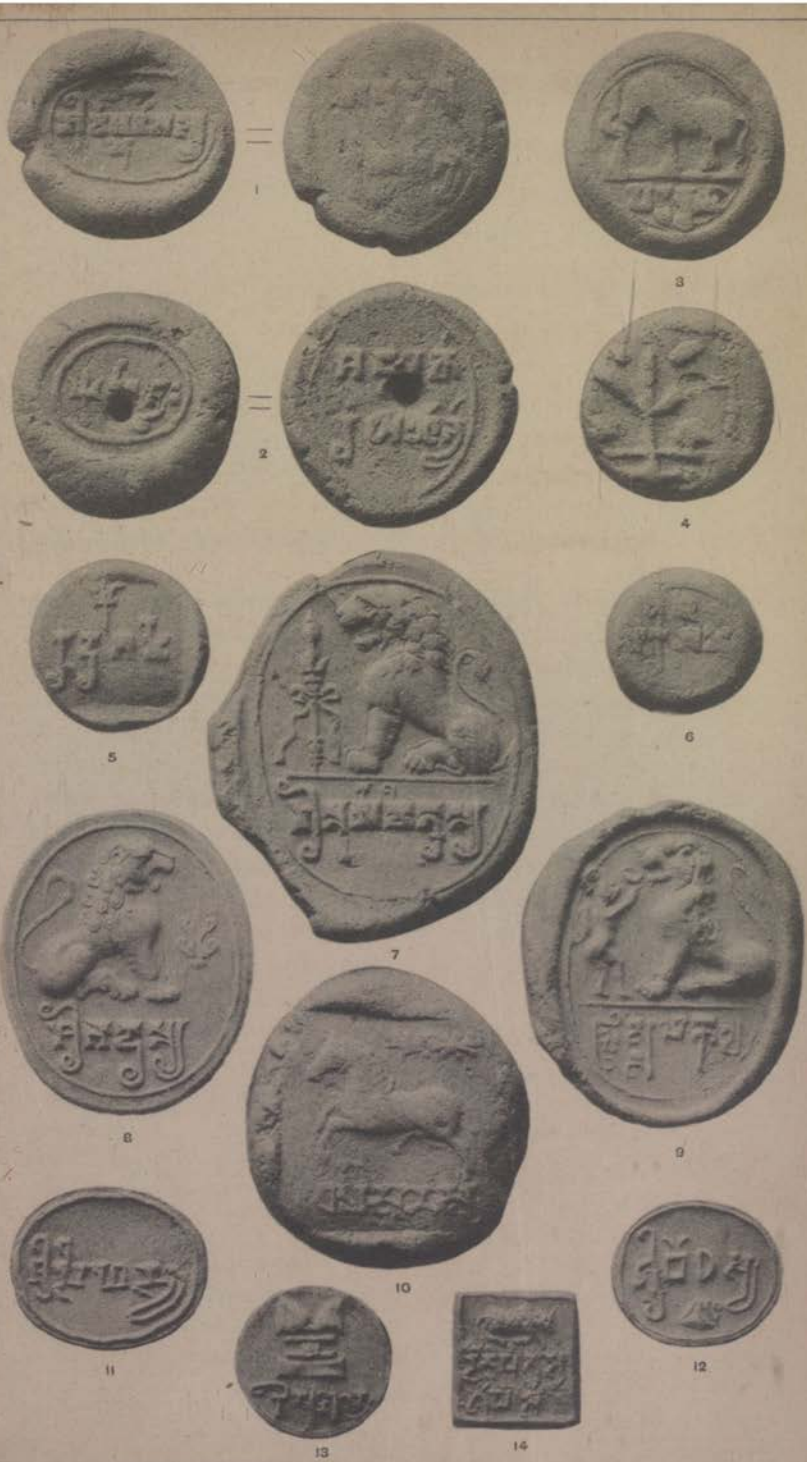
Rev. शङ्करना (*Saṅkara-Nā*
रायणाभ्या *rāyaṇābhyā*[*ṃ*]).

Oval, 1 by ·85.

Mr. L. White King. Clay impression.

The religious character of the class to which this specimen and the following belong is evident. Clay impressions of the kind, bearing the name of an individual on one side and those of the divinities Śaṅkara (Śiva) and Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), in the dative case, on the other, must surely be votive offerings at some shrine; and, with a fuller knowledge of the ancient monuments of the locality in which these objects are found, it may be possible eventually to determine the temple at which they were actually offered. But this is impossible at present. All that Mr. White King can say as to the *provenance* of these seals is contained in a letter to me dated 24th November, 1900: "They were found in the ruins of an old fort near the village of Sunet, about four or five miles from the town of Ludhiana in the Panjāb. This is the same place that the little Sunet coins come from.[1] . . . . I don't think there are any remains of temples left now." Cunningham, in his account of Sunet (*Arch. Surv. Report*, vol. xiv, p. 65), notes the existence of enormous masses of ruins, and discusses the numismatic evidence, which seems to show that the place flourished from the second or first century B.C. until the tenth century A.D., and that it was destroyed in one of the

[1] These are the coins described in Rodgers's *Catalogue of Coins in the Lahore Museum*, vol. iii, pp. 130, 131.



IMPRESSIONS OF INDIAN SEALS.

invasions of Mahmūd of Ghazni, and remained unoccupied for many centuries afterwards. Up to the present time, therefore, no detailed investigation of the antiquities of Sunet seems to have been published, but these clay seals are probably evidence of the fact that, at an early period in the Christian era, there was in or near that place a shrine dedicated to Śiva and Viṣṇu such as is known to have existed elsewhere.[1]

The expression *Śrīr Viṣṇudāsya*—the nominative of the noun *śrī* governing the genitive of the personal name, instead of the better known compound form *Śrī-Viṣṇudāsaḥ*—is interesting. The reading is quite undoubted on this specimen, and the same construction occurs on another clay seal belonging to Mr. White King, which I have not yet succeeded in deciphering completely, but which I hope to publish on a future occasion. With this construction may be compared the compound form, often found in the early period, in which the name stands first and the noun *śrī* second. The Jain inscriptions from Mathurā supply several instances of this—*Ṛṣabhaśrīḥ* (*Epigraphia Indica*, i, p. 386, Pl., No. viii, B); *Mi*[*taśi*]*riye* (*id.*, ii, p. 202, Pl., No. xiv); *Grahaśiriye* (*id.*, ii, p. 204, Pl., No. xxi); *Vijayaśiri* (*id.*, ii, p. 209, Pl., No. xxxvi)—and, in the coin-legends of the Western Kṣatrapas, the partly foreign name *Dāmaghsada* is given a more Sanskritic appearance by the change of *ghs* to *j* and the addition of *śrī*—*Dāmajadaśrī*.[2] In commenting elsewhere[3] on the form *Kumāradevīśrīḥ*, which seems to occur more frequently than the alternative *Śrī-Kumāradevī* on the coins of Candragupta I, I observed that "it would seem from a common formation of Indian names in the period preceding the Guptas, that the postposition of श्री is earlier than its use as an 'honorific' prefix." It appears, in fact, possible to distinguish two stages—(1) an earlier, represented by श्रीर्देवदत्तस्य or

[1] Cf. *Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection*, i, 88. A description of a MS. of the *Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇamāhātmyam*, a "legend of a joint shrine of Siva and Vishnu in the country below the Ghats near Candapur."

[2] J.R.A.S., 1890, p. 648; 1899, pp. 374, 383, 389.

[3] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1891, p. 52.

देवदत्तश्रीः, and (2) a later, by the form which eventually became universal for the names of kings and other people occupying a high position, श्रीदेवदत्तः or श्रीमद्देवदत्तः. Our phrases 'The Queen's Majesty' and 'Her Majesty the Queen' may, perhaps, be compared with these two modes of expression respectively.

As every criterion of date is of the utmost importance in Indian numismatics, it may be worth while to make an attempt to determine the limits of the last-mentioned use of श्री or श्रीमत् on coins and inscriptions.

The Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, probably dating from near the end of his reign, *c.* A.D. 380, shows that the usage was thoroughly established at this period; and, as we have seen, the coins of Candragupta I (*c.* 319–340 A.D.) seem to show a transitional state of things. On none of the earliest native coinages of Northern India — Taxila, Udumbara, Kuṇinda, Kauśāmbī, Yaudheya, Pañcāla (Śuṅga), Mathurā, Ayodhyā, Mālava, etc. — and on none of the earliest stone inscriptions, does the use of श्री as an 'honorific' prefix occur. Neither does it occur on the earlier coins and inscriptions of the Andhra Dynasty (Southern India), but it does seem to be used by some of the later rulers; for example, by *Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Puḷumāyi*, who was probably contemporary with Caṣṭana (*c.* A.D. 120–150), by *Siri-Yaña Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi*, who may have been a contemporary of Jayadāman or Rudradāman (*c.* A.D. 150–180), and by *Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Vaḍasaṭa*, whose date is doubtful.[1]

Such evidence as there is, then, seems to point to the fact that the use of the honorific prefix श्री does not begin in Southern India before *c.* 120 A.D., or in Northern India before *c.* 320 A.D. At a later period its use became quite universal over the whole of India, both Southern and Northern; but originally it may have been local and characteristic of certain coinages only.

[1] Cunningham: *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, p. 102; Burgess, Arch. Surv. West. Ind.: *Buddhist Cave Temples*, p. 105; Rapson: *Indian Coins*, § 85.

The conch-shell, the emblem of Viṣṇu, represented above the inscription on the obverse, no doubt denotes that the owner of the seal was especially a worshipper of Viṣṇu, a fact proclaimed also by his name. Other instances of the kind are to be noticed on Nos. 5 and 6.

In some cases these clay impressions are stamped only on one side, and have the inscription "to Śaṅkara and Nārāyaṇa" without the name of the offerer. There are two such specimens in Mr. White King's collection.

? MĀNYA, DEDICATED TO ŚAṄKARA AND NĀRĀYAṆA.

2. *Obv.* Trident and inscription [? मान्य]: ([?*Mānya*]*aḥ*). Oval, ·55 by ·7.

Rev. As on No. 1.

Mr. L. White King. Clay impression.

A hole bored through the centre of this specimen unfortunately almost destroys the first *akṣara* of the obverse inscription. Little more can be said of it than that it certainly consisted of some letter open at the top combined with the vowel *ā*. A slight cut has also somewhat defaced the second *akṣara*, so that it is not easy to decide for what it is intended. Perhaps *nya* and *śya* are the most probable of the restorations that could be suggested. It is certainly not *sya*; and the whole word is no doubt some name in the nominative, not the genitive. This is to be inferred from the corresponding inscription on No. 1, *Śrīr Viṣṇudāsasya*, which is, of course, equivalent to a nominative.

The restoration of the name as *Mānya* is of course purely tentative. The trident, as will be seen (No. 12 *inf.*), does not necessarily indicate that the name, whatever it may have been, had some reference to Śiva. It may merely denote that the offerer of this votive seal was a worshipper of Śiva. It, therefore, gives us no certain clue to the restoration of his name.

42040

3. Parākrama.

Horse standing l., and looking towards a sacrificial post; beneath, परक्रम (*Par*[*ā*]*krama*[*ḥ*]).

Circular, diam. ·9.

Mr. L. White King. Clay impression.

This seal may be compared with the gold coins of Samudragupta, which bear the same type on the obverse, and have on the reverse the same inscription amplified—*aśvamedha-parākrama*.[1] Kumāragupta also struck similar coins, but with the horse represented as standing to the right, and inscription *Śrī Aśvamedha-mahendra*.[2] The title *parākrama* is distinctive of Samudragupta, and occurs alone without any addition on some of his coins.[3]

Mr. Vincent Smith translated the title *aśvamedha-parākrama*, "with power to perform the *aśvamedha* sacrifice."[4] Perhaps it should be rather "He, whose Might has been established by the *aśvamedha* sacrifice," or possibly "He who bears the title *Parākrama* as a result of his performance of the *aśvamedha* sacrifice." The latter explanation, perhaps, receives some support from Kumāragupta's coin-legend *Śrī Aśvamedha-mahendra*, which would seem to denote that his well-known title *mahendra* was first assumed on the successful assertion of his claim to universal sovereignty shown by the performance of this sacrifice. It was customary for the monarchs of the Gupta dynasty to assume some title ending in *āditya*; and it may be that Samudragupta's full title was *parākramāditya*. His successor, Candragupta II, uses both *vikrama* and *vikramāditya*.

The standard in front of the horse, which Mr. Vincent Smith, in the case of the coins, thought might be intended

[1] Smith: J.R.A.S., 1889, pp. 19, 66; 1893, p. 97.
[2] *Id.*, 1889, p. 110. For other representations of the sacrificial horse, *cf.* the coins of Viṣṇudeva (*id.*, 1893, p. 97, pl. iii, 1) and the statue at the entrance to the Lucknow Museum (*ibid.*, p. 98).
[3] *Id.*, 1889, pp. 69, 71.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

to represent the banner of Indra,[1] is probably the *yūpa* or 'sacrificial post.'

Altogether it seems not improbable that we have here an impression from a seal of the great king Samudragupta; and this attribution is supported by the characters of the inscription, which are undoubtedly those of the Gupta period.

UNINSCRIBED.

4. Chaitya-tree within railing.

Square, ·8.

Mr. L. White King. Clay impression.

The interest of this specimen lies in the fact that it gives us a representation of a well-known early Indian coin-type. With it we may compare some of the cast coins of ancient India on which the chaitya-tree frequently occurs as a symbol (cf. Cunningham, *Coins of Anc. Ind.*, pl. i, 28).

RUDRAŚARMAN.

5. रुद्रशर्म (*Rudraśarma*); above, trident.

Oblong, ·65 by ·7.

Mr. L. White King. Clay impression.

As has been already noticed (No. 1), the emblems on these clay impressions are significant. The trident is placed here in allusion to the name Rudra (Śiva).

Curious testimony is afforded by this specimen and others as to the manner in which these clay impressions were made. The lump of moist clay was held in the hollow of one hand, while the seal was impressed by the other hand. This specimen very clearly shows on the reverse the 'lines' and the minute 'graining' of the palm of a hand.

In this inscription and that of the following specimen the vowel *ā* of the nominative is no doubt, as frequently

[1] J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 19.

happens, omitted. They are in all probability ordinary personal names. It is not likely that they are to be taken literally as *tatpuruṣa* compounds = 'the protection of Rudra,' etc.

HARIŚARMAN.

6. हरिशर्म (*Hariśarma*); above, conch-shell.

Oval, ·55 by ·7.

Mr. L. White King. Clay impression.

Here, again, the conch-shell is in allusion to the name Hari (Viṣṇu).

SŪRYAMITRA.

7. Lion seated to l.; in front, a staff, like a spear and a trident combined, bound with ribbons; श्रीसुर्यमित्रस्य (*Śrī-S[ū]ryamitrasya*).

Oval, 1·65 by 1·35.

B.M. Sir A. Cunningham. Clay impression.

This is no doubt an impression from a bronze seal, like Nos. 8 and 9.

The staff in front of the lion may be compared with those which appear on the Gupta gold coins, surmounted by the bird Garuḍa and similarly bound with ribbons.

BHADRA.

8. Lion seated to r.; in front, symbol; श्रीभद्रस्य (*Śrī-Bhadrasya*).

Oval, 1·4 by 1·15.

B.M. Sir Wollaston Franks. Bronze seal.

SAPAKULA.

9. A winged cupid to r., placing some round object (? a cake) in the mouth of a lion seated to l.; श्रीस्सपकुल (*Śrī-ssapakula*).

Oval.

B.M. Sir Wollaston Franks. Bronze seal.

In executing the inscription of this seal the engraver has made at least two mistakes: the *akṣaras śrī* and *pa* are both incised as if they were intended to be read on the seal itself and not on an impression from it, with the result, of course, that on the impression they appear reversed. It is not quite certain if his mistakes end here, for the whole inscription, *Śrī-ssapakula*, offers difficulties which do not admit of an easy explanation except on the supposition of some error of commission or omission.

The form *Sapakula* = Skt. *Sarpakula*, 'the Serpent-family,' would be intelligible. But, if this interpretation be correct, how is the double *s* to be explained? Has the engraver doubled the *s* instead of doubling the *p*; or, has he taken the nominative form *śrīḥ* instead of the base *śrī* and made it into *śrīs* in *sandhi* with the following *s*?

Other possible explanations are (1) that an *akṣara* has been omitted: *Kassapa-kula* = Skt. *Kāśyapa-kula*, for instance; or (2) that *Śrī-ssapakula* may be the *sandhi* for *Śrī* + *Issapakula*; cf. the Maukhari Īśāna-varman's coin-legend.[1]

DHARMASENA.

10. Horse prancing to l.; above, r., wreath composed of a large flower in centre with a branch on either side; धर्मसेनस्य (*Dharmasenasya*).

Square, 1·1.

Mr. L. White King. Clay impression.

SIṂHA.

11. श्रीसीहस्य (*Srī-Sīhasya*).

Oval, ·75 by ·95.

Mr. M. Longworth Dames. Bronze seal.

The form *sīha* is, of course, a very common Prakrit equivalent for the Skt. *siṃha*. It regularly occurs, for instance, on the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas.[2] For

[1] *Vijitāvanir avanipati Śrīśānavarma deva jayati*: Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Key to pl. iv, 13.

[2] J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 375, note 3.

the phonetic change, cf. *Īdrapā*[*la*] = Skt. *Indrapāla* and *Jīvanādāye* = *Jīvanandāyāḥ* (Mathurā Jain Inscr., *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, p. 201, Pl., Nos. 9 and 10).

Bodha.

12. श्रीबोधस्य (*Śrī-Bodhasya*); beneath, a conch-shell.
Oval, ·6 by ·8.
Mr. M. Longworth Dames. Bronze seal.

Here, the conch-shell, the symbol of Viṣṇu, seems to have no reference to the name on the seal, as was the case in Nos. 1, 5, and 6; but it probably denotes that its owner was a Vaiṣṇava (*cf.* No. 2).

With the inscription on this seal *cf.* the word *Bodhinadi* on a Jain inscription from Mathurā in very similar characters (*Ep. Ind.*, i, p. 385, Pl., No. vi, B).

Ripuśalya.

13. Fire-altar; रिपुशल्यो (*Ripuśalyo*).
Round; diam. ·85.
Sealing-wax impression.

The name *Ripuśalya* means 'a very javelin for his foes.' Perhaps *Ripughaṅghala*, a surname of Bhāskaravarman, one of the kings of Siṅghapura, has a somewhat similar meaning. The word *ghaṅghala*, which regularly forms the second part of the surnames of members of this family, seems not to occur in literature or in the dictionaries;[1] but it is not improbably the name of some weapon.

No description, unfortunately, exists of the original seal from which the sealing-wax impression here described was taken. If my memory is not mistaken it was of *lapis lazuli*, and one of a number offered for purchase to Sir Wollaston Franks some seven or eight years ago.

[1] Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, i, p. 15; Kielhorn, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 600.

The design on this seal, the fire-altar, probably enables us to determine within comparatively narrow limits both its date and its locality. A fire-altar of somewhat similar form, without the attendant figures which are characteristic of the purely Sassanian coinage, appears on the Scytho-Sassanian coins, the dates of which are fixed and which must all be included between 300 and 450 A.D.[1] During this period intimate relations existed between the Sassanian monarchy and the Kuṣana kings of Kabul, and the Oxus territories, Badakshān and Kunduz, seem to have formed part of the Sassanian dominions. It was in these districts that the 'Scytho-Sassanian' coinage, which shows a compromise between the two systems, the Sassanian and the Kuṣana, prevailed. We can scarcely be wrong in recognizing the influence of this coinage in these seals which bear a representation of the fire-altar, accompanied by an Indian inscription. The former feature denotes their origin and the latter marks them as distinctively Indian. They probably belong, therefore, to the fourth or to the first half of the fifth century A.D., and to the northern districts of the Kuṣana kingdom of Kabul. It is worthy of notice that a *lapis lazuli* seal bearing a fire-altar, with an inscription, *Saṅgha-vala*, in Brāhmī characters of this period, forms part of the treasure of the Oxus bequeathed to the British Museum by Sir Wollaston Franks, and now exhibited in the passage to the Gold Ornament Room.

A careful distinction must be made between this introduction of the fire-altar as a symbol into the extreme north of India, and the later widespread use of it as a coin-type, which resulted from the Hūṇa invasion.[2]

[1] Cunningham: *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1893, p. 169.
[2] Rapson: *Indian Coins*, §§ 105, 122.

GOPA, SON OF DINNA.

14. Humped bull recumbent to r.; दिनपुत्रस्य (*Dinaputrasya*
गोपस्य *Gopasya*).
Oblong, ·65 by ·6.
Major-General Malcolm G. Clerk. Bronze seal.

With the inscription on this seal may be compared a similar formula on one of the Jain inscriptions from Mathurā—*Govasya Sīhaputrasya* "of Gova (Gopa), son of Sīha (Siṃha)" (Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, i, p. 391, Pl., No. xxi, l. 5). *Dina* (*Dinna*) is, of course, a common Prakrit form of the name *Datta*. Originally, no doubt, these perfect participles passive were used only to form the second part of a name, as, for example, *Baladina* and *Mātṛdina* (Mathurā Jain Inscrs., *Ep. Ind.*, i, p. 382, Pl., No. iii, A); but at a very early period they were used alone (*ibid.*, ii, p. 205, Pl., No. xxii, *Dinasya*, and p. 208, Pl., No. xxxiii, *Dināye*). This observation bears on the question of the name of the first member of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty. General Sir A. Cunningham contended that the form *Śrī-Gupta* could only mean *Śriyā guptaḥ*—i.e., that *śrī* in this case was a significant part of the compound, and not merely the honorific prefix.[1] Mr. Fleet, on the other hand, followed by Mr. Vincent Smith,[2] held that the name was simply *Gupta*, and that *śrī* was here, as elsewhere, nothing more than an honorific prefix. This latter view, as will be seen, can be supported by early instances.

[1] *Coins of Med. Ind.*, p. 9.
[2] For. reff. *v.* J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 5, note 1 f.

ART. VII.—*The Logos Ebraikos in the Magical Papyrus of Paris, and the Book of Enoch.* By M. GASTER.

THE scholars who have studied hitherto the Greek magical papyri, such as Parthey, Wessely, Dieterich, and others, have either concentrated their attention upon the Greek forms contained in these documents, or have tried to find a connecting link between these books, notably between the weird notions contained therein and Greek and Egyptian parallels. Greek mysteries have been adduced in order to explain some of the curious notions prevailing in these papyri. Egypt had to serve for explaining the origin of some of the mystical names or angels mentioned therein. From time to time allusion has been made to so-called Cabalistic parallels, without any clear proof being furnished as to the dependence of one upon the other. But one branch of literature has been entirely neglected, which ought to have attracted attention in the first place, namely, the apocryphal and pseudo-epigraphic literature, which is the only truly contemporary literature. Similarity in tendency, claim of great antiquity, and open or covert allusions to heavenly mysteries show close affinities of no mean order. The authors in one case would be the very persons to avail themselves of the information furnished by the other. The world in which the writers of the apocryphal literature move has not been very much different from that in which the writers and speculators in this mystical lore, preserved in the papyri, have lived. And one would have thought that the material offered by the apocryphal literature would have been the first to be utilized for the elucidation of some of the problems connected with these magical papyri. Whatever the result, it would have been of extreme value.

The proof negative or positive of the acquaintance with, or ignorance of, the apocalyptic and pseudo-epigraphic literature by the writers of these papyri and of these incantations would be of invaluable service from every point of view. It would show, in the first instance, the medium in which each of them lived, the sources of their inspirations. Any borrowing or close connection between these writings would throw a flood of light on their origin, and it would also, to a certain extent, settle the date of their composition. No one denies that the intimate blending and mixing of the materials found in Egypt and Palestine had been going on for centuries, but the ingredients which formed these mixtures have as yet not been sufficiently sifted and explained. The following is to be the first attempt towards that process of sifting and elucidation.

Among the various portions that make up the papyrus Paris, No. 3,009, there is one which is called specially the "Hebrew Logos." A. Dieterich has reprinted it in his "Abraxas" (Leipzig, 1891, pp. 138–141), correcting and amending the first edition by Wessely, and adding critical footnotes and references to the passages in the Bible upon which that Logos seems to rest. He uses this publication for the purpose of showing that an Orphic-Jewish community, to which he ascribes that Logos, had taken part in enriching the spiritual property of the Gnostic associations which were beginning then to be established. From his notes, and from the whole tenour of his book, it is evident that he believes this and similar compositions to be the result of direct borrowing from the Bible and of an artificial piecing together of scattered verses, in order to make up this 'conjuration.' Before proceeding further, I prefer to now give a translation of my own of this text, corrected and amended according to my views, as shown in the notes appended to the translation.

The Greek text of the papyri is, as a rule, full of barbarisms; it abounds in mistakes, due either to the copyists or to the compilers. In the case of our text some mistakes may be due to wrong translation, if, as I have

reason to believe, the original were Hebrew. Some are also due to the difficulties which confront the decipherer of these relics of ancient times. Want of interpunction and of marks of division make the reader run one text into the following. The meaning of some sentences is thus obscured, and what is directed against the demon to be exorcised reads in the present text as if it were addressed to God, in whose name the conjurer is to speak and whose assistance he is to invoke. I have therefore read the text in the light of similar conjurations, and in spite of apparent contradiction to the Greek text.

An Hebrew Logos.[1]

"An approved recipe of Pibekeus against those possessed of a demon. Take unripe olives and mastyx-plant and lotos and boil it together with wild (orig. 'colourless') marjoram, saying[2] . . . . (5) 'Go out of N. N.' Take then a tin-plate and write upon it this formula of protection. Iaobraothioth, etc., and tie (wind) it upon (round) the person that is affrighted and stands in awe of any (all the) demons. (10) Place thyself before the possessed and conjure. 'I conjure (thee in the name) of the God of the Hebrews, IAOO, Iabaie,[3] etc., who appeared in the flame (15), who expands in the midst of the fields[4] and snow and mist. May his terrifying angel descend and drive this spirit away which is fluttering around this creature, whom God has created in His holy Paradise, for I pray to thee Holy God upon AMMON IPSENTANHO. I conjure thee with the power (or 'energy') of (20)[2] . . . . I conjure thee with him who has shown himself to Israel in a column of fire and smoke daily and has delivered the people from the work[5] of Pharaoh, and has inflicted upon (25) Pharaoh the 10 plagues for his disobedience. I conjure thee, whatever spirit or

[1] The numbers are the lines of the Greek text in Papyrus Paris.
[2] A string of mystical names.
[3] Greek Ιησου is impossible if the text is of the second century B.C.
[4] Is this a wrong translation of ברד, 'hail,' read as בר, or of מדבר?
[5] Again wrong translation of עֲבֹדַת = עֲבוֹדַת, 'slavery' = 'work'?

demon thou mayest be, speak, for I conjure thee with the seal which Solomon placed upon the mouth of Jeremia, and he spake. In like manner speak thou (30), whoever thou mayest be, in heaven or from the air, upon the earth or from under the earth or inside the earth, (demon) of the Jebusites, Gergesites, and Feresites. Speak, whoever thou mayest be. For I conjure thee with the light-giving, all-powerful God, who knows what is in the heart of every living, (35) who has formed the human race out of dust, who brings forth from the dark (his hosts) (v. Ies. xl, 25), and thickens the clouds, and waters the earth and blesses her fruit; whom all heavenly powers praise and the Archangels of the Angels. I conjure thee with the great God Sabaoth, before whom the river Jordan withdrew (40) and turned backwards, and the Red Sea let Israel pass—standing still—where there was no road. I conjure thee with Him who has taught 140 languages and has spread them through his command. I conjure thee with Him who has struck the proud giants (45) with His lightning, whom the heaven of heavens and the winged (lit. 'the wings of') cherubs praise. I conjure thee with Him who has made the sand to be as a wall of mountains around the sea, and has bound it not to pass beyond it—and the sea obeyed. So obey also thou (50) all manner of a demon, for I conjure thee with Him who moves the four winds from the four corners,[1] who is seen in the heavens, in the sea, and in the clouds, who is light-giving, all-powerful. I conjure thee with the holy name . . . . (55) of the One who dwells in the pure Jerusalem, where the inextinguishable fire is ever burning, before whom the fiery Gehenna trembles, and the flames roar, and the iron (melts), and (before whom) each mountain is terrified in its foundation. I conjure thee all manner of a demon with Him who rules over the earth and shakes its foundations (60) and has created everything out of nought. I conjure thee!'

"The man who utters this conjuration must not eat swine's flesh, and every demon and spirit will obey him.

[1] The Greek text has here instead: "holy Aeons," evidently a corruption from "four corners."

The conjurer must blow from the lower extremities upwards (65) until he reaches the face, and the demon will be driven out.

"Keep clean and pure, for this conjuration (*logos*) is Hebrew (*ebraikos*), and is preserved by pure men."

This Logos, resting on biblical passages and full of biblical reminiscences, is undoubtedly Hebrew, and is translated from a Hebrew text, as suggested by the footnotes, in which I have corrected difficult passages by means of Hebrew. It belongs, according to Dieterich (p. 143), to the second century B.C. The allusion to the Giants reminds him of the fragments of Eupolemos, who identifies them with people who lived in ancient Babylon, and who had been destroyed by the Gods in consequence of their wickedness. From the final sentence, where the "pure men" are mentioned, he concludes that the author of this Logos must have been a member of the old sect of the Essenes or Therapeuts who lived in Egypt. According to Dieterich they drew their inspiration from the Orphic mysteries. But these cannot account for the purely Hebrew origin of this Logos. It is now an extremely curious coincidence, not noticed by D. or by anyone else hitherto, that an absolutely identical conjuration is found in the apocryphal book of Enoch.

We read there[1] (Book of Enoch, chapter lxix, v. 3)—"And these are the chiefs of their angels and the names of the chief ones over a hundred and over fifty and over ten. (4) The name of the first, Jequn, that is, the one who led astray all the children of the angels, and brought them down to the earth and led them astray through the daughters of men. (5) And the second is called Asbeel: he imparted to the children of the holy angels the evil counsel, and led them astray so that they defiled their bodies with the daughters of men. (6) And the third is called Gadreel: he it is who taught the children of men

[1] I am following entirely the translation of Charles, though in some passages a slight alteration is suggested.

all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve, and showed to the sons of men the weapons of death and the coat of mail, and the shield, and the sword for battle, and all the weapons of death to the children of men. (7) And from his hand they have proceeded over those who dwell on the earth from that hour for evermore. (8) And the fourth is called Penemue: he taught the children of men the bitter and the sweet, and taught them all the secrets of their wisdom. (9) And he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper, and thereby many sinned from eternity to eternity and until this day. (10) For it was not intended when man was created (lit. 'men are not created to the end') that he should give confirmation to his good faith with pen and ink in such wise. (11) For man was created exactly like the angels to the intent that he should continue righteous and pure, and death, which destroys everything, could not have taken hold of him, but through this their knowledge they are perishing, and through this power (of knowledge) it (death) is consuming me. (12) And the fifth is called Kasdeja: he has taught the children of men all the wicked smitings of spirits and demons, and the smitings of the embryo and the babe, that it may pass away, and the smitings of the soul, the bites of the serpent, and the smitings which befall at noon, the son of the serpent named Tabe't. (13) And this is the number of Kesbeel, who showed the head (or 'power') of the Oath to the holy ones when he dwelt high above in glory, and its (his) name is Beqa. (14) And this angel requested Michael to show him the hidden Name, that they might mention it in the Oath, so that those who revealed all that was hidden to the children of men might quake before that name and oath. (15) And this is the power of that Oath, for it is powerful and strong, and he placed this Oath *Akae* in the hand of Michael (or 'Akae placed,' etc.). (16) And these are the secrets (mysterious effects) of this oath: the heaven was made strong through the oath, and was suspended before the world was created and for ever. (17) And through it the earth was founded upon the water,

and from the secret recesses of the mountains come beautiful waters from the creation of the world unto eternity. (18) And through that oath the sea was created, and as (or 'at') its foundation He laid for it the sand against the time of (its) anger, and it dare not pass beyond it from the creation of the world unto eternity. (19) And through that oath are the depths made fast, and abide and stir not from their place from eternity to eternity. (20) And through that oath the sun and moon complete their course, and deviate not from the path prescribed to them from eternity to eternity. (21) And through that oath the stars complete their course, and he calls them by their names, and they answer him from eternity to eternity. (22) And in like manner the spirits of the water, and the winds, and of all the zephyrs, and the paths of all the bands of the spirits. (23) And in it (or 'through it')[1] are preserved the voices of the thunder and the light of the lightnings, and in it (through it)[1] are preserved the chambers of the hail and of the hoar-frost, and the chambers of the mist and the chambers of the rain and the dew. (24) And all these believe and give thanks before the Lord of Spirits and glorify (Him) with all power, and their food is nothing save thanksgiving: they thank and glorify and extol the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever. (25) And this Oath is mighty over them, and through it they are preserved, and their paths are preserved, and their course is not destroyed."

The situation, as it presents itself here, is clearly, first, a description of the angels or satans who are believed to be the primary cause of illness and disease. In connection with this fact, and through the mentioning of it, the author or the copyist of that curious text is induced to add the Oath, that is, to add at the same time the means for averting the illness caused by these evil spirits. This part of the book of Enoch is considered to belong to, if possible, an

[1] Cf. Hebrew בה.

older period than the rest of the book. It is called a Noachic fragment, belonging originally to an apocalypse of Noah. Accordingly, being written by a man who lived before the Flood, Noah or Enoch could not mention any event that happened in Jewish history after the Flood. The 'oath' is probably the mysterious word by which the world was created and is maintained. The name Akae is the mystical seal or sigle which stands for the ineffable name of God, the knowledge and possession of which give to man the power of acting almost like one of the superior beings.[1] The description of the effect of that great name follows here closely the order of the Biblical creation of the world. This description is so close a parallel to the corresponding portion of the Greek Logos that it helps us to understand the passage of the four winds, not quite clearly expressed, and which I had translated in the same manner before having discovered the passage in the book of Enoch. In the Greek text we find, however, not only the same passages as in Enoch, but many more incidents, added from the later history of the Jews, especially portions dealing with the miracles of the going out of Egypt. Solomon is mentioned, and the ancient nations inhabiting Palestine before the Jews occupied it are connected somehow with the demons conjured away.

There can be no doubt as to which of the two oaths or conjurations is the older, or which is borrowed from the other. The primitive character seems to be fully retained in the book of Enoch. The narrative flows there in regular sequence, from the creation of the heavens to that of the other bodies. Not so in the Greek text. Here the order of things is quite irregular. First, the going out of Egypt is mentioned, then the creation of man, then the creation of the world, and lastly allusion is made to the heavenly spheres, to Gehenna, and to the heavenly Jerusalem—if this last passage be at all correctly preserved in the Greek. It is evident that the author of this magical

[1] If read Aïa it resembles absolutely the transliteration of the Hebrew Tetragramaton as preserved by Theodoret (Quaest. xv ad Exod. vi) (Ἀΐα = אהיה).

formula in the Greek papyrus has had access to the book of Enoch, for he borrowed even the expressions. In taking over the Oath from the book of Enoch, adapting and probably also translating it, he undoubtedly changed the names of the satans or angels mentioned in that book, and substituted for them other names of a barbarous sound, viz., those of the nations which belonged to a prehistoric period and known as worshippers of idols or demons. It is not impossible that the author of the book of Enoch, as well as the author of the conjuration, might have had access to a much older text, which each of them adapted according to his own special requirements, as it looks almost like an interpolation in "Enoch"; but the change of those names of angels in the Greek text goes a long way to prove the author of the magical formula having borrowed it directly from "Enoch." He must have belonged to that class of people for whom the book of Enoch was written, and who looked upon it as an ancient source of information. He was probably an Essene living in Palestine; for it is unlikely that already in the middle of the second century B.C. this portion of the book of Enoch, or any portion of it, should have been translated into Greek and accessible to people living outside of Palestine. But however it may be, it is a remarkable coincidence, and opens up a new view in the study of the magical papyri and their immediate sources. The connection between them and the Jewish pseudo-epigraphical, notably mystical, literature, must have been much closer than has hitherto been anticipated. The one throws light upon the other, and they enlarge our conceptions of the literary and practical activity of those sects, of which so many contradictory statements have come down to us. It is clear that the authors and readers of the pseudo-epigraphical books were also the authors and users of the mystical and magical writings. They thus translated their speculations into thaumaturgical practices

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. Water (*Vatura*) in Sinhalese.

Croydon.
November 2, 1900.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids, — In the Journal for April, 1898, pp. 367–369, I showed that the Sinhalese word *vatura*, though now universally used in Ceylon for 'water,' did not originally possess that meaning; and also that it is entirely unconnected linguistically with the English word 'water.' I further defended my opinion, previously expressed, that *vatura* had ousted the genuine word *diya* in Ceylon through the influence of the Dutch *water*.

This latter opinion I still adhere to. But with respect to the derivation of *vatura*, I find that I too readily adopted that proposed by the late Dr. Paul Goldschmidt, viz., Sanskrit *vātula*, meaning, first, 'windy,' 'inflated,' then 'rain-cloud,' and then 'shower of rain,' 'flood.' Professor Wilhelm Geiger, in his valuable "Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen" (forming part of the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*), has a note on this subject (p. 32 of the *Separat-Abdruck*), in which he points out that the *t* in *vaturu* (the older form of *vatura*) presupposes a double consonant. He has not the least doubt that *vaturu* = Pāli *vitthāra* (Skt. *vistāra*), having passed (as he says on p. 36) through the forms **vitara*, **vatara*; and he refers to Sinh. *vātaḷa*, 'extended' = Pāli *vitthata*. Professor Geiger had given this etymology previously, in his "Etymologie des Singhalesischen" (Munich, 1898), p. 78, at the suggestion of Mr. B. Gunasekara.

When used in compounds, such as *gaṅ-vatura*, 'flood,' the meaning of *vatura* would easily be liable to become misunderstood.—Yours very truly,

DONALD FERGUSON.

2. SIGNATURE MARKS AND NĀGĀRJUNA'S KAKSHAPUṬA.

79, *Warwick Road, Earl's Court, S.W.*
October 23, 1900.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—The practice noticed by Mr. J. E. Webster on pp. 548–9 of the Journal for July, 1900, is common, at any rate, in the Marāṭhī-speaking districts of the Bombay Presidency, where the sign-signature is called *nishānī*. A woman of any caste signs with a bangle (*bāṅgaḍī*). A Marāṭha draws a dagger (*kaṭār*), a Kuṅbi a plough (*rāṅgar*), a Gābhīt an oar (*valhe*), etc., etc.

I take this opportunity of adding a note on the Kaksha-puṭa ascribed to Nāgārjuna. I have lately obtained a copy of it printed at Belgaum. It is there called Kaksha-puṭī, and is described in its colophons as composed by Siddho Nāgārjuna. In a Marāṭhi introduction the publisher speaks vaguely of having obtained the MS. with great difficulty, but does not say whence. He also knows nothing of the history or date of Nāgārjuna. The work is, therefore, certainly not a *modern* forgery. The language in which it is written also seems to me to be above the level of the ordinary Purānic Sanskrit in correctness and ease. The work is, however, so far as I have examined it, a purely Śaiva one, and contains no clear reference to Buddhism. It is a handbook of Black magic, and professes to be based on a number of Tantras and on the Atharvaveda, but all of the so-called *mantras* which it quotes are of the ordinary Tantric or *Śākta* type, and none of them seem to be really Atharvanic.[1]—Yours sincerely,

A. M. T. JACKSON.

[1] [Aufrecht mentions twelve MSS. of the book as referred to in various catalogues. There is also a MS. of it at Florence.—ED.]

3. Addendum to Biographies.

Pitfold, Shottermill.
November 15, 1900.

Dear Sir,—I notice that in the short memoir of William Hook Morley in our Journal, Vol. XVIII, o.s., p. v, the date and place of his death are not given. I have now ascertained from the obituary column of the *Times* newspaper for 24th May, 1860, that Mr. Morley died in Brompton Square, London, on 21st May, 1860, and also that he was the second son of George Morley of the Inner Temple.

I also notice that in the memoir of Mr. Nathaniel Bland, J.R.A.S., Vol. II, n.s., p. iii, for 1866, the place of Mr. Bland's death is not recorded. I have ascertained from the *Times* newspaper of 17th August, 1865, that Mr. Bland died at Hombourg les Bains. The date was 10th August, 1865, as given in the memoir.

Perhaps you may consider these particulars to be worthy of insertion in our Journal.—Yours sincerely,

H. Beveridge.

4.

November 24, 1900.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—Perhaps the learning of your Journal's readers will enlighten me as to the numeral system which is occasionally to be met with in Pali MSS., and which, like the method described in Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, is based on the *gaṇas* of the alphabet. I give some examples, premising that the reduplication of consonants does not affect their value, e.g. *kkh* being the same as simple *kh*.

guṇaggaraṃ = 2352.
alappāyaṃ = 1170.
gammakhakke = 1253.
raṭṭhakkhayaṃ = 1222.
bhānuvakkhaṃ = 2404.

This gives us the following values:—*k*, *ṭ*, *p*, *y* = 1; *kh*, *ṭh*, *ph*, *r* = 2; *g* (and presumably *ḍ* or *b*) = 3; *bh* (and *gh*, *ḍh*?) = 4; *m*, *ṇ* (and *ṅ*?) = 5; *l* = 7; zero is initially *a*, internally *n*.

This system obviously differs in a few points from that recorded by Bühler, in which the series *k* . . . *ñ* = 1 . . . 0, *ṭ* . . . *n* = 1 . . . 0, *p* . . . *m* = 1 . . . 5, and *y* . . . *ḷ* = 1 . . . 9. The use of *l* for 7 is probably due to the facts of the Pali alphabet, implying a *gaṇa* consisting of *y*, *r*, *ḷ*, *v*, *s*, *h*, and *l* respectively. The use of *a* = 0 is not so clear.—I am, yours faithfully,

L. D. Barnett.

British Museum, London.

5. Ancient Indian Sects and Orders mentioned by Buddhist Writers.

In the volume for 1898 of our Journal (p. 197) Professor Rhys Davids calls attention to the *Indian Sects or Schools in the time of the Buddha* as enumerated in a passage of the Aṅguttara-nikāya (pt. iii, p. 276, ed. P.T.S.). It is hardly necessary to point out the interest of the investigation; for scholars at least have for some time past recognized the fact that Buddhism, though raised to the dignity of an oecumenical religion, doubtless owing to the genius of its founder, was nevertheless only one of a number of schools of more or less free and independent thought in a country too often regarded as the mere domain of a monotonous sacerdotalism. Professor Davids has reverted to the subject in his version of the Dīghanikāya ("Dialogues," p. 220), and quite recently Monsieur Barth has pointed out that further details "d'un pittoresque achevé" await the readers of the Majjhima and other Pali *nikāyas*.[1] Leaving these to scholars more specially engaged on Pali literature, I now subjoin two passages from the literature of other schools of Buddhist thought written in that form of speech, variously known as the Gāthā dialect and "le sanskrit

[1] Bulletin iii, Bouddhisme, p. 33 (Rév. de l'histoire des Religions, 1900).

mixte," in use during the early centuries of our era, when Pali canonical literature, previously codified, was apparently taking its present literary and dialectic shape and when the great commentaries on it were composed.

The first extract is from the Ratnolkā-dhāraṇī,[1] which is not, as its name might imply, a mere charm,[2] but a work of considerable dimensions, inculcating *inter alia* the characteristic Mahāyāna doctrine that the Bodhisat should not seek for immediate emancipation, but should "for the good of all creatures" be willing to be born again in various worldly and otherwise undesirable stations of life.

loki alipta jale yatha padmaṃ
prīti-prasādakarā vicaranti |

"In the world unsmirched like the lily in the water, winning grace and favour is their conversation."

After enumerating various professions and callings in which they may be "renowned in the world," the author mentions the *ṛṣis* and ascetics. Then occur the following lines:—

te carakāḥ parivrājaka tīrthyāḥ
tāpasa-Gotamamonacarānaṃ |
nagna acelaguruśramaṇānāṃ
tīrthika ācariyā hi bhavanti ||
te tu ajīvika dharmacarāṇāṃ
uttarikāṇa anuttarikāṇām |
dīrghajaṭāna kumāravratānāṃ
teṣv [api] ācariyā hi bhavanti ||
sūryanuvartaka-pañcatapānām
kukkuragovratikā mṛgacaryā |
cārika tīrthya daśa tritayānāṃ
teṣv api ācariyā hi bhavanti ||

[1] Quoted in the Çikshāsamuccaya, ff. 149*a* sqq. The *Çikshās.* was first translated into Tibetan by three paṇḍits, all of whom flourished under a Tibetan king who died A.D. 838.

[2] Another parallel case is the *dhāraṇī*-literature forming the basis of the notice of non-Buddhistic sects by Rémusat at pp. 145 sqq. of his version of Fa-Hian (English edition). Mr. Watters tells me that Nos. 84 and 422 (Mahādharmolkā-dhāraṇī) in Nanjio's form further cases in point.

devata jñāna praveśa ratānam
tīrth-'upadarśana deśacarāṇām |
mūlaphalāmbucarā api bhūtvā
dharma acintiya te paramāgrāḥ ||
utkuṭasthāyina-ekacarāṇām
kaṇṭakabhasmatṛṇaśśayanānām |
ye muṣale śaya yukti vihārī
teṣv api ācariyā hi bhavanti ||

"They become sectaries, Caraka or Parivrājaka; for the observers of the vow of silence of Gotama the ascetic or for the śramaṇas of the naked, unclothed Guru. They become sectarian leaders. Or they may belong to such as observe the Ājīvika-system, [either] [1] those who have or those who have not a higher [aim?], those with long coils of hair, those who took their vow as youths, amongst these they become leaders. Among ascetics who endure the five fires, turning to the sun [and the other four, there are] those who have the dog- and cattle-vows, and those who act as beasts of the chase, followers of some of the thirty observances (?) and sects, amongst these, too, they become leaders. For such as delight in initiation into the knowledge of the deity, for such as wander through [many] countries to observe closely the sects, they live on roots, fruits, and water, and at last become masters in systems beyond thought. For those who remain squatting on their heels, or who wander alone, whose bed is on thorns, ashes, or grass, who rest on a pestle-pole and so live, amongst them, too, they become leaders."

It may be first observed the list is partly traditional. "Carakas, Parivrājakas, Ājīvakas, and Nirgranthas" head a list at the beginning of ch. 13 of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka,[2] in which *kāvyaśāstrapraśritāḥ* and other persons of worldly pursuits like those in the passage preceding the

[1] The Tibetan version appears to take these words as denoting subdivisions of the Ājīvikas.

[2] Probably one of the very oldest Mahāyāna-books. I propose shortly to publish fragments of a MS. of it assignable to the fourth or fifth century.

present occur. The chief interest, however, of the passage seems to be that it supplies an independent commentary, which from its language must be at least as old as Buddhaghosa, on the list preserved in the Aṅguttara-nikāya.

The next passage is Mahāvastu, iii, 412, 7–10: "atha khalu anyatīrthika caraka parivrājakā traidaṇḍaka-m-ānandika guru putraka-Gautama dharmacintika vṛddhaśrāvaka-tṛtīyā ulūkapakṣikabhaginī śramaṇā Yaśodhasya . . . ṛddhi prātiharyāṇi dṛṣṭvā . . . saṃhṛṣṭa romajātā abhūnsuḥ yāvat svākhyāto bhagavato Gautamasya dharmavinayo vivṛto . . ." The difficulty of this passage is pointed out in M. Senart's notes. I may observe, however, that the Carakas and Parivrājakas as general terms[1] head the list of sectaries, as before; and that the two persons who accompanied the nun may have been (as indicated by my hyphens) (1) a Traidaṇḍika, and (2) an aged disciple of Gautama, Ānandikaguruputraka. I take it that this last expression is an epithet intended to distinguish this Gautama from Bhagavān Gautama (Buddha) mentioned just below. As to the expression *ulūkapakṣika*, it must refer at least primarily to the ascetic body who wore owls'-wings (*ulūkapakkhaṃ dhareti*; Dīgha-n.,[2] i, p. 167). There seems at present hardly evidence enough to connect them definitely with the Aulukya Vaiśeṣikas of Hemacandra and Mādhava.

The interest of the passage first quoted seems to be that it forms a kind of commentary on the passage from the Aṅguttara. Thus, line 2 refers to class 9 (Gotamakāḥ) of the Pali list. They had a vow of silence and followed a Gotama distinguished from Gotama Buddha. The *acela guru* of line 3 is the teacher called Gosāla or Gośalīputra, and surnamed Maskarin[3] (Skt.), Makkhali (Pali), or Maṅkhali (Jain Pkt.). See Buddhaghosa's Sumaṅgala-v., i, p. 162, translated by

[1] So, too, Lalitav., 2, 22: anyatīrthika śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa-caraka-parivrājakā.

[2] *Apānako* in the same passage would seem to suggest that *apipāsā* is the right reading in Milinda-p., p. 191, n. 7.

[3] M. Vyutp., § 175, Av.-Çat., Tale 40.

Dr. Hörnle, Uvās.-d., Appendix, p. 22. Once a Jain, according to Jain tradition, he founded the Ājīvikas, No. 1 in the Pali list. The subdivision of the school here given possibly refers to the lay and monastic adherents.[1]

Dīrghajaṭā corresponds to Jaṭilakā, No. 4 in the list. One cannot be sure that these, any more than the Parivrājakā (who come next in the Pali list), formed a separate body. Kumāravr. refers rather to the age at which the vow was taken than to *brahmacārya* or chastity; so at least the Tibetan version implies.

Line 9 refers to a fairly well-known practice of Brahmanical ascetics (Manu, vi, 23). Line 10 is illustrated by Majjhima-n., sutta 57.[2] The next stanza conveys an antithesis between two classes of *religieux*, such as specialized in the theology and ritual and such as wandered forth to seek new teachings. The former correspond to No. 10 (Devadhammikā) of the Pali list. Seven of the ten are thus referred to.

The last stanza refers to miscellaneous ascetic practices, such as are often referred to in the Pali scriptures.[3] It will of course be noted that these passages are independent of the 'six *tīrthakas*,' who form part of the common tradition[4] of Buddhism.

The list in the Aṅguttara-nikāya is independent of this tradition. It is a less precise and formal series, partly overlapping the shorter one, and having the disadvantage

[1] Separately mentioned by Buddhaghosa, loc. cit. Compare Hörnle's amusing note (11).

[2] Reference given to me by Professor Davids. Now translated by Dr. Neumann. For the go-vrata see also Mahābh. Udyogap., xcix, 14. Mṛgacaryā is referred to ibid., cxxi, 20.

[3] Rhys Davids' tr. Dīghanikāya, p. 227, n. 1. Some of the practices referred to in lines 18, 19, are also attributed to the Ājīvikas in Jātaka, vol. i, p. 493. If the rather obscure language of l. 19 can be understood to mean that the man slept and lived in a kind of cage or contrivance of poles, some of the difficulties in the Pali passage referred to by Professor Davids, op. cit., p. 228, n. 1, would disappear. The Tib. is *gtun-śiṅ* = 'pestle-wood'; and Jäschke, s.v. *gtun*, satisfactorily explains the kind of large instrument intended.

[4] Echoed in a similar Jain tradition (Bhagavatī, translated by Hörnle, Appendix to Uvās.-d., p. 4 med.). In the shipwreck described in Av.-Çat., Tale 81, it is curious to find invocations offered, first to the 'six doctors,' then to the Hindu gods, and lastly to Buddha.

of confusing orders of ascetics with differences of religion. Still, as the passages adduced show, it has its historical value.

It would be interesting to find whether the set of 'thirty *tirthyas*' mentioned in line 11 of the Ratnolkā-extract could be similarly confirmed from other Buddhist literature.

C. BENDALL.

6. AŚOKĀṢṬAMĪ FESTIVAL.

Hooghly College.
November 26, 1900.

SIR,—The *mantra* of the Aśokāṣṭamī festival, quoted by Mr. Anderson at p. 791 of the J.R.A.S. for October, 1900, should run thus:—

Tvām aśoka harābhīṣṭa madhumāsa-samudbhava
Pivāmi sokasantāpto mām aśokaṃ sadā kuru.

It means: "O Aśoka! you are the favourite of Hara (the Provider), and you are born of Caitra (the Spring). I drink thee. Make thou me, who am oppressed with grief, ever griefless."

Aśokāṣṭamī falls on the eighth day of the waxing moon, in the month of Caitra. If the star *Punarvasu* appears on that day, and if the day happens to be a Wednesday, the merit of bathing in the Brahmaputra is very great. Though you bathe in the Brahmaputra, the eight buds of *Jonesia Aśoka* must be drunk in Ganges water.

The usual *mantra* of bathing in the Brahmaputra is the following:—

Brahmaputra mahābhāga Śantanos kulanandana
Amoghāgarbhasambhūta pāpam Lauhitya me hara.

"O great Brahmaputra! delight of the race of Śantanu by his wife Amoghā, O Lauhitya! remove my sins."

Mr. Anderson says he does not remember who bore Brahmaputra to Brahma. It was Amoghā, the wife of Śantanu. I know of nothing in the books about bathing being confined to the north bank.

Plants are supposed to have their presiding goddesses, and particularly so the nine plants which go by the name of *navapatrikā*, of which the *Aśoka Jonesia* is one. Brahmānī, or fire, is the goddess of Kadalī; Lakshmī, or prosperity, of Dhānya; and Śokarahitā, or grieflessness, of the Aśoka. This may account for the drinking of Aśoka buds.—Yours faithfully,

KHIROD CHANDRA RAY.

To Professor Rhys Davids,
Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society.

7. THE JĀNAKĪ-HARAṆA.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—It may be of interest to some readers of the Journal to learn that the six verses (Nos. 1751–1755 and 1812) of the Subhāṣitāvalī which are attributed to a poet Kumāradatta can all be traced, together with the anonymous verse No. 1569, in the *Jānakīharaṇa* of Kumāradāsa (XI: 53, 59, 60, 73, 75. XII: 9. I: 28). Also the verse quoted in Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkāravṛtti*, ii, 1, 13, bears all the marks of the same authorship. On these and some other points connected with Kumāradāsa's poem I hope to be allowed to write a little more fully in a subsequent number of the Journal.—Yours very truly,

F. W. THOMAS.

Dec., 1900.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics of the Fourth Century B.C. Being a translation, now made for the first time, from the original Pali, of the First Book in the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, entitled "Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi" (Compendium of States or Phenomena). With Introductory Essay and Notes. By Caroline A. F. Rhys Davids, M.A. (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, xii.) 8vo; pp. xcv, 393. (London, 1900.)

When Hermann Siebeck, twenty years ago, issued the first instalment of his "History of Psychology," he thought it fit to inform the reader (preface, p. x) "that it was essentially the cultivation of psychology within the realm of Occidental thought" which he intended bringing to his knowledge. Siebeck freely avowed that he was not able to deal with the materials furnished by the Indians. And he gave the reason—"the indispensable preparatory work was still to be expected from the specialists." Would the learned historian of ancient psychology stand now to the opinion that, for want of "preparatory work," the history of psychology in India cannot be written? Instead of an answer to this question, which the author alone could give us in a second edition of his book, I had rather put the other question—What sort of Indian literature embraces a psychology deserving the name? The answer to this question, which can be given to-day, will show, at the same time, the reason why it has come about that only now has a history of psychology with regard to India become possible.

Indian psychology is, for the most part, not so much a matter of the Sanskrit texts as of such as belong to the Buddhist Pāli literature. Now the latter was barely heard of seventy years ago. And even then, when Turnour published the first text at Colombo in 1837, it was a chronicle, where psychology would be sought for in vain. The first European edition of a Pāli text (1855), the Dhammapada, an anthology of verses, enhanced, it is true, the general esteem of Buddhist ethics, and gave us some idea of the psychological basis of them; but, from this to a clear insight into the character, and the intimate connection of the psychology of the Buddhists with their ethics, there is a long way; and nobody could have ventured to write twenty years ago as the learned and distinguished author of the work under notice now does.

Mrs. Caroline Rhys Davids, in the Introductory Essay (p. xvii), says:—

"Buddhism, from a quite early stage of its development, set itself to analyze and classify mental processes with remarkable insight and sagacity. And on the results of that psychological analysis it sought to base the whole rationale of its practical doctrine and discipline. From studying the processes of attention, and the nature of sensation, the range and depth of feeling, and the plasticity of the will in desire and in control, it organized its system of personal self-culture."

It is impossible, in the limited space of a review, to enumerate the different steps that have brought us thus far towards the goal. One fact, however, ought to be mentioned, to wit, that a solid basis for a study of Buddhist psychology and ethics has been won since the foundation of the Pāli Text Society in 1882. Philology has almost completely performed its labour; now it is the business of the history of psychology to assign to Buddhism its due place in the development which psychological thought underwent in India.

To the general reader a subject like that before us will prove to be new, strange, and perhaps also displeasing.

I say so, because he may experience a natural dislike of ascertaining the fact that the alliance between ethics and psychology was brought about for the first time in the history of mankind among Buddhists. And though all educated persons are familiar with Buddhism as a great phenomenon in the evolution of religion, there are only a few who would be able to give an answer if asked about the work done by it for psychological ethics. I venture to pronounce this judgment even from the standpoint of those who have made themselves acquainted with the Pāli texts, or even who have published such texts. "C'est un métier que de faire un livre, comme de faire une pendule," says La Bruyère. Moreover, the most pleasing doctrines, those by which the psychico-ethical tenets of the Buddhists are set out, have been so far lacking in anything that can be called a system; and even the only attempt at a systematization, dating from a time earlier than King Aśoka in the third century B.C.—that is to say, the Manual here dealt with—is a mere statement of conceptions and terms, and for this reason far from being pleasing. Thus it is easy to account for the fact that the Manual (or, strictly speaking, the co-numeration of states, the Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi) has remained unknown and unrevealed during the fifteen years since its publication for the Pāli Text Society by Professor Edward Müller at Berne. Perhaps it would even yet not have been held worthy of notice or regard, had not an English lady, a fellow of University College in London, who has had a sound training in psychology—I need only name Croom Robertson—and is now much engaged in Pāli studies,—had not Mrs. Rhys Davids raised the work from its undeserved oblivion, from its second death.

In the book under notice she has given us a translation which is more than a translation, and this in two ways. In the first place, the translator, by bringing to bear upon this ancient textbook her knowledge of the history of psychology in Europe, and especially in Greece, has made clear many things that would otherwise probably have remained dark. In the second place, she has reproduced

for us the light shed on the book by the commentary called Atthasālinī, a work of the great commentator Buddhaghosa in the fifth century of our era, also edited for the Pāli Text Society by the aforesaid Professor Müller, and also hitherto little read or understood. By this method of elucidating the Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi, she avoided the risk of mistaking the true meaning of the text. For, although the last redaction that our Pāli commentaries received is not earlier than the age of Buddhaghosa, they are themselves older and come very near in time to the work upon which they comment. And supposing that here and there the interpretation, as prompted by the commentary, be more or less incongruous, it is, none the less, not altogether devoid of importance for a knowledge of the later development of Buddhist psychology. I, for my part, will not depreciate the commentaries. They cannot be neglected for a right understanding of the canonical books, much less indeed than the Greek commentaries for a right understanding of Aristotle.

A history of Buddhist psychology, of course, ought to go back to and be based upon the works of which the Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi presents us with the quintessence only in the form of a mere catechising. At present we are not yet so happy as to possess a history of Buddhist psychology; what we have before us in the book of Mrs. Rhys Davids is, so to say, a segment, but a segment of so masterly a performance as may justify a few more words, not so much about it as rather in accordance with it, using as a guide the Introductory Essay (pp. xv–xcv).

Nothing is more surprising than to find in the Manual here translated so advanced a standpoint in psychological matters, if considered from and measured by the scientific method which psychology has reached in the present time. Every sort of Animism, even that which, as we learn from "De Anima," III, ch. vii, viii, continues to operate in Aristotelian psychology, is wholly removed from the Buddhist mode of dealing with psychological facts. Everything in our inner world is reduced to states of consciousness, called *dhammā*, a characteristic mark of which is the absence of any entity

and soul (*nissata-nijjīvatā*); a phenomenalism throughout consistent with itself, as a protest against the then prevailing Animism. The moral consciousness of man, representing, as it were, a variously shifting *continuum* of subjective phenomena or states, forms the object of an analysis the proceeding of which is withal genetic, since for each group of dhammās the antecedent facts, which determine their appearance in consciousness, are searched out according to certain laws, physical and moral. An analogous term for the modern expression 'consciousness' (German, *Bewusstsein*) is wanting in India, as it is wanting in ancient Greece. But more than any *word*, it is the standpoint which decides the matter. Read, for instance, the questions and answers Nos. 1,044, 1,045 of our Manual:—"Which are the states that are *ajjhattā* (personal, subjective, internal)? Those states which, for this or that being, relate to the self, to the individual, to one's own, are referable to the person. . . . . And which are the states that are *bahiddhā* (non-personal, objective, external)? Those states which, for this or that *other* being, for other individuals, relate to the self, to the individual, to one's own, are referable to the person."

At the same time, Idealism is accepted and Solipsism rejected. Let us stop here for a moment.

It was evident to Aristotle that *πάσης ἀποδείξεως ἀρχὴ τὸ τί ἐστιν* and a "psychology without a soul" (an expression used for the first time by Albert Lange, "Geschichte des Materialismus," i, p. 465) would have been nonsense in his eyes, in spite of the fact that he made a great endeavour to escape from Animism. His mind was imbued with metaphysical presuppositions that were incompatible with a study of psychology based upon observation. He had no idea, or only a very feeble one, of a pure empirical psychology. How surprising, therefore, to hear at once doctrines, pronounced on the shores of the Ganges in the fifth century before our era, which surpass even those of Aristotle, regarded as standing in the zenith of Greek philosophy! For these are words spoken by the Buddha himself:—

"Suññataṃ idaṃ attena vā attaniyena vā"—"Void is this of a soul or of aught of the nature of a soul." The belief in a permanent spiritual essence is, together with a number of other speculations (eternity of the world, etc.), repudiated, as being useless and worthless for salvation (not directly as being so for our knowledge!). In a passage of the Holy Writings, the Buddha declared the error of identifying the body with the soul as lesser than the error of confounding the self with what is called 'heart,' 'mind,' 'intelligence' (*cittaṃ, mano, viññāṇaṃ*), and this for the very reason that the mind is subject to incessant change, whereas the body lasts the longer. Change on the one side and dependency on the other were contradictory to the common supposition of an entity above every sort of change and dependency.

Half-way between the canonical books and the age of the commentators, the "Questions of King Milinda" are introduced by the problem of the soul, and in the book on "Leading" (*Netti*) the doctrine of individuality is pointed out and contradicted, without acrimony on the part of its author, because he had nothing to utter in defence of his own well-established standpoint. Again, Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla are quite explicit in this matter. The definition of dhamma as being equivalent with absence of a permanent entity or soul (*nissatta-nijjīva*)[1] is common to both, whereas Buddhaghosa (in the Atthasālinī, *passim*) professes his belief in the non-existence of anything like a self or soul or individual, with the fervour of one who is firmly convinced of it.

The Buddhist philosophers could not fail to note that the soul-theory is intimately connected, not only with the primitive philosophy known by the name of Animism, but also with the mental process of assimilation, i.e. the elaboration of similar impressions into a general notion, and of referring this notion to each assimilated impression by means of a common name—in short, with the cognizance

[1] If in the Netti-Atthakathā (see the edition of the Netti for the Pāli Text Society, p. 252) there is said, "Īhābhāvato nissattanijjīvaṭṭhena dhammā," the first word seems to imply activity as entering into the meaning of dhamma.

of Unity in Plurality and in Diversity. Yet the notions of the One and the Many, and those of a substratum and of phenomena, are closely allied, although they have distinct roots, logical as well as psychological. These unifications, based as they are upon the economy of our intellect, were unlikely to escape the promoters of phenomenalism in India. And if, none the less, they were not much embarrassed by them, it was rather a *minus* than a *plus* of the art of logic that helped them over such difficulties as elsewhere (not in India except in later times) have sprung from an acquaintance with the rules of logic.

For Buddhism the case was, practically speaking, thus:— Man, as a moral being, was, so to say, a fixed quantity, and the question only was about what his consciousness possibly might contain. To that purpose, it analyzed the moral personality into different groups of states, and searched for the moral causation operating in them. No *Ding-an-sich* troubled the reasoning. There exists nothing but states of consciousness.

While taking man as a moral being, Buddhism regarded everything without and within him, in as far as it revealed itself as good or bad or neither good nor bad. The material world, including the physical being of man, had a value for it only if considered as modifying the moral well-being. He who was undergoing the Buddhist discipline of mind had to know a good deal of what we now call a *Physicum*, including also a *cours* on the Psychology of Sensation. As regards the doctrines on Sensation, as set out in the Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi, the translator writes as follows: "There is no such analysis of sensation—full, sober, positive, so far as it goes—put forward in any Indian book of an equally early date" (p. li).

Mrs. Rhys Davids believed herself entitled to insert even a detailed excursus on this matter in the Introduction to her translation, and to adduce a number of striking parallels from Occidental psychologists. I regret that want of space compels me to renounce the pleasure of reproducing it. I can only dwell upon the connection between Buddhist

psychology and ethics, and first I would venture a remark on the so-called Buddhist pessimism.

The Buddhists looked at the reality of life without paying attention to those artificial decorations with which men like to surround it. They, therefore, were and must be pessimists. They believed in Karma, as the effect of previous work, good or bad; but, with the same firm conviction, they believed in the liberating power of education, in the perfectibility of human nature by means of the culture of Will. They, therefore, were also optimists, the greatest optimists of all who boast of the name. It has been pointed out already in a former paper (J.R.A.S., 1898, pp. 47 sqq.) by Mrs. Rhys Davids (but there cannot be laid too much stress upon a point so often neglected by the general judgment on Buddhism), that Buddhist doctrine culminates in the culture of Will. This culture comprises *inter alia* a firmly regulated practice of attention, in order to avoid every unsteadiness of mind or that 'playingly roving' (*tatra-tatrābhinandinī*), and finally arrives at the highest concentration. In other words, life considered as a quantity of *two* dimensions (length *and* breadth) is repudiated by the Buddhists. But life considered as a quantity of *one* dimension (height or depth), i.e. life from which has been removed all that is ignoble in thought and action, life as a product of a moral selection, liberal-minded life, is well esteemed in their eyes. They, then, might say with Goethe—

> "Von der Gewalt, die alle Wesen bindet,
> Befreit der Mensch sich, der sich überwindet."

The foregoing considerations will prepare us to enter the edifice of Buddhist Ethics, which, as we have seen, rises on a really phenomenal basis. A state of consciousness is never good in itself, but only with respect to its *effect*, and this is 'well-being' (*sukha*). All creatures aim at well-being, and therefore 'Good' is not "that at which everything aims" (Aristotle); it is rather "that by and with which we aim." Sukha, or well-being, again, is either relative (and it is with such a Good that the majority of

men is satisfied) or absolute, and this latter is identical with Emancipation (*vimutti*), being the goal of a few, to whom, since no effect is produced by them, the category of Good cannot be applied. In other words, from an analysis of feeling there resulted for the Buddhists the triad—*sukha* or well-being, *dukkha* or ill-being, and neither. 'Good' and 'Bad' were mere agencies to produce one feeling or the other. Simply speaking, they were "the characteristic mark of those kinds of conduct by which well-being or ill-being might respectively be entailed" (pp. lxxxiv sq.). Buddhist Ethics are, therefore, hedonistic and utilitarian; but it seems to be better to avoid such modern terms altogether.

'Sukha' covers the whole ground of things to be aimed at; nevertheless, there exists a great difference as to the valuation of it; and a sharp line separates the 'will to live' from the 'will to live well.' Buddhism negates the will to live, if life means that vile thing about which men are striving eagerly; it affirms the will to live a life beyond which there can be no other more sublime, neither here nor hereafter. The same sharp line was drawn by the Buddhists between 'Good' and 'Good.' That sort of Good in which only a small dosis of Will is embedded cannot stand out against a Good which is brought about by systematic culture of Will. And, led by the reflection that man is able to shape his own life, Buddhism endeavoured to work out special methods of meditation, destined to bring man nearer and nearer to the final goal of perfect enlightenment. When this ideal is realized, the struggle between Good and Bad has come to an end. For, where there is no effect to be produced in any future existence, Good and Bad, too, cease to exist. The 'Arhat' is released from both; he is no longer determined by them. Only the *Avyākata*, i.e. the Indeterminate (sc. either as good or ill), remains for this refined state of consciousness, that is to say, peace and emancipation.

In this reproduction, far too meagre, I regret to say, of the principal thoughts embodied in Mrs. Rhys Davids'

Introductory Essay, I have not called the attention of my fellow-workers in the field of Pāli to many suggestions towards a better understanding of the Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi, together with its commentary, as well as of other Buddhist works. Such suggestions are to be found on nearly every page throughout the translation. The Notes, appended to the foot of the pages, form as such a continual commentary, where there are interspersed also many quotations from and references to biblical, classical, and modern books. But, above all, Mrs. Rhys Davids has deserved well of the psychological terminology of Buddhism, in which an important section of Indian philosophical terminology is given, and so she has laid, I venture to say, by her admirable work, the foundation-stone of a History of Buddhist and Indian Terminology, so far as Philosophy is concerned.

E. HARDY.

Würzburg.

DIE APOKRYPHEN UND PSEUDEPIGRAPHEN DES ALTEN TESTAMENTES . . . . UEBERSETZT U. HERAUSGEGEBEN, von E. KAUTZSCH. 2 vols. 8vo. Vol. i, pp. xxxi+507; vol. ii, pp. 540. (Tuebingen: Mohr, 1900. 20 Mark.)

Under the able leadership of the veteran Professor Kautzsch, of Halle, a band of prominent German scholars have supplied with thorough German scholarship a long-felt want. The better known uncanonical books of the Bible, as well as the less known pseudo-epigraphic writings, are now attracting widespread attention. They are not studied primarily from the religious point of view, but more so from the literary and historical. They are being recognized as the best material for the reconstruction of the intellectual life of the Jewish and Hellenistic world just at the turning-point in their religious life. These writings are contemporary documents, and as such interesting also to the students of religion and philosophy and to those that follow up the gradual transmission of one literature to another.

The first volume contains in 500 closely printed pages the whole of the Apocrypha, translated into German, each one by a different author. Some of them add elaborate introductions, wherein they discuss the questions connected with the origin, the form in which the Greek texts have been preserved, the originality of the composition, the date and the probable authorship of these texts. They also add more or less copious notes, either of reference to the parallel passages in the Bible or of a critical character, correcting or altering the Greek text. In some cases the question is put, whether Hebrew originals are at the bottom of these Greek texts. It is curious, however, to see most of these scholars ignoring, or pretending to do so, the Hebrew parallels and fragments which have been preserved, and which might have contributed more than once to throw a new light upon the history of these texts and on the meaning of many obscure passages. No mention is made, e.g., of the new Hebrew versions of Tobit, discovered by me, which put the relation of Jerome's version to the Greek into a different light. No notice is taken of the Aramaic texts of the "Song of the Three Children," etc., and the rest are dismissed with a wave of the hand, as late and of no consequence. No proof is, however, vouchsafed. I refer further to the compilation of Jerahmeel, which, as I have shown in the introduction to my edition, reflects the Hebrew original, or is the very Hebrew original, for many of these old Apocryphal tales. On the other hand, the discovery of the Hebrew version of Ben Sira has caused a shock among the scholars who have studied that literature only from the point of view of Greek scholarship. Ryssel, who publishes here the book of Sirach, referring to this Hebrew text, accepts it without much critical examination as being the lost original. It is not here the place to expose at length the vagaries caused by this discovery of the Hebrew text. Suffice it to state that the blind belief in its original character exhibited by many is a very poor compliment to the critical acumen and to the real understanding of Hebrew by those great scholars who are able to hear the grass grow

on the fields of biblical criticism. The protests which have been raised by others and myself against accepting this text as the lost original are gaining strength. The belief in the original character of the Hebrew Ben Sira is growing weaker and weaker. A little more belief in the other Hebrew texts would not have done harm. But in spite of the drawback resulting from the one-sided study of the Greek form of the Apocryphal literature, the work is done throughout in a scholarly manner, and many of the results are of permanent value. The English counterpart to this volume is the "Speaker's Commentary of the Apocrypha," which is by no means superseded by the new book, but in many cases usefully supplemented.

Still more important is the second volume, which deals exclusively with the pseudo-epigraphic writings of the Old Testament. The whole material is here collected for the first time into one solid volume of 540 closely printed pages. It is divided into four groups: the first contains legends, viz., the letter of Aristeas, the book of Jubilees, and the Martyrdom of the prophet Isaiah; second group—poetry, the Psalms of Solomon; third group—didactical, the so-called fourth book of Maccabees; and the last, more voluminous group contains the apocalyptical writings, viz., the Sybilline oracles, the book of Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, the fourth book of Ezra, the Apocrypha of Baruch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, together with the translation of the Hebrew text published by me, and finally The Life of Adam and Eve. Excellent indexes conclude this volume, of which we have no parallel in English literature as yet. It is a pity to find here, again, the same neglect of studying the Hebrew parallels as in the first volume, and, worse still, the implicit belief in the superiority of the Greek texts as known *to-day*. It diminishes somehow the value of the results obtained by these scholars, who base their investigations upon, and draw their conclusions only and solely from, these Greek texts. They do not seem to be aware that most of them are of comparatively modern origin in the form in which we have them, that no literature has suffered more from

wilful change and alteration, from additions and omissions, than this literature which belongs to all and to none. The Greek fragments which turn up now from the tombs of Egypt throw a curious light upon the literary tradition of the Apocryphal writings, for the older the fragments are which come to light the more do we find them differing from the actual text in our possession. The latest find, "The Assumption of Isaiah," published recently in the "Amherst Papyri" by Messrs. Grenfell & Hunt, shows how different a text of this character can become in the course of ages. Still, no work can be perfect, and as far as such a work can be carried out within the limitations self-imposed by modern scholarship, that work has been done in the present publication. It is indispensable to all students of that branch of biblical literature.

M. G.

AVICENNE. Par le BARON CARRA DE VAUX. pp. vii+302. (Paris: Alcan, 1900.)

Next to Aristotle no man has exercised so deep and lasting an influence upon human minds and philosophy as Avicenna, the greatest interpreter of Aristotle, and himself more studied and revered than any other mediaeval philosopher. His life and writings have constantly been studied from the period in which he flourished down to modern times — Renan. The latest exposition is due to Baron Carra de Vaux, who has written a charming book in an attractive style. He has condensed into a comparatively small volume a survey on the whole philosophical movements in the East from the time of Mahomet down to the time of Avicenna, excluding from his sketch the theological schools and the political and mystical sects. With insight the philosophical aspect of the Koran is discussed. The development of the philosophy of the Mutazelites, who affirmed human free will, is traced. A special chapter is dedicated to an outline of the transmission and of the translations by which the treasures of Greek and Hebrew lore were imparted to the Arabic world. Special prominence

is given to the literary and philosophical activity of the Sabeans, whose importance is somewhat exaggerated. The appreciation of the work of the so-called Encyclopaedists delineated in another chapter is, according to the author, preparatory to a true and appreciative study of Avicenna. He first describes his life and biography, then the Logic of Avicenna's philosophy, his contemplation of the mechanical world; and his physiology. The author brings out clearly the originality and greatness of Avicenna's system, and especially of his metaphysical speculations. The concluding pages are devoted to Avicenna's mysticisms. The book is throughout a most sympathetic and lucid exposition of the life and work of one of the noblest characters and of the deepest minds of ancient Arabic civilization and philosophy.

M. G.

NUMISMATIQUE ANNAMITE, par DÉSIRÉ LACROIX, CAPITAINE D'ARTILLERIE DE MARINE. Publications d'École Française d'Extrême-Orient. (Saigon, 1900.)

This fine volume of 260 pages, accompanied by an album of forty *planches* presenting figures reproduced in phototypic facsimile of some 500 coins and medals, is the most complete and important work that has hitherto been published on the numismatic history of the countries included in French Indo-China, as now constituted. The only previous works on the subject to be cited are a well-illustrated article on "Annam and its Minor Currency," by Ed. Toda, in the *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (New Series, vol. xvii, 1882); and "Notes pour servir au classement des monnaies et médailles de l'Annam et de la Cochinchine française," by J. Silvestre, published in 1882–83 at Saigon in *Excursions et Reconnaissances* under the auspices of the French Government of Cochinchina. M. Lacroix is too modest when he calls his book a new edition of this last *brochure*, the *Notes* having been so completely remodelled and so widely expanded by him that we have really a new work before us.

The book, after a short preface, opens with an interesting historical summary of the different names given to these countries in the annals of China and Annam, and the changes from the mythical date of B.C. 2537 up to the present condition of affairs, which the author concludes as follows :—

"De nos jours, la confusion est encore plus grande, car depuis notre intervention en Indo-Chine, les anciennes dénominations du pays ont été bouleversées. Nous désignons actuellement sous le nom de *Tonkin* l'ancien royaume d'Annam, celui des annales avant ses conquêtes du xviiᵐᵉ siècle et dont *Hanoï* était la capitale ; par contre, nous appelons *Annam* le pays que les historiens du siècle dernier désignent sous le nom de Cochinchine. Ce nom de *Cochinchine* est également encore employé, mais pour désigner la portion du territoire cambodgien conquise par les Annamites vers la fin du xviiᵐᵉ siècle et que nous avons érigée en colonie française en 1862. Les anciens noms semblent avoir été déplacés parallèlement à eux-mêmes vers le sud, comme si la nouvelle carte de l'Indo-Chine avait glissé sous la presse typographique par la faute de l'ouvrier chargé d'en imprimer les noms."

In his account of the coinage the author adopts the following classification :—

I. Monnaies.
II. Médailles.
III. Monnaies de l'Indo-Chine française.

The first division begins with a general chapter on the origin of the money of Annam; the form of the coins and the meaning of their inscriptions; the metals employed in their fabrication; the localities of the principal mines of gold, silver, copper, zinc, and lead; the primitive process of moulding the common 'cash': and proceeds with short chapters on the old paper money of the country and on counterfeiters, their peculiar methods and the penal laws for their suppression.

The detailed description of the money is carried on under five headings :—

I. Période légendaire.
II. Domination chinoise (110 av. J.C.–968 ap. J.C.).
III. Dynasties annamites (968–1800).
IV. Histoire contemporaine (1801–1900).
V. Monnaies non classées.

The author properly emphasizes the fact that a preliminary study of the Chinese coinage is necessary, as the original source of the Indo-Chinese currency, as well as the model of every subsequent issue, and he has selected a few specimens of ancient Chinese bronze knives, *pu* money, and perforated round coins, for illustration on pl. i. The only specimen described at length is an ancient *pu* "with pointed feet," which is figured on p. 52 as "le plus ancien document que l'on peut attribuer aux ancêtres des Annamites." This is taken from a Chinese book published in 1833, where it is described as a piece of the ancient metallic money of the State of Yueh-nan, the inscription on the obverse being read *Ping-Houo* (the name of a city in the province of Fuhkien), and that on the reverse *Joung-Ngan* (the name of a city in the province of Kwangtung). But it can really have nothing to do with either of these places, as both inscriptions read clearly *P'ing Chou*, 平 周, in different handwritings of the ancient script of the Chou dynasty (B.C. 1122–249), and both forms may be found on the obverse of similar coins in the "British Museum Catalogue of Chinese Coins," copied by Terrien de Lacouperie from a more trustworthy Chinese numismatic book. P'ing Chou was situated in the province of Shansi, and belonged to the State of Wei until its conquest by Ts'in in 320 B.C., so that the coinage must date before this last year. No similar coins were cast, as far as is known, anywhere south of the Yangtsze River, and consequently they are hardly to be expected in Annam. The 'heathen Chinee' must have rubbed down the reverses of two P'ing Chou pieces and neatly soldered them together, or, perhaps, cast a new piece after the pattern of the old to deceive the unwary.

The earliest Annamese money represented in the book dates from the tenth century A.D., and a complete series, with but few breaks owing to transitory Chinese invasions, is figured on pls. ii–xxii and admirably described in the text. The reproductions of the small 'cash' have generally had the inscriptions pencilled by a native *pundit* with his ink brush before being photographed, giving a clear definition

to the strokes which is often wanting in the originals, but lending, at first sight, a curiously new aspect to some of the older pieces. The larger coins and all the medals in the next section are photographed from actual specimens, and are remarkably well reproduced. A small bar of gold is exhibited on one of the plates, and a number of silver pieces moulded in the form of oblong cakes of Chinese ink peculiar to Indo-China, but the main currency has always been composed of copper, bronze, or zinc 'cash.'

Most of the medals figured on pls. xxiii–xxxvi are also moulded of copper and its different alloys, and their varied inscriptions afford interesting glimpses of Oriental folklore and religious ideas, mainly derived from China, which are thoroughly well worked out and explained in the text. It is only in his description on p. 193 of the Buddhist amulets included in pl. xxvi that the author goes widely astray in his fanciful rendering of the Sanskrit legends, beginning, as he does in each case, on the wrong side of the medal. He has not recognized the familiar Buddhist spell, "Oṁ maṇi padme Hûṁ," the invocation to the 'jewel in the lotus,' i.e. the jewelled pellucid drops which gather on the bosom of the peltate lotus leaf after every shower, types in all Eastern countries of the purity of the Buddhist 'law.' Figs. 391 and 397, representing the obverse sides of two of these medals, contain the first four syllables of the formula, while Fig. 398 exhibits their reverse side with the last two syllables, the field being filled in with two dragons. The first and last syllables are in Sanskrit, the remainder of the spell being transliterated in archaic Chinese characters corresponding to the modern 嘛 呢 鉢 銘. Figs. 399 and 393, on the same plate, present the obverse and reverse of a similar medal with the spell inscribed entirely in Sanskrit letters in the form "Oṁ maṇi padme hâ hûṁ gaṁ."

In the third and last section are described the illustrations given on pls. xxxviii–xl of the money circulating in Indo-China since the French occupation of the country, beginning with the Spanish 'pillar dollar,' the Mexican dollar and

the fragments cut from it to make subsidiary money, the English Hongkong dollar, and the United States trade dollar, which have all in turn circulated under legal sanction. After these follow in succession the sets of silver and bronze coins minted in France for use in the colony of Cochin-China. A vivid picture is painted of the difficulties experienced in inducing the natives to accept a better coinage than they had been accustomed to, depicting the rapidity with which the silver money was melted into 'shoes' and the copper into industrial tools, as they returned over and over again to their own bulky zinc 'cash,' unconsciously exemplifying the well-known economic law of the power of bad money to drive out good.

The book is supplemented by a most useful chronological list of the principal dynasties, giving the names and dates of the rulers, and the Chinese titles (*nien-hao*) which they adopted for the successive periods of their reigns. A classified list of the *nien-hao* which have been inscribed on coins is given in an appendix, by the use of which the author claims that anyone, even if he be ignorant of the complications of the Chinese script, can trace a given coin to its original source.

S. W. Bushell.

The Mastaba of Ptah-hetep and Ankh-hetep at Sakkareh. Part I. By N. de G. Davies, M.A. With 31 plates. 4to. (Published by the Egypt Exploration Fund. . 25*s.* nett.)

Of all the nations of antiquity the Egyptians were the most successful in evolving a theory of future life which robbed death of its sting. To them death was but an incident in life, and the tomb had none of the sombre associations of Western thought. Life upon this earth was but a period of preparation for the greater life of "eternity and everlastingness" in the realm of Osiris. Hence the preparation of the tomb, "the abode of eternity," was a sacred duty during lifetime. In the maxims of Ani,

a collection of the rules of life, we read: "It is proper for thee to be found having made thy house in the funeral valley, and which on the morrow will hold thy body; let this be always before thee." To the Egyptian, however, the tomb was no house of death and decay; for it was the eternal dwelling (*per-zet*) of the never-dying double, where it resided and revisited the scenes of former life, and during the festivals associated with those it loved, nourished each day with funeral offerings of "cakes and ale." Prepared during a man's lifetime, it was a record of his career and of his family connections. The walls were decorated with paintings depicting the chief incidents in his life, both private and official, while long inscriptions record his titles, official duties, and the rewards he received from his royal master. Indeed, from a literary point of view, the Egyptian tomb may be regarded as a carefully written and lavishly illustrated autobiography, while archæologically it preserves to us the picture of the age in which the occupant lived. Hence the great importance of the systematic exploration and copying of these memorials; for it is from the houses of the dead Egypt that we learn the minutest details of the living Egypt of the past.

The most careful pictures of the life of the early empire are preserved to us in the tombs at Sakkara, the necropolis of the ancient capital of Memphis, and such scenes as are depicted on the walls of the *mastabas* of Tii or Mera show us with vivid detail the happy life of the pyramid age. During this last season the Egypt Exploration Fund have made careful plans and drawings of the tomb of Ptah-hetep, a feudal prince who lived during the time of the Fifth Dynasty (B.C. 3700). This tomb has long been known, but the careful plans and drawings by Mr. N. de G. Davies will be of great use to students of early Egyptian art. The tomb is a very large one, consisting of many chambers and corridors, and was built for Ptah-hetep and his son Ankh-hetep, and the walls are decorated with hunting scenes and representations of the pastoral life of the nobles of the period, as well as of sports and pastimes. The painted

hieroglyphs are beautifully drawn, and enable us to identify many of the objects depicted. Especially interesting are the reproductions of decorative work, which afford a most conclusive proof that Egyptian decorative art derived its inspiration from textile work. In the tombs of the early empire the scenes are of a peaceful and domestic character. Egypt had not yet entered upon the policy of expansion which afterwards spread her empire over the East, nor had the great army of government officials been called into being. The golden age of officialism in Egypt was the time of the eighteenth and subsequent dynasties, when Thebes was the capital of the Oriental world, and when Asia, Africa, and the isles of the sea were pouring their rich tributes into the treasury of Amen-Ra.

(From *The Times.*)

THE LIFE OF REKH-MA-RA, VIZIER OF UPPER EGYPT (B.C. 1471–1448). With 22 plates. 4to. By PERCY E. NEWBERRY. (London: Constable & Co., 1900. 21*s.* nett.)

The tombs, whose walls preserve for us the memorials of the golden age of Egypt, are situated in the great necropolis which stretches along the western bank of the Nile opposite the ruins of Thebes. Here, in the limestone range of Gebel, Sheik Abd-el-Kurneh, are the resting-places of most of the nobles who held office under the greatest of the Pharaohs. Among the tombs in this valley, one of the most important is that of Rekh-ma-Ra, who held the highest offices of State under Thothmes III and Amenophis II (B.C. 1471–1448). The tomb had already attracted the attention of Hawkins, Wilkinson, and Hay, and was partially described by M. Paul Virey in 1889. During three seasons Mr. Percy Newberry, who resided at Thebes, was engaged in surveying the tomb and making careful drawings and tracings of the paintings, and copies of the extremely valuable inscriptions which record the official life of Rekh-ma-Ra. It may be said at once that

the long inscription in the vestibule of the tomb, which records the official duties of Rekh-ma-Ra as vizier and governor of Thebes, is one of the most important records of Oriental bureaucratic life ever discovered, and a startling proof of the unchangeable character of official life in Egypt. The inscription might just as well apply to the Egyptian Premier of to-day as to the vizier of a Pharaoh of thirty centuries ago. The genealogy of Rekh-ma-Ra shows him to be the descendant of a family of officials, for his uncle, his grandfather, and great-grandfather had all held the office of vizier (*zat*), and most of his relatives State offices. Born probably during the reign of Hatshepsu—"the Queen Elizabeth" of Egypt—the future vizier of Egypt was brought up as "a priest of the goddess Maat—the goddess of Law," to whose cult the lawyers of Egypt were attached. His post as vizier combined many other offices; he was "Governor of Thebes," "Chief Justice," "Steward of Amen," and "regulator of all the art works of Amen in Karnak."

His legal life is depicted in a most interesting scene. The Court was a long building attached to the temple of Amen. It is open at one end and supported by two rows of columns, with a dais at the upper end on which the vizier sat. The inscription informs us this is "the vizier governour of Thebes, and the southern towns in the divan of the vizier." He is shown clad in his judicial robes, and before him is the *ken* mat, a mark of the highest judicial office equivalent to our woolsack. On his right stood the "superintendent of the court" and on his left "the guardian of those coming in." Before him was a library of 40 rolls of the law, called "the books of knowledge," containing former decided cases. On each side, in two rows, stood the jury of "the members of the council of the southern tens" and the scribes or reporters, while at the doors were the porters and "two swift messengers." The Court differs little from the divan of an Egyptian *mudîr* of the present day. An interesting painting represents the vizier on his way to the Court in the morning, accompanied by his scribes, while poor people crowd round

him, the inscription reading, "The going forth through the land in the early morning to grant the daily favours and listen to the words of the people, without showing any distinction between small or great."

In his State duties the vizier was associated with the Lord Chancellor or "Keeper of the Seal," with whom each day he visited the palace to pay respect to the King. We have next a long list of the various Government officers who had to report to the vizier, and it is evident that if he fulfilled one-half of his duties the office must have been no sinecure. It combined the duties of Inland Revenue and Home Office, as well as the Boards of Trade and Agriculture. Among the offices we may notice "the regulation of canals" and "the duties of steersmen and pilots on the Nile." So that both irrigation and Nile traffic were regulated then as now. The increase of Government work during the prosperous period of the Eighteenth Dynasty necessitated the appointment of two viziers—one for the southern, the other the northern towns—and Rekh-ma-Ra ruled from Bigeh to Siut. Two large scenes depict the "collection and inspection of taxes." Not only do these revenue returns carefully enumerate the various commodities, but they are accurately pictured. These scenes give us a wonderful knowledge of the wealth of Egypt. One feature to be noticed is the quantity of gold paid as tithe in the form of beads or ring money. Each portion of the taxes is brought in by a deputation consisting of "the mayor, registrar, the surveyor, and the scribe." Some of the objects are strange, such as "five hundred pigeons, baskets, and coils of rope." As the official in charge of the workmen attached to the temple of Karnak, Rekh-ma-Ra had a most important position; the paintings illustrative of these duties are very valuable, and the careful drawings by Mr. Newberry are far in advance of all previous work on this tomb. As Minister of the Fine Arts, we are told in the inscription attached to these scenes, he had the duty "of inspecting all the handicrafts and teaching each man his duty according to the manner of all occupations." Here we see every detail of the work of gold and silver

smiths, cabinet makers, sculptors, and bronze workers. It is probable that Rekh-ma-Ra had working under him the Benvenuto Cellini of Egypt, Tehuti, who made the decorations of the great temple of Karnak and of Deir el Bahari, and whose skill ranged from the great bronze and electrum gates of Karnak to the collars and necklaces of the favourites of the King. His tomb, not far distant from this one, was explored by the Marquis of Northampton two seasons ago. This first part of the work upon this tomb deals only with the duties of Rekh-ma-Ra in his official capacity, but there are fine paintings of Theban life yet to be published in the next part. From these inscriptions and the paintings we gain a knowledge of the life, manners and customs, and the artistic taste of Egypt in its golden age, and Mr. Newberry is to be congratulated on a work which will be of value to all lovers of Egyptian archæology.

(From *The Times.*)

THE DĪNKARD, Vols. VIII and IX. By PESHOTAN DASTUR BEHRAMJEE SANJANA. (Published under the patronage of the Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhai Translation Fund, Bombay, 1897 and 1900.)

These two volumes, which complete the text and translations of the third, fourth, and fifth Books of the Dīnkard, contain the last literary work of the late high-priest of the Shāhānshāhī Parsis in Bombay, who was able to finish the eighth volume, but only the Pahlavi text and Gujarāti translation of the ninth, before he died, on the 26th December, 1898, at the age of 70 years, leaving the completion of the remaining four Books of the Dīnkard to his son, who has succeeded him as high-priest. The first two Books of this voluminous Pahlavi compilation are still missing.

Shamsu'l-Ulamā, Dastūrjī Sāheb, Peshotanjī Behrāmjī Sanjānā, M.A., Ph.D., being grandson of a Dastūr of Surat, was adopted in the family of the only brother of his own

predecessor, at an early age, and, after the death of that predecessor, in 1857, he was appointed high-priest in Bombay. He was eminent for his learning, and well deserved the title of Shamsu'l-Ulamā, conferred upon him in his later years. He had published a very complete Pahlavi Grammar, and several Pahlavi texts with translations, since 1848. He had also introduced some religious reforms, such as freeing the well-educated Parsis of Bombay from the control of the less competent priests sent to them from Navsāri, by appointing priests for Bombay himself. He was Principal of the Sir Jamshedji Jījībhāī Zartoshtī Madressa from its foundation in 1863, and a Fellow of the Bombay University from 1866. The German Oriental Society, also, elected him as member in 1875.

The eighth volume of his edition of the Dīnkard contains fifty-two chapters, devoted chiefly to what may be called the ethics and casuistry of good and evil. And the same class of subjects is continued through the first five chapters of the ninth volume. But the sixth chapter, which treats of the solar and lunar years, and the seventh, that concludes the third Book and gives a sketch of the recovery of Zoroastrian literature, which it identifies with the Dīnkard, are more interesting and will both bear very literal translation, as has been shown more than once in the case of the latter chapter.

The last clause, descriptive of the lunar year, at the end of chapter 419, may be recommended to Pahlavi scholars for further study and explanation; its text may be transliterated as follows [Dīnkard, vol. ix, Pahlavi Text, p. 449, line 14]:—"Afash kār avīrtar pavan Areshas-gēto va-Pāūrūbjō va-Aparūbjō; va-pēḍākīh-ī ajash khūrḍako ḇēn stih rāstīhā." Which may be translated as follows:—"And its use is more particularly by (or at) the Areshas-gēto, the Paūrūbjō, and the Aparūbjō; and the manifestation of it is truly little in the world."

These three names have the appearance of being Pahlavi transliterations of Avesta words, but to whom, or what, they are applied is by no means clear. They do not appear to

refer to three particular periods, but, rather, to three classes of unbelievers, or heretics, who made use of the lunar year. The same three names occur, with little variation of form, in a Pahlavi commentary on Pahlavi Vendīdād, xviii, 23 (Spiegel's edition, p. 198, ll. 1, 2), where they may be read Aresh-gēto, Parūbjō, and Aparūbjō, apparently applied to unbelievers, or heretics, who do not wear the sacred shirt and thread-girdle. Such a definition would apply to Muhammadans in the first place, as would also the use of the lunar year; but the question is whether both definitions might likewise apply to two other races of unbelievers in Zoroastrianism under Persian rule (always observing that other readings of the names are possible).

Of the fourth Book of the Dīnkard (which is completely translated in the ninth volume of this edition) the first twenty-five sections have already been partly translated in S.B.E., vol. xxxvii, pp. 410–418. It commences with an account of Aūharmazd and the six Ameshaspends; in that of the third Ameshaspend, a brief history of the compilation and restorations of the Avesta, down to the time of Khusrō Nōshirvān, is given, in illustration of the duty of "desirable sovereignty," which is the meaning of the third Ameshaspend's name. Part of this brief history was first translated into English at the end of Haug's Essay on Pahlavi, in 1870. And the last two-thirds of this fourth Book are devoted to religious discussion, partly in the form of a catechism.

Both the fourth Book and the fifth (which follows in this ninth volume) are stated to have been first compiled by Ātūr-farnbag, son of Farukhzād, who was the Hūdēnān-pēshūpāī, or "leader of the orthodox" (that is, the supreme high-priest), about A.D. 815–835. The fifth Book, as far as p. 622 of its English translation in this ninth volume, has been previously translated in S.B.E., vol. xlvii, pp. 119–130, where I have ventured to suggest that the name of a certain MS., consulted by the compiler, may have been Gemarā. But the editor of this ninth volume prefers reading Sīmrā as a transposition of the Avesta Sairima, the land of the

Syrians, which King Frēdūn gave to his eldest son Salm. There are examples of similar transpositions of the letters *r* or *l*, but the translation of the sentences in which the name occurs is so free as to be difficult to follow with the precision necessary to form an opinion of its accuracy.

The remainder of the fifth Book is devoted to miscellaneous subjects, such as the admonitions of Zaratūsht, the recompense of worship, the satisfaction of the creator, preservation from debasement, and remarks on heaven, hell, and the resurrection, on good repute, on sins, on expiation of sin, on injuring without a cause, on ablutions, on priestly authority, on food, garments, women, charity, matrimony, worship, and not injuring men and animals, on fire, metals, the earth, water, and vegetation, on avoiding dead men and dogs, and on truth.

Regarding the progress of this edition of the Dīnkard, it will interest Pahlavi scholars to know that Books iii–v, now completed, occupy about 191 quarto folios in the Iranian MS. brought to Surat in 1783, and the remaining Books, vi–ix, occupy about 198 such folios, and, with the addition of the colophons, will probably require nine or ten more volumes of similar extent to complete the edition.

E. W. West.

November 26, 1900.

A History of Ottoman Poetry. By E. J. W. Gibb, M.R.A.S. Vol. I. (London: Luzac & Co., 1900.)

However much England may have lagged behind most European nations in other branches of Oriental learning and research, in Turkish at least she can boast of having produced the two finest scholars of the age, the late Sir James Redhouse and Mr. Gibb; and it is therefore with especial pleasure that we welcome the first instalment of the great *History of Ottoman Poetry* on which the latter has been so long engaged, and which no living European is so well qualified as himself to write. Not only is his reading extraordinarily wide, his critical judgment remarkably sound,

and his industry and accuracy beyond praise, but his command of Ottoman Turkish is such that, though he has never set foot in the Turkish Empire, some of his letters in that language addressed to a literary friend, by whom they were published in one of the Turkish journals, were so correct in their diction and showed so deep a knowledge of the language, that their authenticity was challenged by Turkish readers, who deemed it impossible that a European could express himself in their complex and difficult idiom with such grace and accuracy. The writer was once commissioned by him to search for certain rare Turkish books in Constantinople. A well-known Turkish man of letters who was consulted on the matter declared with confidence, before seeing the list of desiderata, that they could be found, but on perusing their titles his face fell, and he expressed a doubt whether books so little known could be obtained even in the Turkish capital. In the event, a careful search through the *Saḥḥáflar chárshisi*, or booksellers' market, succeeded in bringing to light only one or two of them.

Mr. Gibb's book is essentially what the Germans call *bahnbrechend*. His only predecessor in the field of study which he has chosen for his own is Von Hammer, whose *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst* (4 vols., Pesth, 1836–8), though of great value, and most creditable for the time when it was written, has long ceased to be an adequate account of a subject for which much more copious materials of study are now available. Besides this, Von Hammer, for all his admirable industry and devotion to Oriental letters, and notwithstanding the undeniable services he rendered thereunto, was sadly lacking in the critical faculty which is so necessary in a work of this kind, and was too prone blindly to follow the opinions of the often uncritical and sometimes biassed authors of the *tezkirés* from which he chiefly drew his materials. What Mr. Gibb says in his Preface (p. vii) as to the "blank ignorance" which still prevails in Europe as to Ottoman literature is, therefore, no exaggeration, and though he modestly describes his book

as addressed rather to the ordinary English reader than to the professed Orientalist, it is a book from which even those who have been engaged for years in the study of Muḥammadan literatures will learn much that is both new and important, and which they can by no means afford to neglect or overlook.

We wish to emphasize this point particularly, because the number of students of Arabic and Persian is much greater than the number of those who are directly interested in Turkish; and the former class might not at once realize, unless their attention were called to it, how much light the excellent *Prolegomena* (pp. 3–136) which form the introductory portion of this volume throw on matters common to all Muḥammadan literatures, many of which have not hitherto been satisfactorily explained and discussed in any European language. For it is the allusions to the theological, philosophical, cosmographical, scientific, and mystical systems and ideas of Western Asia that constitute the real difficulty of Muḥammadan poetry. The position of the European student who has a sound and thorough knowledge of Persian or Turkish, but is ignorant of these matters, is as that of an Asiatic who, knowing English perfectly as regards grammar and lexicography, should be entirely unacquainted with the Bible, the mythologies of Greece and Rome, the chief events of European history, both objective and subjective, and the general conclusions of Western science. The want of some introductory manual to the literature, especially the poetry, of Islám, has been long felt, and it is at length supplied by Mr. Gibb's excellent *Prolegomena*, which we should be glad to see reprinted in a small volume by themselves, as appealing to a much wider and somewhat different circle of readers.

These *Prolegomena* consist of four chapters, of which the *first* deals with the Origin, Character, and Scope of Ottoman Poetry; the *second* with Tradition, Philosophy, and Mysticism; the *third* with Verse-Forms, Prosody, and Rhetoric; while the *last* contains the Historical Outline. This portion of the work is already so compact that it is impossible in these limits

to analyze or abstract it further. But Mr. Gibb's happy renderings in English of the Oriental terminology cannot fail to impress and delight those who have experienced in translating the difficulty of finding suitable equivalents for these terms. Mr. Gibb has perceived that, having regard to the similarity of the mediaeval theories of Natural Science, Medicine, Philosophy, and the like in Europe to those current in Muḥammadan countries (whence, indeed, Europe in the Middle Ages chiefly derived her learning), proper equivalent terms must have existed, and these he has sought out from such books as "Batman uppon Bartholome, his Booke 'De Proprietatibus Rerum,'" London, 1582, "which work," as he observes (p. 48 *ad calc.*), "said to have been originally written in Latin about the middle of the thirteenth century by an English Franciscan friar named Bartholomew, is practically an encyclopædia of mediæval science."

Mr. Gibb divides the five and a half centuries during which the 'Old School' of Ottoman poetry flourished (A.D. 1300 – 1859) into four periods: the Formative (A.D. 1300–1450); the period of which Jámí was the chief Persian model (A.D. 1450–1600); the period dominated by the Persian poets 'Urfí and Ṣá'ib (A.D. 1600–1700); and the final period of uncertainty (dominated at first by the Persian poet Shawkat of Bukhárá) which immediately preceded the rise of the 'New' or 'European School.' This last was inaugurated by Shinásí Efendí, who, "by the production in 1859 of a little volume of translations from the French poets into Turkish verse . . . . opened the eyes of his countrymen to the fact that there was a literature worthy of study outside the realms of Islám, and in this manner prepared the way for a revolution the results of which have been beyond compare more momentous and farther-reaching than those of any other movement by which Ottoman poetry has been affected."

Of the 'New' or 'European' school, to which belong, besides Shinásí Efendí, Námiq Kemál Bey, 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq Ḥámid Bey, now Councillor to the Ottoman Embassy in

London, and other distinguished writers, Mr. Gibb entertains a very high opinion, which he will no doubt justify in the last of the six books which his work will comprise, and of which this volume contains the first and second.

Did space allow, we should like to discuss more fully many points in this excellent book, which we are disposed to regard as one of the most important, if not the most important, critical studies of any Muḥammadan literature produced in Europe during the last half-century. It is a model of accurate, scholarly work, combined with sound critical judgement, sympathetic insight, and a remarkable skill in rendering into English not only the ideas but also the forms of a poetry at once so conventional and so unlike our own. Whether any skill can make the elaborate and artificial rhetorical devices which play so large a part in Turkish poetry popular with the English reader is another question.

One passage of Mr. Gibb's Introduction (pp. 24–25) so admirably describes the mental attitude generally adopted by Persian and Turkish poets that we cannot refrain from citing it in conclusion:—"As has been well said by a thoughtful writer (Gobineau) who has seen deep into the Asian mind, we must ever keep before us the fact that while the European seeks almost unconsciously to impart a homogeneity to his conceptions by rejecting whatever is incompatible with the beliefs he holds or embraces, the Eastern, for whom exactitude has no such charm, is more concerned to preserve from loss or oblivion every minutest idea which the mind of man has conceived. The exactitude so dear to the European is distressful to the Asiatic in that it tends to circumscribe the flight of his imagination. . . . So in the mind of the Eastern thinker, intent to learn and retain all he can concerning spiritual things, there generally exist side by side fragments of many such systems often contrary one to the other, as well as incompatible with some among the tenets of his avowed religion."

E. G. B.

Le Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire d'Abou Zéïd Ahmed ben Sahl el-Balkhî, publié et traduit d'après le manuscrit de Constantinople, par M. Cl. Huart. (Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. Paris: Leroux, 1899.)

If few of the great teachers and scholars whom we, the votaries and students of the learning and literature of the East, honour and revere, have left a void so hard to fill as the late Director of the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes of Paris, M. Ch. Schefer, few have found a worthier or more loyal successor to the Chair which owed so much to his rare erudition. The touching dedication of this volume—a *souvenir de profonde reconnaissance* in which all who knew M. Schefer's work, but most of all those who knew himself and his ungrudging generosity in placing at the disposal of his younger colleagues and fellow-workers those vast stores of learning which commanded the admiration of both East and West, would fain join — reminds us that though he is gone from amongst us his work and his influence remain, and that the Chair of Persian which he so long adorned is occupied by one of his friends and pupils who will not suffer that work or that influence to languish or wane.

M. Huart's attention was, as he tells us in his preface, first directed to this important historical work, of which the first volume now lies before us, by M. Schefer. One manuscript only is known to exist (No. 918 in the Library of Dámád Ibráhím Páshá in Constantinople), but it is fortunately an old one (dated A.H. 663 = A.D. 1265), and apparently as correct as can be expected. The difficulty of constructing an irreproachable text on a single codex is obvious and universally recognized, and this text will doubtless admit in places of other emendations than those suggested by Dr. Ignáz Goldziher in vol. liv of the *Z.D.M.G.*, pp. 396–405, but M. Huart (who is himself the first to recognize this fact, p. xvi) has conferred a great benefit on all

students of Muḥammadan history, philosophy, and theology by its publication and translation, and we offer him our sincere thanks and warm congratulations on the achievement of this portion of his task.

What is known of the author, Abú Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhí, who flourished about the middle of the fourth century of the *hijra* (A.D. 966), and his works, is set forth by M. Huart in his Preface, to which we refer the reader. The *Kitábu'l-Bad' wa't-Ta'ríkh*, of which the first six chapters, with translation, notes, and index, are included in this volume, comprises in all twenty-two chapters, of which some of the later ones (notably ch. xi, on the ancient Kings of Persia; ch. xii, on the religions of the world, including the pagans of Ḥarrán, the Zoroastrians, and the *Khurram-dínán*, or followers of Mazdak and Bábak; and ch. xix, on the Muḥammadan sects) seem likely to prove of the highest interest to students of Persian history. The contents of this volume are mainly theological and philosophical, and deal largely with such well-worn topics as the nature and scope of Knowledge, the proofs of God's existence, the Divine Names and Attributes, the Prophetic Function, the Creation, and Muḥammadan Eschatology.

Incidentally many interesting facts are mentioned which throw new light on important points of biography, history, and religious thought, for the author is at some pains to expose and refute the opinions of the Magians, Ḥarránians, Dualists (Manichaeans), Mu'tazilites, and others whom he regards as in error. Withal he seems to have been of an open mind; thus he tells us of a visit which he paid to a fire-temple in Khuzistán, and of the answers given by the Magian priests to his enquiries (pp. 57 and ٢٣). Interesting, as further evidence of how Pahlaví was read at this epoch by the Zoroastrians, is the formula cited in this connection (from the *Patêt*, as M. Huart conjectures), "*Ví-gumán ham bi-hastíh-i-Hurmuz ú Bishtáspándán* (?); *ví-gumán ham* (?*bi-*) *Rastakhíz*," "I am free from doubt as to the existence of Hurmuzd [Ahura Mazda] and the Amshaspands; I am free from doubt as to the Resurrection."

While congratulating M. Huart on what he has already accomplished, we pray him not to defer longer than necessary the completion of this most interesting and important work.

E. G. B.

HISTOIRE DES ROIS DES PERSES *par Aboû Manṣoûr 'Abd al-Malik ibn Moḥammad ibn Ismâ'îl al-Tha'âlibî : texte arabe publié et traduit par* M. ZOTENBERG. pp. xlv, 760. (Paris : Imprimerie Nationale, 1900.)

It is with the greatest pleasure that we welcome this magnificent volume, which does honour alike to the fine scholarship of M. Zotenberg and the typographical skill of the Imprimerie Nationale. Since his retirement from the Curatorship of the Oriental MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale—a retirement deeply deplored by all those who had experience of his unfailing amiability and readiness to help with his vast knowledge of Muḥammadan literature all whose studies led them to frequent the manuscript room of that great Library—M. Zotenberg has observed a seclusion of which we now see the rich fruits. The work which he has now so successfully produced is of the greatest interest, especially to students of ancient Persian history and legend, alike from its rarity, its authorship, its subject-matter, and the period of Arabic literature to which it belongs.

First, as regards its rarity, three manuscripts only are known to exist. The finest of these, dated A.H. 597 or 599 (A.D. 1201 or 1203), is preserved in the library of Dámád Ibráhím Páshá at Constantinople, in the printed catalogue of which (Constantinople, A.H. 1312) it is described, at p. 64 (No. 916), as the *Ghuraru's-siyar* of Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Marghaní. To this manuscript attention was originally called by that unfortunate martyr of science, M. F. E. Schulz, in 1828, at which epoch it was ignorantly classed by the Turkish custodians of the library as part of the great history of Ibn Khaldún. Its real nature

and interest having been signalized by Schulz, a transcript of it was made in 1836 for the Bibliothèque Nationale (then Royale). This transcript (Fonds arabe, No. 1,488), denoted *C.* (Constantinople Codex), is one of the two MSS. on which M. Zotenberg's text is based. The other (Fonds arabe, No. 5,053) appears to date from the sixteenth century, was bought at Mosul in 1891, and is denoted *M.* (Mosul Codex).

As regards the authorship of the work, while it is ascribed in M. to ath-Tha'álibí, it is, as we have seen, attributed in C. to Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Marghaní. There actually existed a person of this name, a general in the service of the House of Ghúr; but, as M. Zotenberg shows in his long and carefully-reasoned preface, there is every reason to believe that, as indicated in the Mosul Codex, the well-known and prolific writer Abú Manṣúr 'Abdu'l-Malik ath-Tha'álibí, born at Níshápúr in A.D. 961, died in A.D. 1038, was the real author. Of his works some thirty are enumerated by Brockelmann at pp. 284–6 of the first volume of his excellent *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*. Of these the best known are the *Yatímatu'd-Dahr*, an account of the more notable poets of his own and the preceding generations, printed at Damascus in A.H. 1304; the *Laṭá'ifu'l-Ma'árif*, edited by de Jong in A.D. 1867; the *Mubhij*; the *Bardu'l-akbád*, etc. (see pp. ix–xi of the present volume, *ad calc.*). The work before us was, as M. Zotenberg shows, composed probably between A.H. 408 and 412 (A.D. 1017–1021), and is dedicated to Prince Abu'l-Mudhaffar Naṣr b. Náṣiru'd-Dín Abí Manṣúr, the brother of the great Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna. In its entirety, it comprises not only the history of the ancient Kings of Persia down to the Arab invasion, but also of those of Yemen, Ḥíra, and Ghassán, and the biography of the Prophet; while a second volume (which, unfortunately, has not, so far as is known, come down to us) treated of the Muḥammadan dynasties down to the author's time.

Of the first volume "la partie importante . . ., la seule qu'il nous a paru utile de publier," says M. Zotenberg

(p. xviii), "est celle qui est consacrée à l'histoire des rois de Perse, composée à peu près à la même époque et dans le même milieu, et aussi d'après les mêmes sources, que le *Schâhnâmeh* de Firdausî." Lately, thanks to the publication of a considerable number of important Arabic historical and other works, such as those of al-Bírúní, al-Ya'qúbí, Dínawarí, Ṭabarí, and the like, and the admirable monographs of Professor Nöldeke (*Das Iranische Nationalepos*, in the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, 1896) and Baron Rosen (*K'voprosu ob arabskikh perevodakh Khudâ'e-nâma*, in the *Vostochniya Zamyetki*, 1895), we know far more about Firdawsí's sources than formerly; while for two portions of his *Sháhnáma* (the reign of Ardashír Bábakán and the Zarír-legend) we are now able, thanks to Nöldeke and Geiger, to compare that celebrated epic with the original Pahlaví versions of the corresponding episodes. The result of such comparison is at once to lower our estimate of Firdawsí's originality, and to raise our opinion of his fidelity to the ancient tradition. Apart from his well-known indebtedness to his predecessor Daqíqí, to whom he owes the part of his poem dealing with the reign of Gushtásp and the advent of Zoroaster, we now know that, apart from Arabic and Persian prose versions of the *Khudâ'e-nâma*, or "Book of Kings" (see pp. xxiv–xxv of the present work), Firdawsí was not the first to present the epic in Persian verse; for ath-Tha'álibí, in the text now rendered accessible to us by M. Zotenberg, twice cites (pp. 263 and 457) "the author of the book of the *Sháhnáma*" in a manner which makes it pretty certain that he does not allude to Firdawsí's work (which had already appeared, and was presumably known to our author, who lived in the same *entourage*), and twice refers explicitly (pp. 10 and 388) to an epic poem on the ancient Kings of Persia composed in Persian *mathnawí* (or *muzdawij*) verse by one Mas'údí of Merv, a poet not otherwise known to us.

The volume before us is in every respect a model of a really interesting text, thoroughly well edited and translated, provided with a most scholarly introduction, and irreproachable as regards typography and other material adjuncts, and

reflects equal credit upon M. Zotenberg and the Imprimerie Nationale. The points wherein this version of the old Persian legend differ from Firdawsí's are well stated in the Introduction (pp. xxvii–xl), and cannot be discussed in the brief limits of this review. The author's narrative is enlivened by numerous interesting illustrations and parallels drawn from later times, and by many pretty and well-chosen verses. Amongst the former, an anecdote related (p. 431) concerning Qábús b. Washmgír (reigned in Jurján, A.D. 976–1012) is instructive, as an instance of the cold-blooded and purposeless ferocity in which a cultivated prince of that time and place could at times indulge. Amongst the latter we may cite the following, which strongly recalls the well-known lines in the *Hitopadeśa*:—

यौवनं धनसम्पत्तिः प्रभुत्वमविवेकता ।
एकैकमप्यनर्थाय किमु यत्र चतुष्टयम् ॥

"*Youth, accumulation of wealth, lordship, want of judgement—*
Each by itself even is hurtful: how much more so all four together?"

The Arabic verses (cited *à propos* of the last Darius, p. 402) run—

سَكْرَاتٌ خَمْسٌ إِذَا مُنِيَ ٱلْمَرْءُ ۚ بِهَا صَارَ خُلْسَةً لِلزَّمَانِ
سَكْرَةُ ٱلْمَالِ وَ ٱلْحَدَاثَةِ وَٱلْعِشْقِ وَسُكْرُ ٱلشَّرَابِ وَ ٱلسُّلْطَانِ

"*Il y a cinq sortes d'ivresses; l'homme qui en est atteint devient la proie du sort:*
Celles de la richesse et de la jeunesse, l'ivresse de l'amour, et celles du vin et pouvoir."

Núshírván's disbelief in popular education is also illustrated by two excellent couplets in Arabic (p. 608), which we recommend to those who regard the education of the masses as a panacea for all evils.

E. G. B.

ASCENSION OF ISAIAH. By the Rev. R. H. CHARLES, D.D. pp. lxxiv + 156. (London: A. & C. Black, 1900.)

Dr. Charles, whose valuable series of early apocalyptical and apocryphal writings is so well known, has again earned the gratitude of scholars by his edition of the *Ascension of Isaiah*. This work, it is true, has already been accessible in two or three forms, but now, for the first time, all the existing materials are collected, edited, and arranged in a critical form that leaves nothing to be desired. The critical apparatus (pp. 83–143) comprises a revision of the Ethiopic text, last printed by Dillmann in 1877, but, as it would seem, with serious defects. In parallel columns Dr. Charles has presented the fragments of two Latin versions—a Latin translation by Professor Bonwetsch of the Slavonian version, and the Greek fragment recently found among the Amherst papyri. Finally, for the sake of completeness, Dr. Charles has reprinted the important Greek legend found by Gebhardt in a Paris MS. of the twelfth century. Of these materials the Amherst fragment[1] and one of the Latin versions (L^1) date from the fifth or sixth century; the rest are considerably later.

That the *Ascension of Isaiah* is composite has been recognized by all workers, with the sole exception of Lawrence (1819). It is fortunate, however, that the problem of resolving the work into its sources is not so complicated as is the case, for example, with the *Apocalypse of Baruch*. In his excellent introduction to the present work Dr. Charles produces evidence to support the view that the book is made up of three main elements: (1) the "Vision of Isaiah" and (2) the "Testament of Hezekiah"—closely related Christian writings of which the latter (at least)[2] goes back to a Jewish original—and (3) the "Martyrdom of Isaiah," also of Jewish origin. These three sources admit of being

[1] For this, edited with the rest of the Amherst papyri by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, reference may be made to Schürer's recent review in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, No. 22 (October 27th).

[2] In regard to the former see end of this review.

traced back to the end of the first century A.D., the legend of Isaiah's martyrdom, an allusion to which may probably be found in Heb., xi, 37, being doubtless of greater antiquity. A considerable amount of material for the study of this legend has been collected by Beer in Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen* (ii, pp. 119 sqq.), and Dr. Charles has devoted a section in the introduction to a short account of the Oriental influences which are apparent in it. Mention might have been made there of the fact that Felix Fabri (close of the fifteenth century) [1] gives a form of the legend somewhat akin to that recorded in the Talmud (cited by Charles, p. xlvi), and that the *wooden saw* (a detail which dates back as far as Justin Martyr) is, as Nestle has pointed out, a misunderstanding of an original Hebrew מְשׂוֹרְעִין ('wood-saw').[2]

Among the many features of interest which the *Ascension of Isaiah* presents is the light ("illuminating, though at times lurid") which it throws upon the state of Christianity towards the close of the first century. In the "Testament of Hezekiah" we probably find the earliest reference to the martyrdom of St. Peter, whilst the account of the Antichrist in the same source affords certain details which are absolutely unique: a circumstance which has caused Dr. Charles to add an important chapter on the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths and their subsequent fusion—a knotty problem which the Continental scholars Gunkel and Bousset have done much to solve.

In his translation (pp. 1–82) Dr. Charles has successfully aimed at a faithful rendering of the Ethiopic, and by the use of various symbols at once places the reader in possession of the state of the parallel texts. The notes, too, are sufficiently adequate, whilst the treatment of such important passages as i, 8; ii, 12; iv, 3, 13, 16, 18, etc., is admirable. As usual, the printing (particularly of the Ethiopic) is accurate, and the few misprints we have come across are insignificant

[1] *Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society*, vol. i, p. 530 sq.

[2] Cf. in the Greek Legend, iii, 14 (ἐν πρίωνι σιδηρῷ), with *v.* 19, etc. (πρίωνι ξυλίνῳ).

and will worry no one. It need scarcely be said that Dr. Charles' edition will be indispensable to all future workers in the field of apocalyptic research, who, we doubt not, will agree with his general results. That finality has been reached either in fixing the text or in determining the extent of editorial redaction, Dr. Charles himself would probably be the first to deny. The hands of at least two editors doubtless appear in such an editorial addition as v, 15, 16, and probably elsewhere (e.g., i, 2*b*–6*a*). Similarly, the present confused state of ii, 12 – iii, 1 is probably due to the circumstance that ii, 12*b*–16 is an insertion. It is not a simple gloss, since the false prophet Belchîrâ (*temp.* Manasseh) appears as the nephew of Zedekiah (*v.* 12*a* = Hezekiah, *v.* 12*b*) and Jâlerjâs (*v.* 15), of the time of Ahab and Ahaziah; and in the allusion to the four hundred prophets of Baal, as well as in *v.* 14, Elijah is introduced into the context in a wholly unexpected manner. The whole passage, however, has suffered as much from textual corruption as from editing, and it is in his treatment of the texts at his disposal that future investigation may prove Dr. Charles to have been too cautious. Unnecessary or unsubstantiated emendations are, of course, to be deprecated; they defeat the very object they have in view; where, however, the ordinary methods of dealing with obscure texts fail, reasonable conjecture is legitimate. It is difficult, for example, to understand Dr. Charles' procedure on p. 15, where Jâlerjâs (quoted above) is as corrupt as the Mount Joel to which he is said to have belonged. Both the Ethiopic and Greek (ΙΑΛΛΑΡΙΑΣ) obviously go back to Gemariah (ΓΑΜΑΡΙΑΣ), which is actually given in one of the Latin versions.[1] Nevertheless the name is not marked as corrupt. For 'Joel' (marked as corrupt) Dr. Charles, following the Greek ΙΣΗΛ, suggests the reading 'Israel,' the (*mons*) *Efrem* of the corresponding Latin version being simply "an equivalent in thought

[1] As in the cases of Amâdâ (*v.* 12, for יִמְלָה) and Tâzôn (iii, 2, for נָזוֹן), the corruption has probably taken place in the Greek.

though not in letter." This is hardly satisfactory, although, in spite of alternative conjectures which suggest themselves, it seems difficult to hit upon any very plausible explanation.[1] In the following verse Aguarôn is treated as a corruption of Gomorrah (the reading of the Greek and Latin versions), but even if this were a usual contemptuous term for Samaria we should hardly expect it here. More probably the original reading was Samaria itself (שמרון misread עמרה). We need, further, some less antiquated explanation of Matanbûchûs and Belchîrâ than 'worthless gift' (p. 11, מתן בוקא; Lücke in 1852)[2] and 'lord of the world' (p. 14, בעל קריה; Gesenius in 1830). For the latter, the form *Μελχίας* in the Greek legend suggests Machi(j)ah (מלכיה), whilst other forms (see p. 13 sq.) seem to presuppose מלכי–רע ('evil king,' 'evil counsel'?), or, less plausibly, מלאכי–רע ('evil messenger'?).

Passing over the interesting reading in iii, 2,[3] and its bearing on the Hebrew text of 2 Kings, xvii, 6, 1 Chron., v, 26; we may, in conclusion, indicate two difficult readings which appear to be based upon a presumably Hebrew original. The first passage occurs at the close of the so-called "Testament of Hezekiah." In iv, 21, the Ethiopic runs: "and all these things, behold they are written [in the Psalms] in the parables of David the son of Jesse, and in the Proverbs of Solomon his son." The words in brackets are regarded

[1] Thus, the fact that the scene is laid near Bethlehem (ii, 12*a*; iii, 1) suggests that the Latin *efrem* stands for 'Rephaim' (Josh., xv, 8, etc.), and that 'Joel' (יואל?) is a variant representing 'Jeruel' (ירואל; 2 Chron., xx, 16). On the other hand, in view of the hostility with which Samaria is regarded in the context, one might have expected Ebal or Gerizim; one may perhaps conjecture that 'Joel' is a corruption of the former and 'Efrem' of the latter (ב in the first instance misread as פ). The existence of two so dissimilar variants may then, perhaps, become more explicable.

[2] It is possible that the name has been introduced into ii, 4, from v, 3, which (*ex hyp.*) may be already corrupt—for 'the princes' (cf. v, 12)?—or may it go back to a transliteration of a Greek original, *μετά* . . . . ?

[3] 'Boundaries [Gr. and Lat. 'mountains'] of the Medes.'

by Dr. Charles as an explanatory gloss upon "in the parables," which was afterwards incorporated in the text. But 'in the parables' and 'in the Proverbs' are represented by the same word both in Ethiopic and Hebrew (= בְּמִשְׁלֵי). It is unlikely that the word would be used in two different senses in a couple of lines, and it seems natural, therefore, to suppose that the occurrence of 'in the parables' between 'Psalms' and 'David' is merely due to a clerical error.

The second passage is vi, 17, where Dr. Charles, commenting on the words, "and the *sweet smell* of the spirit was upon them," notes that 'sweet smell' in the Ethiopic represents *εὐωδία*, a corruption of *εὐδοκία*, or (more tentatively proposed) of *εὐοδία*. In support of the former view, reference is made to Ecclesiasticus, xliii, 26, where, as a matter of fact, we have the variants *εὐωδία* [B], *εὐοδία* [א C], and *εὐδοκία* [A]. Turning to the Hebrew original, we see that A and B are corruptions of א C, which represents יצלח ('prosper'). This at once gives us a clue, for, retaining the same Hebrew root, but with a different meaning, we may conjecture that the passage in vi, 17, originally ran: "and the spirit *descended* [better, *had descended*] upon them." In Hebrew this may have been רוח עליהם [or ותצלח] וצלחה.[1] The omission of 'of the Lord' after 'spirit' does not constitute a very serious difficulty in the present context. This explanation, of course, presupposes that the "Vision of Isaiah" is primarily of Jewish origin; that this is true, at all events as regards the introduction, vi, 1–17, seems not improbable.

S. A. C.

[1] Cf. 1 Sam., x, 6, and frequently. It is interesting to observe that there is a very similar corruption in 1 Esdras, i, 11, where *μετ'εὐωδίας* corresponds to ובצלחות ('and in pans') in the parallel passage, 2 Chron., xxxiv, 13; *καὶ εὐοδώθη*, the reading of the Septuagint, is due to a very plausible misunderstanding.

Le Livre des Avares (*Kitábu'l-Bukhalá*), par Abou 'Othmán 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jáḥidh de Baṣra: texte arabe, publié d'après le manuscrit unique de Constantinople, par G. Van Vloten. pp. xii, 290. (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1900.)

Between the years A.H. 1304 and 1312 (A.D. 1886–1895) catalogues of no fewer than thirty-seven mosque and other public libraries in Constantinople were published by the Turkish authorities, to whom is due our deepest gratitude for thus making known to us the priceless gems of Muhammadan literature which are there preserved. These catalogues comprise in all some 4,711 pages, and contain brief descriptions of about 57,143 manuscripts, many of which are of great rarity and importance. They are, on the whole, highly creditable to their compilers, though there is naturally a good deal of inequality in the work: while the descriptions are meagre, important details (such as the dates of transcription) are often wanting, and there are no indices to facilitate reference, so that he who is in search of a particular work is compelled to read through the whole catalogue. A system of classification is, it is true, observed, but not very strictly; so that, for instance, manuscripts of the *Sháhnáma* will sometimes appear under "Poetry," sometimes under "History." Nor can the descriptive titles always be trusted, as we have seen in the notice of M. Zotenberg's edition and translation of ath-Tha'álibí's *History of the Kings of Persia*; for it is evident that they are often merely taken from the backs or title-pages of the manuscripts described, and anyone who has had occasion to catalogue a collection of Oriental MSS. knows by experience how deceptive such indications are. Still, thanks to the public spirit displayed by the Turkish Government, we are now able to appreciate in some measure the extraordinary wealth of the Constantinople libraries, and

to feel assured that there lie treasures unbounded which will suffice to occupy fully the energies of many generations of Orientalists.

Already a beginning has been made. The text before us, as well as the equally important texts published by MM. Zotenberg and Huart, which we have already noticed, is based on one of these Constantinople manuscripts (No. 1,359 of the Library of Kyüprülü-zádé Meḥemmed Páshá). Dr. Van Vloten, the learned and active coadjutor of that incomparable Arabic scholar, Professor de Goeje, has lately devoted his energies especially to the works of the celebrated writer 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jáḥidh (d. A.H. 255 = A.D. 869), for particulars of whose life and literary activity we refer the reader to de Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikán's *Biographies*, vol. ii, pp. 405–410, and to Carl Brockelmann's excellent *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, vol. i, pp. 152–153. Al-Jáḥidh was a scholar of great erudition, though, as his biographers tell us, of very unattractive appearance, and wrote copiously on a variety of subjects connected with *Adab*, or general culture; but, though regarded by our strictest scholars as essentially 'classical,' he himself suffered, as we learn from al-Mas'údí (*Kitábu't-tanbíh wa'l-ishráf*, ed. de Goeje, p. 76), from the tendency of his contemporaries (like our own) to magnify the past at the expense of the present. Finding that his books, no matter how good they might be, both as regards matter and style, met with little appreciation when published in his own name, he began to write books of an inferior quality, which he ascribed to such well-known old writers as Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' and Sahl b. Hárún, which forgeries were eagerly sought after and widely circulated.[1] Later, the name of al-Jáḥidh himself served similarly as a peg whereon more modern writers might hang their own forgeries with a similar motive.

[1] Cf. also p. xi of Van Vloten's preface to his ed. of the *Kitábu'l-Maḥásin wa'l-Aḍdád*.

Of works ascribed to al-Jáḥidh the following exist in manuscript in the Constantinople libraries:—

(1) *Akláqu'l-Mulúk*, No. 2,827 in St. Sophia.

(2) *Kitábu'l-Bayán wa't-Tibyán* [or *-Tabyín*], No. 3,814 in St. Sophia; No. 762 in the Lib. of 'Áshir Efendí; Nos. 1,222–1,224 in Kyüprülü-zádé Meḥemmed Páshá; No. 1,076 of Rághib Páshá; No. 3,883 of As'ad Efendí; No. 347 of Esím Khán (authorship not stated); No. 1,514 of Dámád-zádé Qáḍí-'askar Meḥemmed Murád; No. 765 of Ḥálat Efendí (selections only); No. 1,053 of the Ḥamídiyya turbé-sí. This work has been printed at Cairo (A.H. 1313).

(3) *Siḥru'l-Bayán*, No. 1,284 of Kyüprülü-zádé Meḥ. P.

(4) *Tanbihu'l-Mulúk*, No. 1,065 of the same.

(5) *Fí faḍá'ili'l-Atrák* ("On the virtues of the Turks"), No. 4,159 of St. Sophia; No. 949 of Dámád Ibráhím Páshá.

(6) *Kitábu'l-Bukhalá*, the work now published by Dr. Van Vloten, No. 1,359 of Kyüprülü-zádé Meḥ. P. (the unique codex, dated A.H. 699 = A.D. 1300, described at p. v of the preface to this edition).

(7) *Kitábu'l-Ḥayawán*, No. 584 of 'Áshir Efendí; No. 876 of the same; Nos. 992–998 of Kyüprülü-zádé Meḥ. P.; No. 861 of Dámád Ibráhím Páshá.

(8) *Kitábu'l-Maḥásin wa'l-Aḍdád*, a pseudograph, as shown by Van Vloten in the preface to his excellent edition (Leyden, 1898), No. 1,508 of Dámád-zádé Qáḍí-'askar Meḥ. Murád.

We are unable in this number of the *Journal* to devote to this important text the space which it deserves—an importance not only philological, but historical, for, as Van Vloten points out (p. ii of the Preface), it throws valuable sidelights on the life and character of the *bourgeoisie* of 'Iráq in the third century of the *hijra*. Its importance from the point of view of Arabic philology, as tending to show

that at this epoch the spoken idiom, which it often faithfully reproduces, differed but little from the written language, is emphasized by the learned editor (p. iii); but for Persian philology also it is not without importance. Not only does it contain numerous Persian culinary and other terms (بانوان; پیلهور = فیلور; پشتندود; بارچین, etc.), but even Persian sentences, e.g. on p. 24:—اگر از پوست ابارون بیائی نشناسیم, "Even though thou shouldst come out of thy skin, we should not recognize thee." The form ابارون (cf. Old Persian *apêra*, Preface, p. viii) is interesting, as indicating that the word بیرون, *birún*, was at this epoch pronounced *abêrún*, and we have other instances of the representation of a Persian *yá-i-majhúl* (ê) as an *alif* (pronounced, no doubt, with the *imála*, or drawl, still observable in the speech of most Arabic-speaking folk). Thus, in al-Mas'údí's *Kitábu't-tanbíh wa'l-ishráf* (ed. de Goeje, p. 34, l. 2) we find خُرْشاد for خورشید, 'the sun'; and in a Persian passage cited in one of the commentaries on the *Naqá'iḍ* of Jarír and Farazdaq, which was shown to me by my colleague, Professor Bevan (who is engaged in preparing an edition of this work), the form کُناد occurs for کُنید.

Apart from this, the book, so far as we have had leisure to read it, is full of interesting anecdotes and pithy sayings, such as, "The most swift of mankind for strife is the most shameless in flight" (p. 10); Mu'áwiya's saying, "I never saw an act of prodigality which was not accompanied by the neglect of some rightful claim" (p. 15); and the cynical remark, "What ails the learned that they frequent the doors of the rich more than the rich frequent their doors?" (p. 16). It is curious that the character for meanness and parsimony borne by the people of Khurásán in the writer's time has in later days passed to the Isfahánís, "who," as the other Persians say, "put their cheese in a bottle,

and rub their bread on the outside of the bottle to give it a flavour." [1]

Our sincerest thanks are due to Dr. Van Vloten for the important text which he has rendered accessible to all Arabic scholars. Needless to say that, in spite of the difficulty of basing a satisfactory text on a single manuscript, his edition is in accordance with the best traditions of Dutch—which in this connection is equivalent to European —scholarship. Holland, we are happy to think, is in no danger of losing that pre-eminence in Arabic scholarship which she has held with so much honour since the beginning of the seventeenth century.

E. G. B.

EARLY BABYLONIAN HISTORY DOWN TO THE END OF THE FOURTH DYNASTY OF UR, with an account of the E. A. Hoffman Collection of Babylonian Tablets in the General Theological Seminary, New York. By the Rev. HUGO RADAU, A.M., B.D., Ph.D. (New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. London: Henry Frowde. 1900.)

In this work the author has united in one volume a large number of the oldest inscriptions of Babylonia, with translations, critical remarks, and an attempt at something like a chronological arrangement. It is a somewhat voluminous work, occupying, as it does, no less than 434 pages quarto, with broad margins (useful for making additional notes). The portion devoted to early Babylonian history takes up 317 pages, and the E. A. Hoffman collection the remainder of the book. This latter part contains reproductions of twenty-six Babylonian tablets and a brick, the former from Tel-loh (Lagaš), the latter from Niffer, but apparently brought, at some time or other, from Ašnunna or Ašnunnak (also written Ešnunnak). The inscriptions

[1] See Haggard and Le Strange's *Vazír of Lankurán*, pp. 7, 48, and 91–2, and my *Year amongst the Persians*, p. 196.

are well reproduced, and the small inscriptions from the cylinders, when present, are given — a great advantage, adding to the completeness of the texts.

There is no doubt that this is a most useful piece of pioneer work, and could only have been more so if the characters had been given in the first portion.[1] If, however, this had been done, it would probably have made the book still more voluminous, and necessarily too expensive. Nevertheless, one cannot help wishing that at least a few examples of the way in which the royal names are written had been given—not so much on account of having the names there in cuneiform characters (though this would have been useful to those whose knowledge of the texts is not deep), but because arguments in support of the chronological data brought forward are often based on palæographical evidence, and it is utterly impossible to recognize all their force without having the forms of the characters before one at the time the book is being studied.

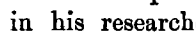
The author of this interesting and valuable work is no doubt right in making the period of Sargon of Agadé (Šargani-šar-âli) and his son Naram-Sin the pivot of the chronological portion of his work, the date of the latter (3750 B.C., according to the indications of King Nabonidus[2]) being sufficiently far back, and his inscriptions being written in a style sufficiently characteristic, to allow of useful comparisons being made with the texts of other rulers, both before and after his time; and this, in conjunction with the indications furnished by the rubbish-accumulations at Niffer, seems to place the statement of Nabonidus beyond a doubt, notwithstanding the objections made to it by Dr. Lehmann. It is likely that enough rulers will ultimately come to light to fill the gap which Dr. Lehmann, like most other people, abhors.

Probably the point which will strike the reader most in Dr. Radau's book is the number of petty kingdoms into

[1] Reproductions of four texts only are given in this part.

[2] See my article in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, November, 1882, p. 12.

which Babylonia was anciently divided, and the consequent number of kings and *patesis* who must have been contemporaneous. In the table which the author gives are to be found rulers of Kengi, Kîš, Girsu and Lagaš, Ur, Agadé, Erech, Isin or Nisin, Larsa (the Akkadian of this is Ararma, not UD-KIB-NUN-ki), and Babylon. In addition to this, the results of political changes are placed on record by such combinations of names as Erech and Amnanu (Dr. Radau joins the two names thus: *Uruk-Amnanu*—a German habit which has produced such unheard-of compounds as Eusebius-Schoene, Sanherib-Sennacherib, etc.), showing that Singašid, who bears the titles of "king of Erech, king of Amnanum,"[1] ruled over those two places. The importance of this information is pointed out by Dr. Radau on p. 226, and he mentions that the title was revived by Ša-maš-šum-ukîn (*Saosduchinos*), when he came to the throne of Babylon in 665 B.C.[2] Besides the provinces here mentioned, Dr. Radau includes in his researches also "Gish-UḪ [?]-ki," Gutium, Lulubum, and Elam, to which, however, the recent excavations undertaken under the auspices of the French Government have added an immense amount of important and exceedingly interesting material.

The oldest ruler known, according to Dr. Radau's tabulated list, is  , *En-šag-kuš-anna*,[3] "lord of Kengi," a district which the author identifies doubtfully, in his tabulated list, with Lagaš. The date of this king is placed before 4500 B.C. As one of the inscriptions of this ruler seems to read as follows,

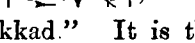
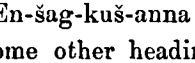
"En-šag-kuš-anna has dedicated to Ellilla [Bel] the spoil of wicked-hearted Kiš,"

it is supposed that the two districts Kengi and Kiš, the one on the south and the other on the north, were at this exceedingly remote period in conflict, and that the struggle "lasted undoubtedly several centuries."

[1] One of the texts of Sin-gašid was published by me, with a translation and notes, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* for November, 1886, pp. 8–11.

[2] See also the paper here referred to.

[3] Read En-šag-sag-anna by Hilprecht.

Many of the rulers of Babylonia, however, called themselves kings of Kengi, which, as Dr. Radau elsewhere states, is generally rendered by Šumer in the common expression  , *Kengi-Ura* (not *Kengi-Urda*), "Šumer and Akkad." It is therefore not altogether improbable that En-šag-kuš-anna will, later on, have to be placed under some other heading, as, besides being "lord of Kengi," he was also king of a place of which the name is lost. In fact, he was apparently only "lord of Kengi" in the same way that Ur-Engur (so I read instead of Ur-Gur) was "lord of Unuga" (Erech)—unless it be that in these two cases we are to regard *en* as being an abbreviation for  , *en mete Unug-*[*ki*]*-ga*, "lord of the insignia of Erech," which would, however, in all probability amount to much the same thing, for the lord of the insignia would naturally be the one who was regarded as having authority in the place, though another ruler might be the one possessing the real power of government.

One of the most interesting parts of the book, however, is that in which the author gives transcriptions and translations of the colophon-dates of the times of Dungi III, Bur-Sin, Gimil-Sin, and Ine-Sin. These are attached to the numerous contract-tablets of the reigns of these kings, and a fairly complete series of them, as far as they are now known, is given. They mostly refer to religious ceremonies, such as the consecration of arks, temples, and priests, to the favourite deities of the king and the people, though here and there (and sometimes frequently) historical events, generally warlike expeditions, are referred to. Thus we have such entries as the following:—

Mu ma [?] [*dingir*] *Nin-lil-la ba-gaba*, "Year he [the king] completed the ship [?] of Nin-lilla," where the event used to date by is a gift (of an ark?) to the temple of Beltis (Ninlilla).

Mu en maǧ-gala Anna en Nannara ba-tuga, "Year he invested the great supreme lord of Anu [and] the lord of Nannara."[1] This refers to the investment of temple-officials.

Mu [*giš*] *gu-za* [*dingir*] *Ellil-la ba-gim*, "Year he [the king] made the throne of Ellila," in which the seat of the statue of the god Bel is referred to.

Or they are as follows:—

Mu Ḫu-uḫ-nu-ri [*ki*] *ba-ǧul*, "Year he [the king] devastated Ḫuḫnuri."

It is to be noted that in certain places warlike expeditions follow one another very thick and fast, so that it may be supposed that when there was one of these to date by, a civil or sacerdotal event was seldom chosen. If this be the case, a fairly exact history of the reign of the king referred to may, when all the dates have been collected, be made.

To produce as complete a list of this nature as possible, has evidently been the aim of the author of this early history of Babylonia, and most readers will concede that he has succeeded fairly well. He has drawn upon every source, brought together the opinions of all possible scholars, examined them critically, and for the most part with a great deal of sound common-sense and apparently untiring industry. The notes are plentiful and to the point, and are always provided with references.

Of course it would in a study of this kind be noteworthy if there were not a few things which one would have liked to see differently done. From time to time one meets with inconsistencies—as in the case of the variant transcription of the character , 'strong,' which is transcribed *ligga*, a reading which does not appear in the bilingual texts, one of which gives *kala* as the pronunciation with the meaning of *danānu*, 'to be strong.' In the same way,

[1] At present I do not see my way to rendering this passively—i.e. as referring to the investiture of the king himself.

the proper transcription of , 'dolerite,' transcribed [*na*] *KAL* on p. 199, should be *esi* (), as is shown by W.A.I., ii, 45*d* (according to a correction made by me many years ago). The existence of a stone called *kalaga* is implied by l. 22 of the same list, but that this is probably not the one intended in the passage referred to is indicated by the terminal *ga*. The word *esi* has apparently passed over into Semitic Babylonian under the form of *ešu* (also *išu*), and was likewise used to denote a kind of wood which has, I believe, been regarded as ebony.[1] If this be the case, one of the stones most resembling it in appearance would be black basalt, but this passage shows that, however this may be, it was used as the name of the stone called dolerite.

A very interesting question is that of the identity of the district, or, rather, the town, indicated by the characters , transcribed in Dr. Radau's book [*giš*] *BAN* and *Giš-uḫ*-[*ki*]. It would naturally be important to know whether this place has anything to do with , *Upia, Upê* (Opis).[2] In W.A.I., iv, pl. 36 [38], the former group immediately follows the name of *Kišurra*, and is, in its turn, immediately followed by that for Opis. It would therefore seem that, if these two groups do not stand for the same place, they are very closely connected, and their relation to each other is probably illustrated by the other groups of the list, such as , which is repeated three times, suggesting that it had three pronunciations—which, as a matter of fact, was really the case, the three names which it stood for being *Muru, Ennigi,* and *Kakru,* and the same is probably the case for , , , and other groups given by this tablet and repeated more than once.

Another geographical question is that of the identity of

[1] See "Sin-gašid's gift to the temple Ê-ana," *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, November, 1886, p. 11.

[2] I have already touched upon this question.

the city Kinunir, which is stated to be Borsippa — an identification which Dr. Radau apparently regards as certain. On a tablet[1] of which I have a copy before me as I write, however, the name of this city is combined with that of Nina, thus:—

"280 gur (of woven stuff) within Kinunir Nina."

From this it would seem that Kinunir and Nina were as much one city as Lagaš and Girsu, or at least very close together.

But such a work as that of Dr. Radau has so many points which might be touched upon, and presents so many problems for consideration, that no really adequate account of it can be given in a short notice of this kind. Those who are interested in the subject of ancient Babylonian history should study the book itself. It is provided with explanations of words, lists of months, indices of subjects, etc., and can be recommended to the student with confidence.

T. G. Pinches.

A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar). A Contribution to the History of India. By Robert Sewell, Madras Civil Service (retired), M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S. (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., 1900.)

Everyone interested in the history of the Deccan and Southern India will be grateful to Mr. Sewell for his latest contribution to this subject. The history of the great Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar has hitherto been, practically, an unwritten chapter; and the author of the present work modestly states that this is intended "to form a foundation upon which may hereafter be constructed a regular history of the Vijayanagar empire. The result will perhaps seem disjointed, crude, and uninteresting; but let it be remembered that it is only a first attempt. I have little doubt that before very long the whole history of Southern India

[1] One of the Amherst Collection.

will be compiled by some writer gifted with the power of 'making the dry bones live'; but meanwhile the bones themselves must be collected and pieced together, and my duty has been to try and construct at least the main portions of the skeleton."

This great empire, which lasted about 250 years, sprang into existence rather suddenly, about the year 1344 A.D., and owed its origin to a combination of various Hindu states to check the wave of invasion by the Muhammadans under Muḥammad Tughlaq of Delhi. The tiny principality of Ānegundī became the nucleus round which rallied all the nations of the south, and the city of Vijayanagar, situated near Ānegundī, and founded in the year 1336, on the southern bank of the River Tungabhadra, became the capital of the new empire.

Previous to this period the Hindus of the Deccan had been subject only to temporary raids by the Muhammadans from the north; but three years after its establishment, the new Hindu empire found itself confronted on the north by the Bahmanī kingdom, which then became the representation of Muhammadan rule in Southern India. At the height of their power the Bahmanī kings claimed sovereignty over the Deccan, from the Tungabhadra river in the south to about lat. 21° in the north, and from Masulipatam on the east to Goa on the west.

From this period till the extinction of the Vijayanagar empire wars were of frequent occurrence between the Muhammadans and Hindus. Each of the Bahmanī kings considered it a point of honour to wage a *jihād* against the 'infidels' of the states of Vijayanagar, Telingānā, Orissa, etc., though victory was not always on the side of Islām. The Bahmanī Dynasty, after lasting a little more than 170 years, became broken up by its discordant elements; and the fragments resolved themselves into five independent Muhammadan kingdoms—Aḥmadnagar, Bijāpur, Golkoṇḍa, Bīdar, and Berār. These kingdoms were generally at war among themselves, and when not so engaged, one or other was raiding Vijayanagar territory. Consequently the

histories of each of these kingdoms and Vijayanagar have become so inextricably mixed up that it is impossible to write a complete history of any one of them without having that of all the others before one. For years past I have been engaged in translating Persian MSS. containing special histories of each of the Muhammadan dynasties of the Deccan; but, for the reason stated above, I have not yet been able to complete any one dynasty, except the Bahmanī. These special histories are fairly plentiful, but unfortunately no history of Vijayanagar by a native of the country seems to have survived. This is not to be wondered at when we consider that the first act of the Muhammadans after taking a town was to destroy every temple and religious institution; just the places in which historical and other records would have been kept. In fact, the only Hindu records extant seem to be inscriptions recording grants of lands, which documents, when viewed as state papers, seldom yield us more than a few names and dates. Other information regarding Vijayanagar history is derived "from the scattered remarks of European travellers, and the desultory references in their writings to the politics of the inhabitants of India, partly from the summaries compiled by careful mediaeval historians, such as Barros, Conto, and Correa, who, to a certain degree interested in the general condition of the country, yet confined themselves mostly to recording the deeds of the European colonisers for the enlightenment of their European readers; partly from the chronicles of a few Muhammadan writers of the period, who often wrote in fear of the displeasure of their own lords."

Notwithstanding the scantiness of the material to work upon, Mr. Sewell, by his well-known scholarship and industry, has produced a large and handsome volume, which will be acceptable to the general reader as well as to the deeper student of Indian history. The information derived from the sources above mentioned serves chiefly as an introduction to the most important portion of the work, which consists of two Portuguese chronicles, a translation

of which into English (made by Mr. Sewell himself) is now, for the first time, offered to the public. These are the chronicles of Taes, dated about 1520, and of Nuniz, composed about the year 1536 or 1537. These documents, as Mr. Sewell tells us in his preface, "possess peculiar and unique value; that of Taes, because it gives us a vivid and graphic account of his personal experiences at the great Hindu capital at the period of its highest grandeur and magnificence—'things which I saw and came to know,' he tells us—and that of Nuniz, because it contains the traditional history of the country gathered first-hand on the spot, and a narrative of local and current events of the highest importance, known to him either because he himself was present, or because he received the information from those who were so."

Besides these, the author gives us a translation of another highly interesting and important document, which "consists of an extract from a letter written at Cochin, December 12, A.D. 1616, by Manuel Barradas, and recently found by Senhor Lopes amongst a quantity of letters preserved in the National Archives at Lisbon"

The narrative of Taes is quaint and realistic. He seems to have gone everywhere in the city without hindrance, and even penetrated to the inner recesses of one of the principal temples. He says: "At the first gate are door-keepers, who never allow anyone to enter except the Brahmans who have charge of it, and I, because I gave something to them, was allowed to enter."

He describes the city as being of immense size, so that it could not all be seen from any one spot, "but," he adds, "I climbed a hill whence I could see a great part of it; I could not see it all, because it lies between several ranges of hills. What I saw from thence seemed to me as large as Rome, and very beautiful to the sight; there are many groves of trees within it, in the gardens of the houses, and many conduits of water which flow into the midst of it, and in places there are lakes (*tanques*); and the king has close to his palace a palm grove and other rich-bearing

fruit-trees." He describes it as "the best provided city in the world," all provisions being exceedingly plentiful and cheap. In the city three fowls were sold for one *fanas*—a coin worth a *vintem* (= $1\frac{7}{20}$ of a penny), and outside the city, he says, they gave four fowls for a *vintem*.

According to Taes, the wealth of the city and the amount of treasure amassed by the kings must have been enormous; and some idea of the beauty of its buildings can be gathered from the excellent photographs of the ruins given in the volume before us.

The chronicle of Nuniz is for the most part a historical sketch; and his information, being gleaned from Hindu sources, of course differs very much from the records of the same events as given by the Muhammadan historians. The most interesting portion of the narrative is his account of the great battle of Raichūr, between Krishna Deva, king of Vijayanagar, and the Bijāpur troops under Salābat Khān, which resulted in the defeat of the latter. The Muhammadans attributed their defeat on this occasion to the assistance given to the Hindus by Christovas de Figueiredo and his Portuguese sharpshooters, who, with their muskets, picked off every man of the garrison who exposed himself on the walls of the fort. But at the same time Salābat Khān is said to have had 500 Portuguese renegades fighting on his side.

The absence of dates in the chronicle of Nuniz is a serious drawback, and his corruption of proper names is very confusing. It is to be regretted that Mr. Sewell did not substitute the proper spelling in every instance, instead of giving it only in footnotes when a name is first mentioned. For instance, Ydallcão = 'Ādil-Shāh, Mafundo = Muḥammad, Comdovy = Koṇḍavīḍ, Cotamuloco = Quṭb-ul-Mulk, Bisnaga = Vijayanagar, and so on.

Chapter xv deals with the downfall of the Vijayanagar empire and the destruction of its beautiful capital, after the battle of Tālīkot, in which Rāma Rāya was totally defeated by the allied forces of the five Muhammadan kings of the Deccan. The story of the battle is taken from Firishtah;

but further details might have been gathered from other Persian histories, such as the Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk and Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Quṭb-Shāhī. The author of the former work—Rafī'-ud-Dīn Shīrāzī—visited Vijayanagar about ten years after the battle of Tālīkot, and gives a description of the city and a brief historical sketch. One of the rubrics in his book is as follows :—"Account of the great diamond which Hach (?) Talamrāj [1] had given to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān; and when Jahān-Panāh ('Alī 'Ādil-Shāh I) and Fatḥ Khān entered the house of Rām Rāj, they presented the above-mentioned diamond to Rām Rāj."

It would be interesting to know whether this is the same diamond "as large as a hen's egg" taken among other treasures in the sacking of Vijayanagar, and kept by 'Alī 'Ādil-Shāh I. If so, it only returned to its former owner.[2]

Another circumstance unnoticed by Mr. Sewell is the fact that Ibrāhīm Quṭb-Shāh—one of the allies opposed to Rāma Rāya at the battle of Tālīkot—had, during his younger years, been obliged to fly for refuge to Vijayanagar, where he resided for seven years, and was treated with the utmost kindness by Rāma Rāya. The story is fully told in the Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Quṭb-Shāhī.

With these trifling exceptions, I have looked in vain for any fault to find with Mr. Sewell's scholarly and interesting work, which many a student will doubtless use as a standard book of reference. Something might be said as to his spelling of proper names, but he disarms criticism on this subject by saying that he has "adopted a medium course between the crudities of former generations and the scientific requirements of the age in which we live." He has not, however, adhered to this principle in his quotations from Briggs' and Scott's translations of Firishtah, and in the Portuguese Chronicles: in these he has left unaltered "the crudities of former generations."

J. S. KING.

[1] Doubtless meant for Achyuta Rāya.
[2] See p. 208 and Appendix A.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(October, November, December, 1900.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

December 11, 1900.—Lord Reay in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Professor A. Edwards,
Kazi Azizuddin Ahmad,
Dr. Paul Carus,
The Rev. J. Tuckwell,
Mr. R. P. Karkaria,
Mr. P. Ramadhar Avasthy,
Mrs. Shrewsbury, and
Mrs. C. Ash

were elected members of the Society.

Brigade-Surgeon Oldham read a paper entitled "Who were the Nāgas? a Contribution to the History of Serpent-worship." The author said that the Nāgas of Manu and the epic poems, called by the Chinese pilgrims Dragons or Dragon Kings, appeared to be the Indian branch of that widespread family. He also explained that these Nāgas were identical with the serpents Ahi, etc., of the "Rigveda," and gave several quotations from the "Rigveda" in support of this. The author further showed that the Nāgas of Indra's heaven were the deified spirits of Nāga or Asura chiefs, just as the Dwas were the deified spirits of Kshatriyas.

He also explained that the Nāga demigods were represented as having a canopy, formed by the hoods of Nāgas or cobras, over their heads; and that they are so distinguished in the Buddhist sculptures, as also in the temples in which they are now worshipped in the Himalayas. The author also mentioned that Surya, the Hindu sun-god, has a similar canopy; and that, in addition to this, both Surya and the Nāga demigods hold in their hands a chakra or discus, which represents the sun. In fact, the author considers that the Asuras or Nāgas worshipped the sun, from whom they claimed descent; and that they were, in fact, the solar race. Many quotations from the "Rigveda," "Mahabharata," etc., were cited in support of this, and also as evidence that some of the Nāga or solar chiefs claimed divine honours as the sun-god personified. It was also mentioned that the only sacred snake in India is the cobra.

A discussion followed, in which Professor Bendall, Dr. Hoey, Mr. V. A. Smith, Mr. Raynbird, and Professor Rhys Davids took part.

II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

I. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Band liv, Heft 2.

Oldenberg (H.). Vedische Untersuchungen.

Brooks (E. W.). A Syriac Fragment.

Fell (W.). Südarabische Studien.

Jolly (J.). Zur Quellenkunde der Indischen Medizin.

Horn (P.). Persische HSS. in Constantinopel.

Horovitz (J.). Zur Geschichte von der verschlagenen Dalila.

Goeje (J. de). Süq.

Fraenkel (S.). ܠܘܐܚܠܐ.

Heft 3.

Foy (W.). Altpersisches und Neuelamisches.

Braun (O.). Ein syrischer Bericht über Nestorius.

Goldziher (I.). Bemerkungen zu Huart's Ausgabe des Kitāb al-bad'wal-ta'rich von al-Balchī.

Foy (W.). Zur Xerxes-Inschrift von Vau.

Winckler (H.). Šams-Göttin.

Schulthess (Fr.). Über den Dichter al Naǧāšī und einige Zeitgenossen.

Horn (P.). Persische HSS. in Constantinopel.

Böhtlingk (O.). Über einige Verbalformen mit vordachtigem *ai* im Sanskrit.

——— Ṛv. 5, 1, 1.

——— Eine Absurdität.

II. Vienna Oriental Journal. Vol. xiv, No. 3.

Reichelt (H.). Der Frahang i oīm.

Kirste (J.). Zur Mahābhāratafrage.

Zachariae (Th.). Der indische Lexicograph Hugga.

Krall (J.). Ein neuer nubischer König.

Winternitz (M.). Bemerkungen zur malaischen Volksreligion.

III. Journal Asiatique. Série ix, Tome xvi, No. 1.

Dussaud (R.). Influence de la religion nosairī sur la doctrine de Rāchid-ad-dīn Sinān.

Hoonacker (A. van). Le traité du philosophe syrien Probus sur les premiers analytiques d'Aristote.

III. Notes and News.

Dr. M. A. Stein thus writes to Mr. E. J. Rapson from Camp Khanarik, Kashgar (September 10, 1900):—

"I have had a very interesting, though, of course, somewhat fatiguing journey from Hunza onwards. Up to the Taghdumbash Pamir it was a succession of Alpine climbing tours. I was able to do useful topographical work on my way, passing *viâ* Tashkurghan to the west of Mustagh Ata,

and then through the flooded Gez valley down into the plains. At Kashgar I had to make a long halt to prepare my caravan for the journey to Khotan and into the Takla-makan. The presence of Mr. Macartney, the representative of the Indian Government in Chinese Turkestan, was most useful to me. I used my stay at Kashgar for archaeological excursions into the neighbourhood. At Khānui, a large ruined site to the north-east of Kashgar, I found a remarkably well-preserved stūpa and other remains. At Kashgar itself, two decayed mounds of large stūpas attest the antiquity of the place. Otherwise one might feel doubtful on this point, for neither old coins nor other antiquities are easily found there. The contrast to Khotan is striking in this respect.

"I am now marching along the desert to Yarkand, and thence to Khotan, where my real work is to begin. . . . . The Chinese officials, fortunately, have heard of Hiuen Tsiang; and so it can be explained to them that I am looking for the old places he describes. I may add, by-the-bye, that I could trace with ease at Tashkurghan all the localities he mentions in Sarikol (Kie-pan-to). Even the legends he heard survive."

Omar Khayyam.—Yet another edition of the Rubáiyat. Messrs. Methuen & Co. have issued a very neat little volume of Fitzgerald's translation, with a commentary by H. M. Batson and a biographical introduction by Professor E. D. Ross.

The Tar Baby in the Jātaka Book.—In the Pañcāvudha Jātaka (No. 55 in Bk. i) the Bodhisat, reborn as Prince Five-weapons, encounters the Ogre Hairy-grip. In the ogre's hairy hide, arrows, sword, spear, and club all stick, but do not penetrate. The Bodhisat then hits with right and left hands and feet, and butts with his head in succession, sticking fast to the ogre at every attempt. The latter is so impressed by his dogged pluck that he lets the prince go, and gets the usual admonition.

IV. Additions to the Library.

Presented by the India Office.

Cousens (H.). List of Antiquarian Remains in HH. the Nizam's Territories. 4to. *Calcutta*, 1900.

Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma. Fol. *Rangoon*, 1900.

Catalogue of India Office Library. Vol. ii, pt. 2. By J. F. Blumhardt. 8vo. *London*, 1900.

Satow (Sir E. M.). The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613. (Hakluyt Society.) 8vo. *London*, 1900.

Scott (J. G.) and J. P. Hardiman. Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States. In four volumes. Vol. i, pts. 1 and 2. 8vo. *Rangoon*, 1900.

List of Archaeological Reports published under the authority of the Secretary of State, Government of India, Local Governments, etc., not included in the Imperial Series of such Reports. Fol. *Calcutta*, 1900.

List of Proceedings, etc., India, 1859–1898. Preserved in the Record Department, India Office, London. Fol. *London*, 1900.

Presented by the Editor.

Lewis (Mrs. A. S.). Select Narratives of Holy Women from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest, as written above the old Syriac Gospels by John the Stylite, of Beth-Mari-Qanūn, in A.D. 778. Syriac text and translation. 2 vols. Studia Sinaitica, No. ix. 4to. *London*, 1900.

Presented by the Japanese Consulate.

Masayhi (Count Matsukata). Report on the Post-Bellum Financial Administration in Japan. 8vo. *Tokio*, 1900.

Presented by Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot.

Haeckel (E.). The Riddle of the Universe. 8vo. *London*, 1900.

Presented by the Authors.

Tilbe (Professor H. H.). Pali Buddhism.
8vo. *Rangoon*, 1900.

Stein (M. A.). Memoir on Maps illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kasmir, and case of maps.
8vo. *Calcutta*, 1899.

Gratton (F. M.). Notes upon the Architecture of China.
Pamphlet. 4to. *London*, 1894.

Sewell (R.). A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar). A Contribution to the History of India.
8vo. *London*, 1900.

Barth (A.). Bouddhisme. (Bull. des Rel. de l'Inde.)
8vo. *Paris*, 1900.

——— Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie. 12 fasc. 1896–1899. (Journal des Savants.)
4to. *Paris*, 1900.

Pope (Rev. G. U.). The 400 Lyrics: Purra-Nānnūrru. (Indian Antiquary.) 4to. *Bombay*, 1900.

Guidi (Professor I.). Il Testo Copto del Testamento di Abramo. Il Testamento di Isacco e il Testamento di Giacobbe. 8vo. *Roma*, 1900.

Tha Do Oung. Grammar of the Pali Language. In 4 vols. Vols. i, ii, and iii. 8vo. *Calcutta*, 1899–1900.

Jacob (Col. G.). A Handful of Popular Maxims.
8vo. *Bombay*, 1900.

Foucher (A.). Étude sur l'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde. 8vo. *Paris*, 1900.

D'Alviella (M. le Comte G.). Le Peigne liturgique de St. Loup. 8vo. *Bruxelles*, 1900.

Caland (Dr. W.). Altindisches Zauberritual.
Roy. 8vo. *Amsterdam*, 1900.

Presented by the St. Petersburg Academy.

Tarenetzky (A.). Beiträge zur Skelet- und Schädelkunde der Aleuten, Konaigen, Konai, und Koljuschen.
4to. *St. Petersbourg*, 1900.

Nachrichten der im Jahre 1898, ausgerüstete Expedition nach Turfan. Roy. 8vo. *St. Petersbourg*, 1899.

Leumann (E.). Über eine von den unbekannten Literatursprachen Mittelasiens. 8vo. *St. Petersbourg*, 1900.

Presented by Mrs. Plimmer.

Newberry (P. E.). The Life of Rekhmara, vezîr of Egypt under Thothmes III and Amenhetip II. 22 plates. 4to. *Westminster*, 1900.

Presented by Lady Hunter.

Hunter (Sir W. W.). History of British India. Vol. ii. 8vo. *London*, 1900.

Presented by the Cambridge University Press.

Browne (E. G.). A Hand List of the Muhammadan MSS., including all those written in the Arabic character preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge. 8vo. *Cambridge*, 1900.

Presented by the Colonial Office.

Ceylon Blue Book for 1899. Fol. *Colombo*, 1900.

Presented by Lady Meux.

Budge (Dr. Wallis). Miracles of the Virgin Mary; Life of Hannâ, etc. (Lady Meux Collection, Nos. 2–5.) 4to. *London*, 1900.

Presented by the Publishers.

Giamil (S.). Monte Singar, storia di un popolo ignoto, testo siro-caldeo e traduzione italiana. 8vo. *Roma*, 1900.

Griffith (R. T.). Texts of the White Yajurveda, translated with a popular Commentary. 8vo. *Benares*, 1897.

Mohammed Seghir Ben Youssef. Mechra el Melki, Chronique Tunisienne (1705–1771), traduit en français par Victor Serres et Mohammed Lassam. 8vo. *Paris*, 1900.

Charles (Rev. Dr. R. H.). The Ascension of Isaiah, translated from the Ethiopic Version, together with the new Greek Fragment, the Latin Versions, and the Latin Translation of the Slavonic, edited with introduction, notes, and indices. 8vo. *London*, 1900.

Fukuda (T.). Die gesellschaftliche und wirtschaftliche Entwickelung in Japan. 8vo. *Stuttgart*, 1900.

Vloten (G. van). Le Livre des Avares par Abou Othman Amr ibn Bahr al Djahiz, texte arabe. 8vo. *Leide*, 1900.

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Streck (M.). Die alte Landschaft Babylonien nach den Arabischen Geographen. Teil i. 8vo. *Leiden*, 1900.

Presented by the Ministry of Public Instruction, Paris.

Si-Do-in-Dzou. Gestes de l'Officiant dans les Cérémonies mystiques des sectes tendaï et Singon (bouddhisme Japonais), d'après le commentaire de M. Horiou Toki, traduit du Japonais par S. Kawamoura, avec introduction et annotations par L. de Millioué. 8vo. *Paris*, 1899.

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Purchased.

Pischel (R.). Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen. (Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Sprachen, Bd. i, Heft 8.) Roy. 8vo. *Strassburg*, 1900.

Geiger (W.). Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen. 8vo. *Strassburg*, 1901.

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. VIII.—*Emotional Religion in Islām as affected by Music and Singing.* Being a Translation of a Book of the *Iḥyā 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* of al-Ghazzālī with Analysis, Annotation, and Appendices. By DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford, Conn.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE ON MUSIC IN RELATION TO EMOTION.

"WHOSOEVER is harmonically composed delights in harmony; which makes me much distrust the symmetry of those heads which declaim against all Church-Musick. For my own part, not only from my obedience but my particular Genius, I do embrace it: for even that vulgar and Tavern-Musick, which makes one man merry, another mad, strikes in me a deep fit of devotion and a profound contemplation of the First Composer." This is the confession of Sir Thomas Browne, and in that confession races the farthest apart join. The influence of music on the soul, the emotions it stirs, the fears and hopes it excites, all peoples, all climates, all ages have known. The negro at his camp-meeting, the darwīsh at his *dhikr*, are here kin with the English scholar

and physician. For him it may not have been such a cataleptic ecstasy as befalls the negro or the darwīsh, but the cause was one and the essential nature. All religions have drawn strength and exaltation from this which lies at the root of all religion; it has ever kindled and fed the flame of devotion. The one could picture it to himself as "a sensible fit of that harmony which intellectually sounds in the ears of God"; the other can but ignorantly feel it working on his heart and soul, and sweeping him far from all the bonds of mind and thought. The unknown opens before him and clothes itself with his fancy. Whatever be the music that he hears, coming with music's vague yearning and sense of wrong and loss, it brings to him his own wild thoughts. To him, as to Sir Thomas Browne, music is one; all leads to God, the God of the swaying, restless heart, not of the steadfast mind. He knows how it speaks in universal terms; how its beauty is the beauty of the sunset, not of a painting; how to it belong no clear outlines, but the mind which we bring limits and gives it form. The tides of its seas that set towards eternity meet no bar, break upon no shore. In it is limitless possibility, feeling apart from thought, a golden clime with the ever changing, melting towers of a dream city. One emotion floats over into another, its kin. The strands of life twist and twine, each with each. Melodies of sensuous love come to express the worship of the Divine; musical phrases that speak the fear of man come to speak the awe of the Unknown. And when to the breadth of music is joined the wide solution of the meaning of Arabic words, the bounds of possibility are opened, and dreamy suggestion comes in place of thought. Then a love-poem may turn to a song of pure concent when heard with fitly tempered ears.

Sir Thomas Browne has touched this quivering nerve with the finger of genius. The negro camp-meeting has often been described from without, and some have even tried to analyze it from within. The fantastic orgies of darwīshes, dancing, howling, barking, and the rest—has not every Eastern traveller essayed upon them his pen, if not his

ridicule? It still remains to see them from within as they appeared to the sympathetic eyes of a great theologian who had himself part in them, and who applied the methods of science to the analysis of emotional effects. To transmit and interpret his results to Western readers is my object here. I trust that I have not met either the dream of the mystic or the intellectual subtilties of the scholastic with any lack of sympathy. There is much here that will require from the reader a healthy historical sense, much that will seem of kin to the wildest dreams of delirium; yet it should not be forgotten that our generation has seen a formal defence of the schoolmen, and that Lord Tennyson in his "Ancient Sage" has described and professed a perception through ecstasy that differs in nothing from the *wajd* of the Muslim saint.

Finally, I would ask the indulgence of the Arabist if I have not in all cases succeeded in grasping or adequately rendering the intricacies of my theologian's thought and style, and the indulgence of the non-Arabist if I have left in darkness any point necessary to his understanding. The notes could often have been made much longer and more minute in detail. But while I trust that sufficient has been done for the explanation of the text, I have endeavoured to keep the commentary within bounds, adding, however, such references as might form at least a beginning for further research. For an account of al-Ghazzālī himself I would refer to my paper on his life and religious experiences and opinions in vol. xx of the Journal of the American Oriental Society. It forms an almost necessary introduction to the present translation.

The Book of the Laws of Listening to Music and Singing and of Ecstasy. It is the Eighth in the Section of Customs in The Book of the Re-vivifying of the Sciences of the Faith.[1]

In the Name of God, the Merciful, Compassionate One.[2]

Praise belongeth unto God,[3] who hath consumed the hearts of His chosen in the fire of His love, and hath enslaved their thoughts and their souls in longing unto meeting Him and looking upon Him, and hath fixed their sight and their insight upon consideration of the beauty of His presence until they have become drunken with inbreathing of the breeze that tells of union, and their hearts are distraught and confounded with considering the praises of Majesty, and they see not His equal in existence, visible and invisible, and are not mindful of aught except Him in The Two Abodes.[4] If a form presents itself to their sight, their insight passes to Him that formed it; and if a melody strikes upon their ears, their secret thoughts pass hastily to the Beloved; and if there come to them a voice disturbing or disquieting or moving or making to sorrow or making joyous or making to long or stirring up, that they are disturbed is only unto Him, and that they are moved is only by Him, and that they are disquieted is only on account of Him; their sorrow is only in Him, and their longing is

[1] I translate from the edition of Cairo, 1302. I have also employed the commentary of the Sayyid Murtaḍà (referred to hereafter as SM.), *Itḥāf as-Sāda*, 10 vols., Cairo, 1311. The *Book* translated comes in vol. vi, pp. 454–end.

[2] Strictly 'the merciful Raḥmān,' but though the word was a proper name for God, standing beside Allāh, even before Muḥammad, yet the use in Islām is rather as I have rendered it. It is not a proper name, but an epithet noun.

[3] Lane, *sub voce*, p. 638*c*, translates *praise be to God*, but by *be* he seems to mean only an emphatic, ejaculatory assertion, not a prayer, *du'ā*. See his letter to Fleischer in ZDMG., xx, p. 187, where he explains in that way his rendering *tabāraka-llāh*, 'Blessed is,' or 'be, God.' That it is to be taken as an assertion is plain from al-Baydāwī, i, p. 6, ll. 3 ff. The precise force of both the *Basmala* and the *Ḥamdala* has been much discussed by Muslim divines. See, for example, the elaborate examination in al-Bājūrī's *Sharḥ* on the *Kifāya al-'awāmm* (Cairo, A.H. 1303).

[4] The Two Abodes are this world and that which is to come, *ad-dunyà wal-ākhira*.

only unto that which is with Him, and their being aroused is only for Him, and their coming and going is only around Him. From Him is their hearing and unto Him is their listening, and He hath locked their eyes and ears from aught besides Himself. They are those whom God hath chosen to be his Saints and has separated from His chosen ones and His peculiar ones. And blessing be upon Muḥammad, who was sent with His message, and upon his Family and Companions, leaders and guides in the truth, and much Peace![1]

Lo! hearts and inmost thoughts are treasuries of secrets and mines of jewels. Infolded in them are their jewels like as fire is infolded in iron and stone, and concealed like as water is concealed under dust and loam. There is no way to the extracting of their hidden things save by the flint and steel of listening to music and singing, and there is no entrance to the heart save by the ante-chamber of the ears. So musical tones, measured and pleasing, bring forth what is in it and make evident its beauties and defects. For when the heart is moved there is made evident that only which it contains like as a vessel drips only what is in it. And listening to music and singing is for the heart a true touchstone and a speaking standard; whenever the soul of the music and singing reaches the heart, then there stirs in the heart that which in it preponderates. Since, then, the heart is by nature obedient to the ears, to the degree that its secret things plainly show themselves through them and its defects are uncovered by them and its beauties made evident, an explanation is needed of what has been said with regard to listening to music and singing and with regard to ecstasy, and also a statement of what advantages are in these things and what disadvantages and of what is recommended in them of laws and modes, and of what pertains

[1] On the Muslim theory and practice of benediction on the Prophet and others, see Goldziher in ZDMG., L, pp. 97 ff. My translations here make no attempt to be final on a very difficult question. After a time I do not translate these benedictory formulae at all. The *Sharḥ* of al-Bājūrī cited above suggests that this also is an assertion to be translated, 'Benediction is upon . . .'; i.e., it is *ikhbārī* and not *inshā'ī*.

to them of disagreement on the part of the learned as to their being either forbidden or allowed. We will expound that in two chapters: the first as to the allowableness of listening to music and singing, and the second as to its laws and the effects which music and singing produce upon the heart, consisting of ecstasy, and upon the members of the body, consisting of dancing and crying out and tearing of garments.

I.

The First Chapter, treating of the disagreement of the learned as to the allowableness of Listening to Music and Singing, and revealing the truth as to that allowableness.

1.

A statement of the sayings of the learned and of the Ṣūfīs as to its being lawful or forbidden.

Know that the listening comes first, and that it bears as fruit a state in the heart that is called ecstasy; and ecstasy bears as fruit a moving of the extremities of the body, either with a motion that is not measured and is called agitation or with a measured motion which is called clapping of the hands and swaying of the members. Let us, then, begin with the rule as to listening—it comes first—and we will adduce with regard to it those sayings which express clearly the views which have been held on it. Thereafter, we will mention what points to its permissibility, and follow that up with an answer to what has been laid hold of by those who assert that it is forbidden.

As for the adducing of views, the Qāḍī Abū-ṭ-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī[1] has related from ash-Shāfi'ī[2] and Mālik and

[1] Abū-ṭ-Ṭayyib; d. 450. See Wüstenfeld's *Schâfi'iten*, No. 393, pp. 263 ff.
[2] Ash-Shāfi'ī; d. 204. For his life see Wüstenfeld, pp. 29 ff., and for a remark on his attitude to music, p. 41. The SM. notes that the book here mentioned, *Kitāb ādāb al-qaḍā*, is part of the *Kitāb al-amm*, No. 9 on p. 45 of Wüst. On rejecting of testimony, see note below.

Abū Ḥanīfa and Sufyān and a number of the learned, expressions which indicate that they viewed it as forbidden. He said, "Ash-Shāfi'ī (may God have mercy on him!) said in *The Book of the Laws of giving Judgment*, 'Singing is a sport which is disliked and which resembles what is false; he who meddles much with it is light of understanding, you shall reject his testimony.'" Further, the Qāḍī Abū-ṭ-Ṭayyib said, "That a man should listen to a woman who is not within the prohibited degrees of kinship is unlawful according to the followers of Ash-Shāfi'ī, equally whether she is in plain view or behind a curtain, is free or a slave." Further, he said, "Ash-Shāfi'ī (may God be well pleased with him!) said, 'If the possessor of a slave-girl gather men together to listen to her, he is of light understanding, you shall reject his testimony.'" And he narrated further from ash-Shāfi'ī: "He disliked beating time with a stick [*qaḍīb*], and was wont to say that freethinkers[1] made use of that to divert their attention from hearing the Qur'ān. And ash-Shāfi'ī said, 'On account of tradition, playing at backgammon is disliked more than playing on any kind of musical instrument. And I do not like playing at chess; I dislike all the games which men play, because play does not belong to the actions of the people of religion and manly virtue' [*murū'a*]. And as for Mālik[2] (may God have mercy on him!), he has forbidden singing. He said, 'When a man buys a slave-girl and finds that she is a singer, then it is his duty to send her back.' That is the view of the rest of the people of al-Madīna except Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd[3] alone. And

[1] *Zindīqs*, a very general term. The SM. interprets it of those who hold by no law and assert the eternal pre-existence of the world. Very frequently it means those who externally profess Islām, but do not believe in their hearts. See Huart, *Les Zindiqs en droit musulman*, Eleventh Congress of Orientalists, part iii, pp. 69 ff.

[2] Mālik b. Anas al-Ḥimyarī al-Madanī; d. 179. Wüstenfeld's an-Nawawī, pp. 530 ff. On his relation to music and singing, see also Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii, p. 79, note.

[3] Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Awf al-Qurashī az-Zuhrī Abū Isḥāq al-Madanī Nazīl Baghdād; 108–185. He was one of the shaykhs of ash-Shāfi'ī, and handed down traditions especially from Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhrī. The SM. has a lengthened notice of him under this occurrence, giving anecdotes of his love of music and singing and of his interviews with ar-Rashīd and others.

as for Abū Ḥanīfa[1] (may God be well pleased with him!), he disliked it and made hearing singing a sin; and so all the people of al-Kūfa, Sufyān ath-Thawrī[2] and Ḥammād[3] and Ibrāhīm[4] and ash-Sha'bī[5] and the rest."

All this the Qāḍī Abū-ṭ-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī has adduced. But Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī[6] adduced the allowableness of listening to music and singing from a number of the first believers. He said, "Of the Companions, 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far[7] and 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubayr[8] and al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba[9] and Mu'āwiya[10] and others listened to music and singing." He said further, "Many of the excellent first believers, both Companions and Followers,[11] have done that along with pious works." And he said, "The people of al-Ḥijāz with us in Makka did not cease to listen to music and singing even in the most excellent of the days of the year, and these are The Few Days[12] in which God

[1] Abū Ḥanīfa an-Nu'mān b. Thābit; 80–150. Ibn Khall., iii, 555 ff.; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī al-Makkī (d. 973), *Al-khayrāt al-ḥasanāt*, Cairo, 1304.

[2] Sufyān ath-Thawrī; 95–161. Ibn Khall., i, p. 576; an-Naw., pp. 286 ff. For anecdotes of him, see Kosegarten's *Chrestomathia Arabica*, pp. 61 f., and *Lawāqiḥ* of ash-Sha'rānī, vol. i, pp. 38 ff., of ed. of Cairo, *1316*.

[3] Abū Ismā'īl Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān Muslim; *d. 120. Ibn Khall., iii*, p. 564, n. 5; an-Naw., p. *135*.

[4] Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd an-Nakha'ī al-Kūfī; *d. 96. An-Naw., pp. 135 ff.*

[5] Āmir b. Sharāḥīl ash-Sha'bī; d. 104, *5*. Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif*, pp. 229 ff.

[6] The author of the *Qūt al-qulūb*; d. 386. See note 2 on p. 91 of Life of al-Ghazzālī (Journal of American Oriental Society, vol. xx).

[7] 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib; d. 80. An-Naw., pp. 337 ff.; Ibn Qut., 104. The SM. gives some details as to his love of music and singing. See, too, a story about him and his singing-girl 'Ammāra given by Derenbourg and Spiro in their *Chrestomathie* from the *Aswāq al-ashwāq* of al-Biqā'ī.

[8] 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, killed by al-Ḥajjāj in Mecca in 73. An-Naw., pp. 341 ff.; Ibn Qut., pp. 112 ff.; Quatremère in JA., sér. II, ix, 289, 385; x, 39, 137. The SM. again gives further details on his love of music.

[9] Al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba b. Abī 'Āmir ath-Thaqafī; d. 50. An-Naw., pp. 572, misprinted 576, f.

[10] Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān al-Umawī, the Khalīfa; d. 60.

[11] The Companions are those contemporaries of Muḥammad who came into personal contact with him as believers, and who died as believers; the Followers (*at-Tābi'ūn*) are those who received traditions directly from Companions. The SM. comments to the extent of six large quarto pages.

[12] The reference is to Qur'ān, ii, 199: *And remember God for a few days.* On account of the context this phrase has become limited to certain days in the month Dhū-l-ḥijja, which are thence called 'The Few Days.' Lane, in the Lexicon, *sub* √ 'DD, p. 1,971*c*, identifies these with the *Ayyām at-tashrīq* (p. 1,539*c*) as the 11th, 12th, and 13th, the three days after the 10th, the day of sacrifice, when the flesh of the victims was cut into strips and dried in the sun;

commanded His servants to remember Him, such as the days of at-Tashrīq. And the people of al-Madīna, like the people of Makka, have not ceased persisting in listening to music and singing up to this our time. We have known Abū Marwān the Qāḍī,[1] who had slave-girls who chanted in public and whom he had prepared to sing to Ṣūfīs." And he said further, "'Atā[2] had two slave-girls who chanted, and his brethren were wont to listen to them." And he said further, "They said to Abū-l-Ḥasan b. Sālim,[3] 'How dost thou forbid listening to music and singing when Junayd[4] and Sarī as-Saqaṭī[5] and Dhū-n-Nūn[6] were wont to listen?' Then he said, 'And how have I forbidden music and singing when those that are better than I have allowed it and listened to it?' And 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far aṭ-Ṭayyār[7] was

other explanations of the name are also given. But in this passage in al-Ghazzālī 'The Few Days' and the 'Days of Tashrīq' do not seem to cover one another, and al-Bayḍāwī (on Qur., ii, 199) seems to extend the term *Ayyām at-tashrīq* to cover the 10th of Dhū-l-ḥijja. See, too, al-Bērūnī's *Āthār*, p. 333 of translation.

[1] Abū Marwān Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Khālid b. 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Walīd b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān al-Madanī Nazīl bi-Makka; d. 241.

[2] Abū Muḥammad 'Atā b. Abī Rabāḥ Aslam al-Makkī al-Qurashī; d. 114, 15, 17? An-Naw., pp. 422 f.

[3] Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Sālim al-Baṣrī, one of the shaykhs of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, the author of the *Qūt al-qulūb*. He is referred to elsewhere in this book and in Ibn Khall., iii, p. 20.

[4] Abū-l-Qasim al-Junayd b. Muḥammad; d. 297, 98. Ibn Khall., i, p. 338, and Life of al-Ghazzālī, p. 91; de Sacy from Jāmī in *Notices et Extr.*, xii, pp. 426 ff.; *Lawāqiḥ* of ash-Sha'rānī, pp. 67 ff.

[5] Sarī b. al-Mughallis as-Saqaṭī (uncle and shaykh of the above); d. 256, 57. Ibn Khall., i, pp. 555 ff.

[6] Abū-l-Fayḍ Thawbān b. Ibrāhīm Dhū-n-Nūn al-Miṣrī; d. 245, 46, 48? Al-Qushayrī, *Risāla*, p. 10 of ed. of Cairo, 1304; Ibn Khall., i, pp. 291 ff.; Kosegarten's *Chrest. arab.*, pp. 58 ff.; *Lawāqiḥ*, pp. 56 f.

[7] This is the grandson of Abū Ṭālib referred to in note 7 on p. 202. *Aṭ-Ṭayyār* is a *laqab* of Ja'far and not of 'Abd Allāh. He was also called *Dhū-l-Janāḥayn*. For an account of how he gained these names, after his death, see the notice of him in an-Naw., pp. 193 f. Legend continued to grow up round him, for among the Indian Muslims he has become a Jinnī who appeared to al-Ḥusayn before he was killed and offered his assistance; he is also invoked for magical purposes, and is the reputed author of the book *al-Jafr* (*Life*, p. 113, note 2); see Herklots' *Qanoon-e-Islām*, pp. 166 and 380, and Burton, *Arabian Nights*, xii, p. 115. *Aṭ-Ṭayyār* occurs also in the *Fihrist*, p. 175, as a *laqab* of 'Alī b. Ismā'īl b. Mītham, but is considered by the editors to be an error for aṭ-Ṭammār. As this 'Alī also was a Shī'ite the name may be right. *Dhū-l-Janāḥayn* is the name of a Jinnī in the *Thousand and One Nights*, N. 583. See, too, Goldziher's article *Ueber Dual-titel* in the Wiener Zeitsch., xiii, p. 325 and note.

wont to listen, and he only forbad sporting and playing in listening. And it is related from Yaḥyà b. Mu'ādh[1] that he said, 'We miss three things and do not see them, and I shall not see them increase save little, beauty of face with modesty, beauty of speech with honesty, and beauty of brotherliness with abiding by duty.'" And I saw in some books this very thing related from al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī,[2] and it shows that he permitted listening to music and singing in spite of his asceticism and piety and strenuousness and energy in religion. Further he said, "Ibn Mujāhid[3] was not wont to accept an invitation except there was to be music and singing." And more than one has narrated that he said, "We gathered together to a banquet, and along with us were Abū-l-Qāsim b. bint Manī'[4] and Abū Bakr b. Dā'ūd[5] and Ibn Mujāhid with others their like, and there was music and singing there. Then Ibn Mujāhid began to urge on Ibn bint Manī' against Ibn Dā'ūd as to listening to the singing. And Ibn Dā'ūd said, 'My father related from Ibn Ḥanbal[6] that he disliked listening to music and singing, and my father disliked it, and I hold the view of my father.' Then Abū-l-Qāsim b. bint Manī' said, 'As for my grandfather Aḥmad b. bint

[1] Abū Zakarīyā Yaḥyà b. Mu'ādh ar-Rāzī, d. 258. Al-Qushayrī, *Risāla*, p. 20; Ibn Khall., iv, pp. 51 ff.

[2] Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī; d. 243. See note in *Life*, p. 91. Ibn Khall., i, p. 365, gives this saying as his.

[3] The SM. is in doubt as to who is meant here. According to him it may be Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Mujāhid, the shaykh of the Mutakallims and the shaykh of the Qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Bāqilānī (d. 403; see Schreiner, *Zur Geschichte des As'aritenthums*, pp. 108 ff.); as-Subkī gives his biography in the *Ṭabaqāt*. This Abū 'Abd Allāh appears to be the same as Abū-l-'Abbās b. Mujāhid at-Ṭā'ī al-Baṣrī, an immediate pupil of al-Ash'arī; see Schreiner, pp. 82 and 106. Schreiner refers to Ibn Khaldūn, *Muq.* ed. of Būlāq, p. 382, and the *Milal* of Ibn Ḥazm. Or it may be Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Mūsà b. al-'Abbās b. al-Mujāhid al-Muqri' al-Baghdādī, d. 324; ad-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385; Ibn Khall., i, p. 455, note 1; ii, p. 239; and Wüstenfeld, *Schâf.*, p. 194) narrated from him: see on him Wüstenfeld, *Schâf.*, pp. 132 f.; Ibn. Khall, i, p. 27; iii, pp. 16, 18.

[4] Abū-l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz sibṭ (son of the daughter) Aḥmad b. Manī' al-Baghawī; d. 317. Ibn Khall., i, p. 323, n. 6.

[5] Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Dā'ūd Sulaymān (Wüsten., *Schâf.*, p. 90) b. al-Ash'ath as-Sijistānī; 230–316 (the SM. has 310). See Wüsten., *Schâf.*, pp. 120 ff.

[6] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; d. 241. See Patton, *Ahmed ibn Hanbal and the Miḥna*.

Manī',[1] he told me from Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad[2] that his father used to listen to the voice of Ibn al-Khabbāza.'[3] Then said Ibn Mujāhid to Ibn Dā'ūd, 'Don't bother us with your father'; and to Ibn bint Manī', 'Don't bother us with your grandfather. What do you say, Abū Bakr, of one who recites a verse of poetry; is it unlawful?' Ibn Dā'ūd said, 'No.' 'And if he has a beautiful voice, is it unlawful for him to recite it?' He said, 'No.' 'And if he recite it, and recite more than one and shorten in it that which is long and lengthen in it that which is short, is it unlawful?' He said, 'I am not equal to one devil; then how should I be equal to two?'" Further he said, "Abū-l-Ḥasan al-'Asqalānī, the black,[4] one of the Saints, was wont to listen to music and singing and to be distracted with longing thereat, and he wrote a book about it, and overthrew in that book those who blame music; and, similarly, a number have written to overcome those blaming it."

Further it is related from one of the Shaykhs that he said, "I saw Abū-l-'Abbās al-Khaḍir[5] (peace be upon

[1] Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Manī' b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Baghawī, the deaf; was cousin (ibn 'amm) of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Baghawī; settled at Baghdād and passed on traditions from al-Bukhārī (d. 256); 160–244.

[2] Abū-l-Faḍl Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; 203–266. See Patton by index.

[3] Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyà b. Zakarīyā al-Baghdādī, the poet. He was a contemporary of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, as is shown by the following stories told by the SM. One goes back to his son Ṣāliḥ, who said: "I used to like to listen to singing, but my father disliked it. And I made an appointment one night with Ibn Khabbāzā, and he waited with me till I knew that my father was asleep, and then he began to sing. But I heard a sound on the roof, and went up and saw my father there listening to the singing with his skirt tucked under his arm, stepping out on the roof as though he were dancing." The second story goes back to his other son 'Abd Allāh. He said: "I used to invite Ibn Khabbāza, but my father forbad us to have singing; so I used, whenever he was with me, to hide him from my father that he might not hear. And he came one night to me and was chanting (*kāna yaqūlu*). And my father had need of something with us—we were in a by-street—and heard Ibn Khabbāza chanting, and something in his chanting struck him. And I went out to see, and there was my father striding to and fro, so I shut the door and went in again. In the morning he said, 'My little son, when it is like that, this speaking (*kalām*) is excellent.'" Was this Ibn Khabbāza the Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Abdī who was a contemporary of Abū-l-Walīd Muslim? See the *Dīwān* of the latter ed. by de Goeje, pp. 244, 253. I can find no other possible reference.

[4] If this is the Abū-l-Ḥasan al-'Asqalānī of Ibn Khall., i, 410, he was a contemporary of the wazīr al-Muhallabī, who died 352. Some MSS. of the *Qūt al-qulūb* give his *kunya* as Abū-l-Khayr.

[5] On al-Khaḍir see Ibn Qut., p. 21; an-Naw., pp. 228 ff.; ath-Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*, pp. 189 ff. of ed. of Cairo, 1298. Also Goldziher, *Arab. Philol.*, ii, pp. lxiv, 1, and *Lisān*, v, 332.

him!) and I said to him, 'What do you say concerning this listening to music and singing as to which my comrades disagree?' Then he said, 'It is slipperiness itself; only the feet of the learned stand firm upon it.'" Further it is related from Mimshād ad-Dīnawarī[1] that he said, "I saw the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) in sleep and said, 'O Apostle of God, do you blame anything in this listening to music and singing?' He said, 'I do not blame anything in it, but say to them that they open before it with the Qur'ān and close after it with the Qur'ān.'" Further it is related from Ṭāhir b. Bilāl al-Hamdānī al-warrāq[2]—he was of the people of science—that he said, "I was in retreat[3] in the great Mosque of Judda by the sea and saw one day a gathering of people who were repeating and listening to poetry in one of the sides of the Mosque. Then I blamed that in my heart and said to myself, 'In one of the houses of God they repeat poetry!' Then I saw the Prophet of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) that night, and he was sitting in that place and by his side was Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq (may God be well pleased with him!), and lo! Abū Bakr was repeating some poetry and the Prophet was listening to him and laying his hand upon his breast like one in an ecstasy at that. Then I said in my soul, 'It behoved me not to have blamed those that were listening to poetry, for here is the Apostle of God listening and Abū Bakr repeating.' Then I turned to the Apostle of God, and he said, 'This is truth in truth,' or he said, 'truth of truth'[4]—I am not certain which." Further, al-Junayd said, "Grace descends upon this gathering on three occasions,—at eating, for they do not eat except from need; at conversation, for they do not talk together except at assemblies of the upright;

[1] Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, known as Mimshād (ṭ) ad-Dīnawarī, was a pupil of al-Junayd, and d. 299. Al-Qush., p. 31; Ibn Khall., iii, p. 385; Abū-l-Maḥāsin, ii, p. 187; *Lawāqiḥ*, p. 81.

[2] The SM. reads b. Hilāl, and remarks that in some MSS it is Ṭāhir b. Bilāl b. Balbal, and that it is so in the *Qūt*. I know nothing more about him.

[3] *Kuntu mu'tafikan*; on *I'tikāf* see Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2,122*a*, and *Lisān*, xi, p. 161; also ash-Shīrāzī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Juynboll, pp. 68 f.

[4] *Ḥaqq bi-ḥaqq*, or *ḥaqq min ḥaqq*. It appears to mean, *This is absolutely true*, but whether it is said of the verses or to confirm the dream is not clear.

and at listening to music and singing, for they hear with ecstasy and witness to truth." Further, from Ibn Jurayj[1] it is related that he was wont to allow listening to music and singing, and that it was said to him, "Will this be brought on the day of resurrection among thy good deeds or thy evil deeds?" And he said, "Neither in the good deeds nor the evil deeds, for it is like idle talk; and God Most High has said, *God will not blame you for idle talk in your oaths*" [Qur., ii, 225; v, 91].

This is what is adduced of sayings and of the search for truth in tradition. Then, whenever anyone examines deeply, he finds sayings contradicting one another, and is left confused or inclining to one of the sayings through his desire; and all that means failure. But truth should rather be sought in its own way, and that is by examining into the legal sources of prohibition and permission just as we shall now do.

2.

A statement of the things which show that Listening to Music and Singing is allowable.

Know that the meaning of the saying that listening to music and singing is unlawful is that God Most High has laid it under penalty. And that is a thing that cannot be known by simple reason, but by report and knowledge of the laws, which are limited to statute [*naṣṣ*][2] and to analogy [*qiyās*] from what is fixed by statute. I mean by statute

[1] Abū-l-Walīd 'Abd al-Mālik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Jurayj al-Qurashī al-Umawī al-Makkī; d. 150. An-Naw., p. 787; Ibn Khall., ii, p. 116.

[2] *Naṣṣ* thus includes *Qur'ān* and *Sunna*; in *Sunna* are three divisions, *qawl*, *fi'l*, and *taqrīr*, approving by silence. The *Sunna* indicated by speech is *ḥadīth*. The bases of Muslim law are four, *Qur'ān*, *Sunna*, *Qiyās*, and *Ijmā'*, or the agreement of the Muslim Church on any point. Here al-Ghazzālī omits *Ijmā'*, but it is it which in the long run has brought about the triumph of his views. *Qur'ān* + *Sunna* = the Bible; *Ijmā'* = the Church; Reason is represented very feebly by *Qiyās*. A good statement of the four bases is given by Snouck Hurgronje in his article, *Le droit Musulman* in the Revue de l'histoire des religions, tome xxxvii, pp. 1 ff. and 174 ff. On al-Ghazzālī's attitude towards Qiyās, see Goldziher, *Die Zahiriten*, pp. 182 ff.

what he (whom may God bless and save!) has made plain by his speech or action; and by analogy, the meaning that is to be understood from his expressions and actions. And if a statute does not exist with regard to this thing, and an analogy from something fixed by statute cannot be upheld with regard to it, then the saying that it is forbidden is void, and it remains an action in which there is no sin, like the rest of permitted things. But the forbidding of listening to music and singing is not shown by statute nor by analogy; that such is the case, will be evident through our answer to the proofs of those who incline to its being forbidden. Then, whenever the answer to their proofs is complete, our object will be sufficiently attained; but we go further, and say that both statute and analogy, as a whole, indicate its allowableness.

As for analogy, in singing there are joined ideas which, separately first and then as a whole, must be examined; for in it there is hearing of a sound, pleasant, measured, having a meaning to be understood, moving the heart. The general description is that it is a pleasant sound; then the pleasant is divided into measured and not measured; and the measured is divided into what has a meaning to be understood, such as poems, and what has not, such as the sounds produced by lifeless substances and by other animals than man.

And hearing a pleasant sound ought not to be forbidden in respect that it is pleasant, but is lawful by statute and by analogy. By analogy, because it can be reduced to a pleasing of the sense of hearing by perception of that which is assigned exclusively to that sense. Man has reason and five senses; and to each sense belongs a perception, and in the things perceived by that sense is what gives pleasure. The pleasure of seeing is in the beautiful things seen, such as greenness, flowing water, or a fair face, and, in general, all beautiful colours which are opposed to what is disliked of dull ugly colours. Smelling has pleasant scents, and these are opposed to disagreeable stenches. Taste has pleasant foods, such as gravy-meat and sweet-meat, and

sour things, and these are opposed to nauseous bitters. Touch has the pleasure of softness and tenderness and smoothness, and these are opposed to roughness and jaggedness. And reason has the pleasure of knowledge and science, and these are opposed to ignorance and stupidity. So, too, the sounds perceived by hearing divide into those that are regarded with pleasure, as the voice of nightingales and musical pipes, and those regarded as disagreeable, as the braying of the ass and such. Then what a manifest analogy there is between this sense and its pleasures and the other senses and their pleasures!

And as for statute, the allowableness of hearing a beautiful voice is shown by the fact that God has granted such to His creatures, since He said, *He increases in His creatures that which He wills*,[1] and it is said by exegetes that the thing increased here is beauty of voice. Also in tradition stands, "God has not sent a prophet except with a beautiful voice." Further, he (whom God bless and save!) said, "God listens more intently to a man with a beautiful voice reading the Qur'ān than does the master of a singing slave-girl to his slave-girl." And in tradition by way of praise to Dā'ūd[2] (upon him be peace!) is that he was beautiful of voice in bemoaning himself and in repeating the Psalms to such an extent that mankind and Jinn and wild beasts and birds were wont to gather together to hear his voice, and there were wont to be carried out of his place of assembly four hundred corpses or thereabout on occasions. Further, he (whom God bless and save!) said of Abū Mūsà al-Ash'arī,[3] "Verily, he has been granted a pipe of the pipes of the family of Dā'ūd." And there is the saying of God Most High, *Verily the worst liked of voices is the voice of the ass* [Qur., xxxi, 18], indicating implicit praise of a beautiful voice. Further, were it possible to say that such is permitted

[1] Qur'ān, xxxv, 1. This is the exegesis of az-Zuhrī and Ibn 'Abbās; Bayḍ., ii, p. 148, l. 12.

[2] On David in Muslim tradition, see ath-Tha'labī's *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*, pp. 235–255.

[3] D. 44? See Spitta, *Zur Geschichte al-Ash'arī's*, pp. 18 ff. and 115.

only on condition that the recital be of the Qur'ān, then that would involve that listening to the voice of nightingales is forbidden, for they do not recite the Qur'ān. Then, when it is possible to listen to an undistinguishable voice in which is no meaning, why is it not possible to listen to a voice from which wisdom may be understood and sound and commendable qualities; and "Verily, from poetry is wisdom."[1] This is a consideration of the voice in so far as it is pleasant and beautiful.

The second step is considering the pleasant measured sound; for measure comes after beauty, and how many beautiful sounds there are which fall outside of measure, and how many measured sounds which are not regarded as pleasant! And measured sounds with regard to their place of origin are of three kinds; for they issue either from inanimate substances, as does the sound of musical pipes and of strings and the beating of the *qaḍīb*[2] and the *ṭabl*[3] and so on, or they issue from the throat of an animal. And the animal is either a man or not, as the voice of nightingales and turtle-doves and birds which coo. These, along with their being pleasant, are measured, having reciprocally related beginnings and endings, and, therefore, hearing them is regarded as pleasant. And the original source of musical sounds is the throat of animals; for musical pipes are based on the sounds from the throat only, which is an

[1] An often quoted saying of the Prophet.

[2] The *qaḍīb* seems here and elsewhere to be a musical instrument, but I cannot find anything satisfactory in the lexica. According to the *Lisān*, *qaḍīb* seems to be capable of meaning anything on earth except a musical instrument. Dozy has the word, but only with a reference to Casiri, i, 528*a*, and there is no light there. Kiesewetter, *Musik der Araber*, p. 92, Leip., 1842, puts it under Schalmeyen, but that appears to be a guess based again on Casiri. The SM. explains it or *aḍ-ḍarb bil-qaḍīb* with التعبير; the passage is ambiguous. The only connection I can find for this is the meaning of √'BR, to meditate over a book, or read it mentally, without raising the voice, Lane, 1,936*c*, *Lisān*, vi, 204, line 3 from foot. Does this, then, allude to the bad repute of Zindīqs and Magians for murmuring to themselves? Ash-Shāfi'ī said that the Zindīqs invented *ta'bīr* to distract them from the Qur'ān; see p. 201, above. Possibly also *qaḍīb* may be a reference to the old custom of Arab singers to beat time for themselves while singing. See the story of Ibn Surayj in *Aghānī*, i, 117, and of Sā'ib Khāthir in *Aghānī*, vi, 188. The latter is said not to have used a lute, but to have beat time with a *qaḍīb* instead. I am indebted for these references to Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 169.

[3] The *ṭabl* is a drum of any kind.

imitation of created things on the part of art. And what thing is there to the forming of which artisans have attained by their art, of which there was not an example in the creation which God has made peculiarly His own by originating it, and from which example the artisan taught himself and which he used as a thing to be imitated? This subject could be developed at great length.

So it is impossible that listening to these sounds should be forbidden simply because they are pleasant and measured; for there is no one who regards the voice of the nightingale or those of the other birds as forbidden. And there is no difference between our throat and another or between inanimate substance and animate. So we ought to draw an analogy from the sounds of the nightingale to the sounds which issue from all other bodies, especially to the sounds belonging to man, as those which issue from his throat, or from the *qaḍīb* or the *ṭabl* or the *duff*[1] or the rest. But from this there is excepted those idle instruments of music, both stringed instruments and pipes, to forbid which a law was revealed; not because of their giving pleasure, since if it were on that account all the things by which man receives pleasure would be judged like these. But wine was forbidden, and man's excessive addiction to it required, to wean him from it, that the command should extend at first so far as to involve the breaking of wine-jars. And, along with wine, was forbidden all that was a badge of people who drank it, in this case stringed instruments and pipes only. So these being forbidden was a consequence just as being alone with a woman not a relative is forbidden, for being so alone precedes sexual intercourse; and seeing the thigh is forbidden, for the thigh is near to the *pudenda*; and a little wine is forbidden, even though it does not intoxicate, because it invites to intoxication. There is no forbidden place [*ḥarām*], but it has a sacred precinct [*ḥimà*] which surrounds it, and the decree of prohibition extends to the sacred

[1] The *duff* is a tambourine, with or without bells. See Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 888*b*, and the reference there to *Modern Egyptians*, chap. xviii.

precinct in order that it may be a reservation for the forbidden place and a defence to it and an enclosure keeping off from it round about, as he (whom may God bless and save!) has said, "Lo! every king has a reservation, and the reservation of God is the things which He has forbidden."[1]

So these are forbidden as a consequence of wine being forbidden, and for three reasons. The first is that they incite to the drinking of wine; for the pleasure found in them is only complete through wine. Like this reason is the forbidding of a little wine. And the second is that they, in truth, are of the closest kin to the drinking of wine and remind assemblies of men of drinking. They are thus a cause of remembering it, and remembering it, is a cause that longing is aroused, and aroused longing, when it is strong, is a cause of beginning. For this reason it is forbidden to make *nabīdh*[2] in a *muzaffat*[3] or a *ḥantam*[4] or a *naqīr*,[5] for these are vessels that were specially identified with wine. And the meaning of this is, that beholding the form of these vessels brings wine to mind,[6] and this reason is different from the first as there is not in it the element of pleasure in the memory, since there is no pleasure in seeing a wine-vessel and the pitchers for drinking, but the point is simply in the being reminded by them. Then, if listening to music and singing, in the case of him who has associated such listening with drinking, reminds of drinking with a kind of reminder that urges towards wine, he is forbidden to listen on account of the occurrence of this reason especially

[1] So the Massoreth is a fence to the Law; Rabbi 'Aqîbhâ in the *Pirqê Âbhōth*, iii, 17.

[2] *Nabīdh* is a drink made of dates, raisins, etc., macerated in water and left to ferment; if it be left long it becomes intoxicating, and is then unlawful, but if it stand only over night it may be drunk; the term is often applied to *khamr*, true wine.

[3] *Muzaffat* is anything smeared with *zift*, pitch or tar; then a wine skin or jar so smeared.

[4] The *ḥantam* is a green or red glazed or varnished jar, the use of which in making *nabīdh* is forbidden in tradition. It is said that the fermentation of the *nabīdh* was more rapid on account of the varnish or glaze.

[5] *Naqīr* is a block of wood or the stump of a palm-tree hollowed out and used to make *nabīdh* in it; the *nabīdh* so made was supposed to be peculiarly strong.

[6] "¡O Tobasescas tinajas, que me habeis traido á la memoria la dulce prenda de mi mayor amargura!"—*Don Quijote*, parte ii, cap. xviii.

in him. The third reason is the gathering together to do those things after such a gathering together has become one of the customs of dissolute people. So it is prohibited to become like to them; for he who becomes like to a people becomes one of them. On this account we hold that the ordinary custom [*sunna*] should be abandoned whenever it has become a badge for heretical people, so that we may not become like to them. For this reason beating of the *kūba*[1] is prohibited. It is a long-shaped drum, slender in the middle and broad at the extremities, and beating it was a custom of the *Mukhannaths*.[2] Yet if it were not for the comparison it suggests it would be like the drum used by pilgrims and in warfare. For this reason, too, we hold that if a company come together and decorate their place of meeting and bring utensils for drinking and cups and pour into them *sakanjabayn*[3] and appoint a cupbearer who shall go round and pour out to them, and they take from the cupbearer and drink and salute one another with the phrases in common use, this is unlawful for them, although what they drink is permissible in itself; for in this there is a becoming like to dissolute people. Even for this, wearing the *qabā'*[4] and leaving the hair on the head in

[1] The SM. describes the *kūba* as a long-shaped drum, slender in the middle and broad at the ends. For a similar view of it see Goldziher, *Arabische Philologie*, p. 21, n. 4. Burton, *Arabian Nights*, vol. viii, p. 149, describes it as "a tiny tom-tom shaped like an hour-glass," used in present-day Morocco by the reciter of romances. The use of the *kūba* is forbidden in tradition, but some hold that what is there meant by the term is not an instrument of music, but either backgammon or chess; others say it is the *barbaṭ*, or Persian lute.

[2] *Mukhannath* = 'effeminate.' On the class see Kosegarten, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, p. 11, and references there. See, further, von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, i, pp. 45 ff., and Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, pp. 11, 54 f.

[3] *Sakanjabayn* is a drink made of vinegar and honey.

[4] The SM. defines the *qabā'* as a *farajīya* split up in front; the *farajīya* is a long robe of cloth with long sleeves coming down over the hands. Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2,984*c*, says that the *qabā'* is "a kind of tunic resembling the *qaftān*, generally reaching to the middle of the shank, divided down the front, and made to overlap over the chest." The *Lisān*, xx, p. 28, derives it from *qabā*, "to gather together with the fingers," because the edges (*aṭrāf*) that overlap are so held together. See, too, Dozy, *Noms des Vêtements*, pp. 352–362, who distinguishes a Persian and an Arab *qabā'*, the later called *Islāmī*. I can find no trace of its being forbidden. The tufts of hair (*qaza'*) may be a form of the *shūsha*, which, strictly considered, is illegal; see Burton's note in his *Arabian Nights*, i, p. 284. The *Lisān*, x, pp. 143 f., explains that it was a practice

tufts are forbidden in those countries in which the *qabā'* belongs to the clothing of dissolute people, but is not forbidden in *Ma-warā-an-nahr*, because moral people there are accustomed to wear it. For these reasons, then, the pipe of *al-'Irāq* and all stringed instruments are unlawful, such as the *'ūd*[1] and the *sanj* and the *rabāb* and the *barbaṭ*. But all besides these do not come under this, as the *shāhīn* of shepherds and pilgrims and the *shāhīn* of drummers and the drum and the *qadīb* and every instrument from which is extracted pleasing, measured sounds, except what drinking people use. This is because all these are not connected with wine and do not call wine to mind and do not incite to it and do not involve becoming like to those addicted to it and, generally, are not essentially connected with it. These remain in their original permissibleness on the analogy of the sounds of birds, etc. Further, I hold that the music of stringed instruments, even if they are played by one who plays with a rhythm that is out of proportion and is not pleasing, is also unlawful. From this it is plain that the reason why such music is unlawful is not simply because it is pleasing; for analogy would lead to permission of all agreeable things except those in the permission of which is dissoluteness. God Most High said, *Say, who hath forbidden the adornment of God which He hath provided for His creatures, and the agreeable things of sustenance?*

to shave the heads of boys, partially leaving the hair in tufts, and that this is forbidden in tradition. *Qaza'* is said also of broken clouds, arrows with very small feathers, camels and sheep when the wool drops off in patches, etc.

[1] For the *'ūd* and *rabāb*, lute and viol, see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, chap. xviii; Lane, in the *Lexicon*, s.v., conjectures that the *sanj* is the Persian *chang*, the modern Arabic *junk*, and refers to his *Arabian Nights*, chap. iii, n. 26; *barbaṭ* is noticed in note 1 above. *Shāhīn* is more difficult, and the Arabic lexicons give no aid. It is used by the shepherd and the drummer, excites longing and sadness, reduces courage and reminds of home. Dozy again refers only to Casiri, i, p. 528*a*, and Kiesewetter (loc. cit.) from the same source again guesses Schnabel-pfeife. Von Kremer in his *Beiträge* refers to these passages in the *Iḥyā*, and guesses "ein Musikinstrument das geschlagen wird. Vermuthlich eine Art Handtrommel." According to the SM. it is the Persian صرنای. This is given by Zenker as زورنا, زرنا, and سرنای, formed from سور and نای = 'hautbois, clarinette.' Vullers has "genus fistulae quo canunt diebus festis"; i.e. from صور = 'festival' and نای = 'flute.' There is a description of it by al-Fārābī in Land's *Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe*, p. 128. See, too, Herklots' *Qanoon-e-Islam*, p. xlviii of Appendix.

[Qur., vii, 30]. So these sounds are not unlawful because they are rhythmical sounds, but only on account of another accident which we shall adduce among the accidents which render unlawful.

The third step regards that which is rhythmical and has a meaning, i.e. poetry. It issues from the throat of man only and has the permissibility of that which issues from the throat, since it has no addition save having a meaning. Speech which has a meaning is not unlawful, and an agreeable rhythmical sound is not unlawful. Then, since the single parts are not unlawful, how can the whole be unlawful? — always understood that there shall be an examination of the meaning conveyed.[1] If there is in it anything forbidden, saying it, either in prose or verse, is unlawful, and speaking it, whether with melodies or without. And the truth in this is what ash-Shāfi'ī (may God have mercy on him!) said. He said, "Poetry is speech, and what of it is beautiful is beautiful and what of it is vile is vile." Therefore, whenever reciting poetry is possible without music and melodies, reciting it is possible with melodies; for if the single things are allowable, the compound, when they are joined together, is allowable. And whenever an allowable thing is joined to an allowable, the result is not unlawful except when the compound contains something forbidden which the single things did not contain. But there is no forbidden thing here.

And how could the reciting of poetry be blamed when it has been recited in the presence of the Prophet of God, who said, "Lo! from poetry is wisdom." And 'Ā'isha (may God be well pleased with her!) recited—

"They went away in whose shadow men had lived,
And I remained, left behind, like a mangy skin." [2]

[1] Quite of al-Ghazzālī's opinion was the old woman who was much impressed by a certain sermon. "But," it was objected, "the minister read it." "Read it!" said she, "I wadna hae minded gin he had whustled it!"

[2] The verse is by Labīd b. Rabī'a.

And it is handed down in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*[1] from 'Ā'isha that she said, "When the Apostle of God came to al-Madīna, Abū Bakr and Bilāl (may God be well pleased with them both!) sickened and there was pestilence there. Then I said, 'O my father, how do you find yourself?' and 'O Bilāl, how do you find yourself?' Then Abū Bakr would say when the fever seized him—

'To every man saluted in the morning among his people
Death is nearer than the latchet of his shoe.'

And Bilāl was wont when the fever relaxed from him to lift up his voice and say—

'Ah! would that I knew whether I shall pass the night, one night,
In a wādī with fragrant rush and panic grass around me,
And shall go down, one day, to the wells of Majanna,[2]
And there shall be seen by me Shāma and Ṭafīl!'"

'Ā'isha said, "Then I told that to the Apostle of God, and he said, 'O God, make al-Madīna beloved to us like our love for Makka or more!'" And the Apostle of God was wont to carry the unburnt bricks with the people in the building of the Mosque, and he would say—

"This is the fruit, not the fruit of Khaybar;
This our Lord hath accepted and purified."

And he said also another time—

"O God, verily the true life is the life of the other world;
So have mercy on the Anṣārs and the Muhājirs."

[1] The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī and that of Muslim. The narratives that follow are in al-Bukhārī, iv, 8 and 246, vii, 159, of vocalized ed. of Cairo, 1293. See, too, Ibn Hishām, pp. 337 and 414. It should be noticed that al-Ghazzālī appears to regard the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* as of canonical authority. But see in Goldziher, *Studien*, ii, pp. 256 ff., that a tradition found in them was not therefore received without question. On the verses spoken by Muḥammad, see *Lisān*, xiii, 188. Apparently there is a play on the word *ḥimāl* as a possible plural of *ḥiml*, 'fruit,' and *ḥaml*, 'burden.' This is not the fruit of Khaybar which passes away, but a burden-bearing that is more excellent and abides like fruit of Paradise.

[2] The wells of Majanna are at Mecca; Shāma and Ṭafīl are also wells there.

This is in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*. And the Prophet was wont to set for Ḥassān[1] a pulpit in the Mosque, on which he would stand erect boasting (FKHR) of the Apostle of God or defending him. And the Apostle of God was wont to say, "God aids Ḥassan with the *Rūḥ al-Quds* so long as he is defending or boasting of the Apostle of God." And when an-Nābigha[2] recited to him his poetry he said to him, "May God not scatter thy teeth!" And 'Ā'isha said: "The Companions of the Apostle of God used to recite poems to one another in his presence, and he would smile." And it is related from 'Amr b. ash-Sharīd from his father; he said: "I recited to the Apostle of God a hundred verses of the poetry of Umayya b. Abī-ṣ-Ṣalt[3]—to all that he kept saying, 'Go on, go on!'—then he said, 'He has almost become a Muslim in his poetry.'" And it is related from al-Anas[4] (may God be well pleased with him!) that the Prophet used to make him sing the camel-driver's song when travelling, and that Anjusha[5] used to sing it for the women and al-Barā b. Mālik for the men. Then the Apostle of God said: "O Anjusha, go gently in thy driving with the big glass bottles." The driving-song behind the camels did not cease to be one of the customs of the Arabs in the time of the Apostle of God, and in the time of the Companions, and it is nothing but poems equipped with agreeable sounds and measured melodies. Blame of it has not been transmitted from one of the Companions, but often they used to ask for it, sometimes to rouse the camels and sometimes for the pleasure. So it is not possible for a thing to be unlawful on the ground that it is speech, having a meaning, equipped with agreeable sounds and measured melodies.

[1] Ḥassān b. Thābit; d. 54. An-Naw., pp. 203 f.; *Kāmil* of al-Mubarrad, p. 314 of ed. of Cairo, 1308.

[2] An-Nābigha al-Ja'dī. An-Naw., pp. 586 f.; Ibn Khall., i, 456.

[3] An-Naw., pp. 476 and 314; Cheikho, *Kitāb shu'arā an-Naṣranīya*, pp. 219–237; *Aghānī*, iii, 186–192.

[4] Anas b. Mālik; d. 93? An-Naw., p. 165.

[5] So according to the SM., but an-Naw., p. 164, prescribes *Anjasha*. On the *uḥdūwa*, or camel-drivers' chant, see Goldz., *Arabische Philologie*, p. 95 and note. On al-Barā, the brother of Anas, and the *qawārīr*, see Ibn Khall., i, 603, n. 2.

The fourth step is considering music and singing on the side that they are movers of the heart and arousers of that which preponderates in the heart. And I say that to God Most High belongs a secret consisting in the relationship of measured airs to the souls of men, so that the airs work upon them with a wonderful working. Some sounds make to rejoice and some to grieve, some put to sleep and some make to laugh, some excite and some bring from the members movements according to the measure, with the hand and the foot and the head. And we need not suppose that that is through understanding what is meant by the poetry, for it is possible in the case of stringed instruments, so that it is said: "He whom the Spring does not move with its blossoms, nor the *'ūd* with its strings, is corrupt of nature; for him there is no cure." And how can it be through the understanding of a meaning when its working is seen on a child in its cradle? An agreeable sound stills him in his crying, and turns his soul from what made him cry to attention to the music itself. And the camel, in spite of its stupidity of nature, feels the effect of the driving-song to such a degree that, hearing it, he counts heavy loads light, and, in the strength of his alacrity through listening to it, holds long distances short; such an alacrity is aroused in him as intoxicates and distracts him. Then you will see, when the deserts grow long to them, and fatigue and weariness under the loads and burdens seize upon them, whenever they hear someone strike up the driving-song, how they extend their necks and pay attention to the singer with ears erect, and hasten in their pace till the loads and burdens shake upon them, and often they kill themselves from the force of the pace and the weight of the burdens, while they do not perceive it through their alacrity.

And Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd ad-Dīnawarī, known as ar-Raqqī[1] (may God be well pleased with him!), has

[1] Died at Damascus after 350 after a life of more than 100 years, mostly spent in Syria; al-Qush., p. 36. In the Cairo ed. his name is printed ad-Daqqī.

narrated:—"I was in the desert and came to a tribe of the tribes of the Arabs, and a man of them received me as guest and led me into his tent. And I saw in the tent a black slave fettered with a fetter. And I saw dead camels lying before the tent, and there remained but one camel alive, and it was weak and thin as though it were about to perish. Then the young man said to me, 'Thou art a guest and hast a right, so intercede for me with my master, for he honours his guest, and he will not reject thy intercession to this extent, and perhaps he may loose the fetter from me.' Then when they had brought in food I refused to eat and said, 'I will not eat until I have made intercession for this slave.' And he said, 'This slave has made me poor and has destroyed all my wealth.' So I said, 'What has he done?' Then he said, 'He has a fine voice, and I got my living from the backs of these camels and their carrying heavy loads, and he would sing the driving-song to them, until they would perform a journey of three days in one night from the excellence and sweetness of his voice[1]; then when they had set down their loads they died, all of them, except this one camel. But thou art my guest, and, for the honour due to thee, I give him to thee.' So I longed to hear that voice. Then when the morning came he commanded that he should sing to a camel that it might draw water from a well there. And when he lifted up his voice and that camel heard it, he ran wild and broke his tether and I fell upon my face. I do not think that I ever heard a voice finer than it."

Then, since the impression of music and singing upon the heart can be felt,—and he who is not moved by them is one who has a lack, declining from symmetry, far from spirituality, exceeding in coarseness of nature and in rudeness camels and birds, even all beasts, for all feel the influence of measured airs and therefore the birds were wont to light on the head of Dā'ūd (on him be peace!) to listen to his voice,—and

[1] Literally, 'through the excellency of his sweetness of tone,' *naghma*. This word means also a musical sound, a note or tone in the strict sense. The *naghmas* are related to the *laḥn*, or melody, as the letters to a word. See *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm*, pp. 240 ff.

since the discussion is of music and singing in relation to their making impression on the heart, it is not possible to judge of the matter generally as to allowableness and whether it is not unlawful, for that varies with circumstances and persons and with the varying of the *ṭarīqas*[1] of the airs, and the rule which it follows is the rule of what is in the heart. Abū Sulaymān[2] said, "Music and singing do not produce in the heart that which is not in it, but they stir up what is in it." So the chanting of rhymed measured words is adapted on certain occasions for certain fixed purposes; through it impressions attach themselves to the heart. These occasions are seven.

The first is the singing of the pilgrims; for, before setting out, they go round the country with *ṭabl* and *shāhīn* and singing. And that is permissible, because they sing poems composed in description of the *Ka'ba* and the *Maqām*[3] and the *Ḥaṭīm* and *Zamzam* and the other places for the performance of the religious rites, and descriptions of the desert, etc. And the effect of that is to arouse a longing for pilgrimage to the House of God Most High, and to make to blaze up the fire of longing if it be already present there and to stir it and procure it if it be not already present. And since pilgrimage is an act of piety and longing to perform it is praiseworthy, the arousing that longing by every means that can arouse it is praiseworthy. And just as it is possible for a preacher that he should arrange his

[1] *Wakhtilāfi ṭuruqi-n-naghmāt*; so, at least, I read طرق in the Arabic text. The word occurs six times, here and pp. 221, 222 and others, pp. 486, 487, 488, 557(2) of the Arabic text. I leave it untranslated, as the meaning is obscure to me. The form I take to be the plural of *ṭarīq* or *ṭarīqa*, which Lane, *Lexicon*, 1,849*c*, and Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v., give with meaning 'air.' But a *ṭarīqa*, as used here, seems rather to be a musical phrase, a part or section of an air (*laḥn*), except in the last case, where it appears to indicate a particular kind of air distinguished by its rhythms from other kinds. Kosegarten, in the introduction to his *Kitāb al-aghānī*, pp. 184 and 188, quotes a Persian writer on music who seems to use it of different kinds of rhythms. Al-Fārābī in Land (op. cit., pp. 136 and 103) uses *aṭ-ṭarā'iq*, and Land translates 'échelles.' Further consideration of the word I must leave to the musical.

[2] Abū Sulaymān 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ansī ad-Dārānī; d. 205 or 215. Ibn Khall., ii, p. 88.

[3] The *Maqām* is apparently the *Maqām Ibrāhīm*, the Station of the Shāfi'ites; the *Ḥaṭīm* is the wall surrounding the *ḥijr Ismā'īl*, and *Zamzam* is the well.

speech in preaching and adorn it with rhyme,[1] and should arouse the longing of men to perform the pilgrimage by description of the House and the places where religious rites are performed and by description of the reward for it, so that is possible for others by making absolute poetry. For when measure is added to rhymed prose [*saj'*] the speech becomes more affecting to the heart, and when a pleasing voice and measured airs are combined with it, its power of affecting increases; then, if there be added to it a *ṭabl* and a *shāhīn* and movements of rhythm, the effect still increases. And all that is possible so long as pipes and stringed instruments which belong to the badges of evil people do not enter; it being always understood that if there is intended by it the arousing of longing in one to whom it is not possible to go out on pilgrimage, like him who has annulled the duty for himself[2] and whose parents do not permit to go out, then the arousing of his longing to make pilgrimage by music and singing and by any word which arouses longing to go out is unlawful, because rousing of longing for a forbidden thing is forbidden. And similarly, if the road is not secure and danger preponderates, it is not allowable to move hearts and to work upon them by arousing longing.

The second kind is that of which warriors make use to urge men to warfare, only it is fitting that their poems and the *ṭarīqas* of their melodies should differ from the poems of the pilgrims and the *ṭarīqas* of their melodies. For the rousing of that which summons a man to warfare by exciting courage and by moving wrath and anger in him against the unbelievers, and making courage appear fair and life and wealth appear contemptible as compared with warfare, is by such inspiring verses as the saying of al-Mutanabbi'—

"Then, if thou dost not die under the swords, honoured,
Thou wilt die and endure ignominy, unhonoured."

[1] On the allowableness of quoting verses in preaching, see Goldziher in ZDMG., xxviii, pp. 321 f., and the passages referred to there.

[2] See the conditions of this in ash-Shīrāzī's *Tanbīh*, pp. 69 f. of ed. of Juynboll.

And his other saying—

"The cowardly think that cowardice is prudence;
But that is the guile of base nature."

And such as these. So, too, the *ṭarīqas* of the measures exciting courage differ from the *ṭarīqas* exciting longing. This is permissible on an occasion when warfare is permissible, and approved on an occasion when warfare is liked; but that is only in the case of one to whom going out on warfare is allowed.

The third consists of the *rajaz* verses, of which the valiant make use on occasions of onset. The object of these is to excite courage in the speaker and his helpers, and produce briskness in them for battle. And in such verses there is praise of bravery and of fortitude, and such praise, when it comes in fitting word and with agreeable voice, is more affecting to the soul. It is allowable in every allowed battle, and approved in every approved battle, and forbidden in battling with Muslims and with those secured by treaty and in every forbidden battle, because the arousing of incitements to that which is forbidden is forbidden. This custom is derived from the valiant ones of the Companions, such as 'Alī and Khālid (may God be well pleased with them both!), and others than they. And for the same reason we say that the beating of the *shāhīn* should be restrained in the camp of warriors, for its voice softens and makes sad, and loosens the knot of courage and weakens the energy of the soul, and excites longing for family and home, and entails slackness in battle, and thus, too, all the sounds and melodies which soften the heart. So those that soften and make sad are distinct from those which move and excite courage, and he who uses these with intention to change hearts and slacken thoughts from a battle which is incumbent is a rebel against God; and he who does it with intention of slackening from a battle which is forbidden, by that is obedient to God.

The fourth consists of the sounds and musical airs of lamentation; these make an impression through rousing

sorrow and weeping and continuous mourning. Sorrow is of two kinds, praiseworthy and blameworthy. The blameworthy is such as sorrow for what escapes—God Most High said, *That ye may not grieve for what escapes you* [Qur., lvii, 23], —and sorrow for the dead is of this class, for it is anger with the decree of God Most High and it regrets that which cannot be repaired. Since this sorrow is blameworthy the moving it by lamentation is blameworthy, and, therefore, a clear prohibition was revealed against such lamentation. The sorrow that is praiseworthy is the sorrow of a man for his own shortcoming in matter of his religion and weeping for his sins. And weeping and striving to weep and sorrowing and striving to sorrow are praiseworthy; of this kind was the weeping of Adam (upon whom be peace!). Also moving to this sorrow and strengthening in it are praiseworthy, for it arouses energy in amending. And, therefore, was the lamentation of Dā'ūd praiseworthy, for it was in abidingness of sorrow and length of weeping because of sins and transgressions. And he used to weep and to cause weeping and to sorrow and to cause sorrowing, so that biers were lifted away from the assemblies where he lamented. And that he accomplished with his words and melodies, and it was praiseworthy; for what leads up to the praiseworthy is praiseworthy. And on account of this it is not unlawful for the preacher who has an agreeable voice that he should chant in the pulpit with melodies, poems that excite sorrow and soften the heart; nor that he should weep and strive to weep in order that he may attain by it to cause others to weep, and to stir up their sorrow.[1]

The fifth is Music and Singing on occasions of joy as an intensifier and arouser of joy. It is allowable if the joy is allowable, as singing on the days of festival and at a marriage and on the occasion of the arrival of one who has been away and on the occasion of a wedding feast and the first head-shaving and at the birth of a child and his circumcision and

[1] It is hardly necessary to notice how startlingly this is in contrast with our ideal of pulpit excellence.

when his learning of the Mighty Qur'ān is complete,—all that is allowable for the sake of the manifestation of joy through it. And the reason of its being allowable is that some melodies stir up gladness and joy and emotion, and in whatever thing joy is allowable the stirring up of joy in that thing is allowable. This is proved by the tradition of the chanting of poetry by women on the housetops with tambourines and melodies at the arrival of the Apostle of God—

"The full moon has risen upon us from the mountain-passes of al-Wadā',
Gratitude is incumbent upon us so long as one man prays to God."

This was a manifestation of joy for his arrival, and it was a praiseworthy joy. So its manifestation through poetry and airs and dancing and movements is also praiseworthy. It has been handed down from a number of the Companions that they hopped[1] on a joyful occasion that had befallen them, as we shall tell when we deal with the rules of dancing. It is allowable on the arrival of anyone on whose arrival gladness is allowable, and for every allowed cause of joy. This is indicated in what is handed down in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* from 'Ā'isha that she said, "I have known the Prophet of God concealing me with his mantle while I was looking at the Abyssinians at javelin-play in the Mosque until I was the one who tired of it; and think of a young girl eager for amusement!"—this to indicate how long her standing lasted. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim hand down also in their *Ṣaḥīḥs* a tradition of 'Uqayl[2] from az-Zuhrī[3] from 'Urwa[4] from 'Ā'isha that Abū Bakr came in to her in the Days of Minà,[5] and with her were two girls playing tambourines

[1] *Hajalū*; the lexicons will not permit me to translate otherwise.

[2] Abū Khālid 'Uqayl b. Khālid b. 'Aqīl al-Aylī al-Umawī, a mawlà of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān; d. in Egypt 141.

[3] Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muslim, known as Ibn Shihāb, al-Qurashī az-Zuhrī al-Madanī; d. 124. An-Naw., pp. 116 ff.

[4] 'Urwa b. az-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām al-Qurashī; d. 94 or 99. An-Naw., pp. 420 f.

[5] A holiday time of the pilgrimage season; see Ibn Hishām, p. 83, line 7 from foot.

and beating time while the Prophet was wrapped in his robe. And Abū Bakr rebuked them, but the Prophet uncovered his face and said, "Let them alone, Abū Bakr, for it is time of Festival." And 'Ā'isha said, "I have known the Prophet concealing me with his mantle while I was looking at the Abyssinians playing in the Mosque, and 'Umar rebuked them, but the Prophet said, 'It is all right, O Banū Arfada!'"[1] And in a tradition of 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith[2] from Ibn Shihāb[3] is what is similar, but in it the two girls sing and play. Further, in a tradition of Abū Ṭāhir[4] from Ibn Wahb,[5] "By Allāh, I have known the Apostle of God standing by the door of my room[6] while the Abyssinians were playing with their darts in the Mosque of the Apostle of God, and he was concealing me with his robe or mantle that I might look at the playing. Then he kept standing for my sake till I was the one who turned away." Again, it is handed down in tradition from 'Ā'isha that she said, "I was wont to play with my dolls when beside the Apostle of God, and he would bring girl-companions to me, and they would veil themselves from him, and he used to have pleasure in their coming, and they would play with me." And in a tradition is that the Prophet said to her one day, "What is this?" She said, "My dolls." He said, "But what is that I see in the middle of them?" She said, "A horse." He said, "What is this on it?" She said, "A pair of wings." He said, "Has a horse a pair of wings?" She said, "Have you not

[1] The lexicons throw no light on this *kunya*. It was evidently known to them only in the tradition which we have here. See Lane, s.v., p. 1,119*c*.

[2] Abū Umayya 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Ya'qūb al-Anṣārī al-Miṣrī, al-Madanī by origin, a mawlà of Qays b. Sa'd. He was an important link in tradition, had the reputation of being a *thiqa*, stands in the third *ṭabaqa* of the *tābi'īs* of Miṣr, and d. 148, aged 58. So the SM.; see, too, Ibn Khall., ii, p. 19, n. 8.

[3] Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhrī.

[4] Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. 'Amr al-Qurashī al-Umawī al-Miṣrī, a mawlà of Nahīk (?), mawlà of 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān; a *thiqa*, d. 250.

[5] Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb al-Qurashī al-Fihrī as a mawlà, al-Miṣrī; d. 197. Ibn Khall., ii, pp. 15 ff.

[6] The apartment of 'Ā'isha opened immediately into the mosque on the left of the congregation; compare the story of how the Prophet, on the last day of his life, came in to the congregation at prayers and smiled on them.

heard that Sulaymān ibn Dā'ūd[1] had horses with wings." Then the Apostle of God laughed till his canine teeth appeared. And in our opinion the tradition is to be attributed to a custom of children of making up a figure of clay and pieces of paper without completing the figure[2]; this is indicated by what is related in other traditions that the horse had a pair of wings of paper. Again, 'Ā'isha said, "The Apostle of God came in to me while two girls were with me singing a song of the Day of Bu'āth,[3] and lay down on his side on the bed and turned away his face. Then Abū Bakr entered and rebuked me, and said, 'The pipe of the Devil in the presence of the Apostle of God!' but the Apostle of God turned to him and said, 'Let them alone!' Then, when he was not attending, I made a sign to them two, and they went out. It was a festival day and the blacks were playing with hide shields and darts; then either I asked the Apostle of God or he said, 'Would you like to look on?' and I said, 'Yes.' So he made me stand behind him with my cheek against his cheek, and he kept saying, 'Keep it up, O Banū Arfada!' until, when I turned, he said, 'Had enough?' I said, 'Yes,' and he said, 'Then go.'" And in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim is, "Then I put my head upon his shoulder and began watching their playing until I was the one who turned away."

All these traditions are in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* and are a clear proof that singing and playing are not forbidden. And in the traditions are indicated different kinds of permission:— First is the playing, and how the Abyssinians dance and sing is well known; the second is doing that in the Mosque; and the third is his saying, "Keep it up, O Banū Arfada!"—

[1] For Muslim traditions on Solomon see an-Naw., pp. 300 ff., and, especially, ath-Tha'labī's *Qiṣaṣ*, pp. 253 ff. of ed. of Cairo, 1298.

[2] Apparently this to guard against the idea that 'Ā'isha made, and the Prophet allowed her to make, imitations of any living thing. At the last day the makers of such will be required by their creations to give them life also.

[3] The Day of Bu'āth or Bughāth was one of the celebrated battle-days of the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj. According to the SM. the fight fell between the mission of the Prophet and the Hijra, and the victory remained with al-Aws. Bu'āth is a place in al-Madīna, a *ḥiṣn* or fortress of al-Aws. See, too, *Lisān*, s.v., ii, p. 422, lines 10 ff., and p. 424, lines 1 ff.; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iv, pp. 30 ff.

that is a command to play or a request; then how can it be considered as forbidden?—the fourth is his restraining Abū Bakr and 'Umar from condemning and stopping it and his giving as excuse that it was a festival day, that is, a time of joy, and such play is one of the causes of joy; the fifth is his standing so long witnessing it and his attending to what suited 'Ā'isha—and in it is an indication that beauty of disposition in soothing the hearts of women and children by witnessing playing is better than harshness of asceticism and self-mortification in refraining and hindering from it; the sixth is his saying first to 'Ā'isha, "Would you like to look on?" and that was not through being forced to help his wife through fear of anger or disunion, for rejection of a petition often causes disunion, and that is a thing feared,—then one thing feared is preferred to another thing feared,—but he asked the question first and there was nothing compelling him to do that; the seventh is the license given for singing and beating on the tambourine on the part of the two girls, in spite of its being compared to the pipe of the Devil, and that is a proof that the forbidden pipe is something different from what we have here; and the eighth is that the ear of the Apostle of God was struck by the voice of the two girls while he was lying on his side, but if there had been playing on stringed instruments in a place he would not have permitted even sitting there because of the sound of the stringed instruments striking his ear, so this indicates that the voice of women is not unlawful in the same way that the sound of pipes is unlawful, but only unlawful where there is fear of temptation.

These, then, are the conclusions from analogy and from statute which indicate the allowableness of singing and dancing, and beating the tambourine and playing with hide shields and with darts, and looking on at the dancing of Abyssinians and negroes on occasions of joy. All hold by analogy for a festival day, because it is an occasion of joy, and that covers a wedding-day and feast and a first head-shaving and circumcision and the day of arrival from a journey and the rest of the causes of gladness, that is,

everything with which gladness is allowable by law. And gladness is allowable at the visit of brethren and their meeting in one place to eat and talk, and that describes the occasion of listening to music and singing.

The sixth is the listening to music and poetry on the part of lovers in order to move longing and arouse love, and cause forgetfulness of self. Then, if it is in the presence of the beloved, the object is to increase pleasure, and if it is during separation, the object is to arouse longing. And though longing is painful, yet in it there is a kind of pleasure since hope of union is joined to it. For hope is pleasant and despair is painful, and the force of the pleasure of hope is in proportion to the force of the longing and the love of the thing longed for. Then, in such listening as this, there is an arousing of love and a moving of longing, and an attaining of the pleasure of hope which is involved in union, along with diffuse description of the beauty of the beloved. All this is allowable if union with the object of longing is allowable, as he who loves his wife or his concubine, and so gives attention to her singing that his pleasure in meeting her may be doubled. So he is made happy by beholding with vision and hearing with the ear, and he learns the subtle meanings of union and disunion of the heart, and so the causes of pleasure keep following one another. These, then, are different kinds out of all the equipment and the permissible things of this world which are enjoyed, *and what is the equipment of the life of this world but pastime and play?* [Qur., xxix, 64, etc.], and this which we have mentioned is of that nature.

And so, too, if the slave-girl of a man be angry with him or there come about some change between them through the influence of some cause or other, it is for him to move longing by music and singing and to stir up therewith the pleasure of the hope of union.[1] But if he sell her or free

[1] This is almost a commonplace in Arabic literature; see the story of Abū-l-Ḥasan of Khurāsān in the *Thousand and One Nights* (better in Kosegarten's *Chrestomathia arabica*), and the story of Ibn al-Aḥnāf, edited from the *Maṭāli' al-budūr* of al-Ghuzūlī by Torrey, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xvi.

her, that is unlawful to him thereafter, since it is not allowable to arouse longing when union and meeting in earnest would not be allowable. And as for him who pictures to himself the form of a woman looking upon whom would not be lawful to him, and who applies what he hears to what is present in his mind, that is unlawful because it is a thing which moves the fancy to forbidden deeds and stirs up an inciter to something the attaining to which were not allowable. And the majority of lovers and of the foolish, through youth, when lust is aroused, keep brooding over this kind of thing, but that should be prevented in their case on account of what is in it of hidden disease, not for anything which comes from the music itself. And therefore a physician who was asked what passionate love [*'ishq*] was replied, "A smoke which ascends into a man's brain and which sexual intercourse removes and music and singing excite."

The seventh is the listening of him who loves God and has a passion for Him and longs to meet Him so that he cannot look upon a thing but he sees it in Him (Whose perfection is extolled), and no sound strikes upon his ear but he hears it from Him and in Him. So listening to music and singing in his case is an arouser of his longing and a strengthener of his passion and his love and an inflamer of the tinderbox of his heart, and brings forth from it States[1] consisting of Revelations and Caressings, description of which cannot be comprehended,—he who has tasted them knows them, and he rejects them whose sense is blunt so that he cannot taste them. These States are called in the tongue of the Ṣūfīs *wajd*, Rapture or Ecstasy, from *wujūd*, Finding, and *muṣādafa*, Encountering, that is to say, he encounters in himself States which he had not encountered before he listened to the music. Then these States are causes of things which follow them, things which burn up the heart with their fires and purify it from taints of dinginess, just as fire purifies substances exposed to it from uncleanness. Then the purity that befalls the heart brings after it Visions and

[1] On States (*aḥwāl*) and Revelations (*mukāshafāt*) see notes on p. 94 of Life. On *wajd*, etc., see note on p. 101.

Revelations, and they are the utmost limit of the things sought by the lovers of God Most High and the ultimate fruit of all pious works. And that which enables us to reach them has its origin in the sum of pious works, not of rebellious works nor actions simply permissible. The cause of those States befalling the heart through listening to music is the secret of God Most High, and consists in a relationship of measured tones to souls and in the subjection of souls to them and their receiving impressions by them—longing and joy and sorrow and elation and depression. The knowledge of the cause why souls receive impressions through sounds belongs to the most subtle of the sciences of the Revelations which Ṣūfīs are granted, and the foolish, the frozen, the hard of heart, who are shut off from the pleasure of music and poetry, marvels how he that listens takes pleasure and at his ecstasy and state of emotion and change of colour, as a brute beast marvels at the pleasure of almond-candy and the impotent at the pleasure of sexual intercourse and the youth marvels at the pleasure of governing and at the pleasure that lies in breadth of reputation, and as the foolish marvels at the pleasure of the knowledge of God Most High and the knowledge of His majesty and might and the wonders of His creation. And for all that there is one cause, and it is that pleasure is a kind of perception and perception demands a thing perceived and a power of perceiving. Then, in the case of him whose power of perception is imperfect, that he should have pleasure through it is not to be imagined. How can he perceive the pleasure of things to eat who lacks the sense of taste, and how can he perceive the pleasure of melodies who lacks ear, and the pleasure that lies in the conclusions of the reason who lacks reason?[1] Even thus is the tasting of music and singing in the heart. After the sound has reached the ear it is perceived by an inward sense in the heart, and he who lacks that lacks inevitably the pleasure that goes with it.

[1] "Sir, I can give you reasons, but I cannot give you an understanding."—Dr. Johnson.

But, perhaps, you will say, "How can passion [*'ishq*] be imagined in the case of God Most High so that music and singing move it?" Then know that he who knows God loves Him (*aḥabbahu*) inevitably, and as his knowledge of Him strengthens, his love [*maḥabba*] of Him also strengthens, and love when it grows strong is called passion [*'ishq*], and passion is nothing else than love strengthened beyond bound. Therefore the Arabs said, "Lo! Muḥammad has a passion for his Lord," when they saw him retiring for worship in Mount Ḥirā. And know that every loveliness [*jamāl*] is beloved when there is one to perceive that loveliness, and "God Most High is lovely [*jamīl*] and He loves loveliness."[1] But loveliness, if it be in proportion of make and beauty of colours, is perceived by the sense of sight. And if the loveliness be in majesty and might and loftiness of order and beauty of qualities and character and the willing of things excellent for the world in general and pouring them out upon it constantly and other such spiritual qualities, it is perceived by the sense of the heart. And for the expression "loveliness" there is sometimes a metaphorical usage, and it is said that so and so is beautiful and lovely, and his form is not meant, but only that he is lovely of character, praiseworthy as to his qualities, beautiful as to his mode of life; and so a man is sometimes loved for those internal qualities through their being considered beautiful, just as the external form is loved. And sometimes this love becomes strong, and then it is called passion. How many there are of zealots in their love for the founders of parties, such as ash-Shāfi'ī and Mālik and Abū Ḥanīfa (may God be well pleased with them!), to such an extent that they give bountifully of their lives and of their goods in their aid and assistance and go further than any passionate lover in their zeal and excess! A marvel it is that it should be held reasonable to love passionately an individual whose form has never been seen

[1] A tradition from the Prophet. He said, "No one shall enter the Garden in whose heart there is the weight of a grain of pride." Someone said, "A man loves that his robe and sandals should be beautiful"; and the Prophet replied in this saying.

whether it is lovely or vile and who is now dead, but who is loved for the loveliness of his internal form and for his approved walk and the benefits that have befallen the people of the Faith from his work and other qualities beside; and then that it should not be held reasonable to love passionately Him from whom are seen to proceed excellent things, yea, Him whom, in verity, there is no excellency and no loveliness and no loved one in the world but it is a boon from among His boons and a trace from among the traces of His generosity and a spoonful from the sea of His bounty. And every beauty and loveliness in the world which is perceived by the intellect and by eyes and by ears and the rest of the senses from the beginning of the world to its end and from the summit of the Pleiades to the extremity of the earth,[1] is a grain from the treasure-houses of His power and a ray from the lights of His presence. So who shall tell me that the love of Him is not reasonable whose description this is, and that love of Him should not increase in the case of those who confess His descriptions until their love pass bound and the absolute use of the term passion for it become a wrong because it falls short in telling how great is His love? Then His perfection is extolled who has veiled Himself from appearing by the force of His appearing and by the rays of whose light eyes are filled. "If it were not for His veiling Himself with seventy veils of His light, the glories of His face would burn up the eyes of those regarding the loveliness of His presence."[2] And if it were not that His appearance caused His concealment, verily intellects would be confused and hearts bewildered and strength of body would be left succourless and limbs at variance. Though hearts were built up of stone and iron, verily the morning would see them crushed in pieces under the first beginning of the light of His self-manifestation. For how shall the eyes of bats endure the noonday light of the sun?

And the proof of what is indicated here shall come in

[1] *Min dhirwati-th-thurayyā ilà muntahà-th-tharà*; a proverb.
[2] A tradition of the Prophet.

the Book of Love,[1] and it will be explained that the love of any other than God is a falling short and a folly. But he who is firm in knowledge knows none other than God Most High, since there is not in existence a verity except God and His works; and he who knows the works, as works, does not pass from the knowledge of the Worker to that of another than Him. For example, he that knows ash-Shāfi'ī, and knows him directly and his productions in respect that they are his productions, and not in respect that they are whiteness and skin and ink and paper and ordered speech and the Arabic language, verily, he has known him, and does not pass from the knowledge of ash-Shāfi'ī to that of another than him, and the love of him does not pass over to another than him. And every existence except God Most High is the production of God Most High and His work done first by Him. Then he who knows it in respect that it is the construction of God Most High, sees from the construction the qualities of the Constructor, as the excellency of the producer and the greatness of his power are seen from the beauty of the production, and his knowledge and love are limited to God Most High without passing over to other than Him. And it is of the definition of this passion that it does not admit of being shared; and everything except this passion admits of being shared, since to every beloved except this there can be imagined something like either in existence or in possibility; but for this loveliness there cannot be imagined a second either in possibility or in existence. Then, the name passion applied to other than Him is a pure metaphor, not a proper sense of the word, though he that has a lack, near in his lack to brute beasts, sometimes does not recognise in the expression passion anything but the seeking of sexual intercourse. And such a one as this is like a donkey-driver, with whom it is not fitting that one should use such terms as passion, union, longing, humane intercourse; yea, such expressions and ideas he leaves on

[1] One of the Books of the *Iḥyā*, the sixth of the fourth *Rub'*.

one side, just as brute beasts leave on one side narcissus and myrtle, and give themselves to dried clover and hay and fresh leafage. For the absolute use of these expressions is only possible in the case of God Most High, and that only whenever they are not suspected of a meaning which we must hold far from the holiness of God.

And power of imagination varies as power of understanding, so attention should be directed to the refinement that lies in such expressions as these; yea, it is a near possibility that there may spring from the mere listening to the qualities of God Most High, an overpowering ecstasy by which the aorta of the heart is broken. Abū Hurayra[1] has related from the Apostle that he made mention of a youth who was among the Banū Isrā'īl on a mountain. And he said to his mother, "Who created the heavens?" She said, "God, whose are Might and Majesty." He said, "Then who created the earth?" She said, "God, whose are Might and Majesty." He said, "Then who created the mountains?" She said, "God, whose are Might and Majesty." He said, "Then who created the clouds?" She said, "God, whose are Might and Majesty." He said, "Lo, verily from God I hear a Mighty Thing!" And he cast himself from the mountain and was dashed in pieces. This is as though he heard something which indicated the Majesty of God Most High and the completing of His Power; so he was moved by emotion at that, and fell into an ecstasy, and through the ecstasy cast himself down. And the Books[2] have been revealed only in order that they should move with emotion at the mention of God Most High. Someone said, "I saw written in the Gospel, 'We have sung to you and ye have not been moved with emotion; and we have piped to you and ye have not danced.'"[3] That is, "We sought to rouse in you longing

[1] 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ṣakhr ad-Dawsī, known as Abū Hurayra; d. 57. An-Naw., pp. 760 f.; Ibn Khall., i, 570, n. 2.

[2] The different revealed Scriptures; e.g., the Law, the Gospel, the Psalms.

[3] Matt., xi, 17; Luke, vii, 32; a long way after. It is characteristic of Islām that the SM. makes no attempt to verify the reference.

by the mention of God Most High, but longing was not roused."

This, then, is what we desired to mention of the divisions of listening to Music and Singing and its causes and its requirements. It has become most certainly evident that it is permissible in some cases and encouraged in some cases. Then if you ask, "Is there any state in which it is unlawful?" I say that it is unlawful with five accidents—an accident in him who produces the poetry or music, an accident in the instrument that is used, an accident in the content of the poetry, an accident in the person of the listener or in his perseverance, and an accident that consists in his being of the commonalty of creation.

The first accident is that the producer of the poetry or music be a woman upon whom to look is not lawful and from listening to whom temptation is dreaded; included with her is also the beardless youth whose temptation is dreaded. This is unlawful on account of what is in it of the fear of temptation, and it is not on account of the singing, but if the woman, through whom rises the temptation, were only talking without using melodies, her talking and conversation would not be permissible nor even listening to her voice in repeating the Qur'ān; so, too, is it in the case of the youth from whom temptation is feared. Then if you ask, "Do you hold that this is unlawful in every situation without considering separate cases, or is it only unlawful where temptation is feared in the case of him who fears sin?" I say that this is a possible question in point of law, one in which two fundamental principles act against one another. The one of these is that being alone with a woman not within the prohibited degrees and looking upon her face is unlawful equally whether temptation is feared or not, because she is one with whom, in general, temptation may be supposed to exist. The law has decided that this shall close the matter without looking to special cases. And the second principle is that looking upon youths is permissible except where there is fear of temptation; so youths are not classed with women in this general prohibition, but the circumstances are

followed in each case. Now, the voice of a woman sways between these two fundamental principles; if we follow the analogy of looking at her, then we must close the matter absolutely,—that is an analogy that has great weight. Yet between the two are differences, since lust invites to look when it is once roused, but it does not invite to listen to the voice; and the moving of the lust to touch which is excited by looking is not the same as that which is excited by hearing, but is more powerful. And the voice of a woman, apart from singing, is not a thing of shame requiring concealment; in the time of the Companions the women always talked with the men, giving the salutation and seeking advice and asking and taking counsel and so on,—but with women there is a something more which effects the moving of lust. So the analogy of the voice of women to looking upon youths is more immediate, for they were not commanded to veil themselves, just as women were not commanded to conceal their voices. Thus the arousing of temptation is the rule which ought to be followed, and the unlawfulness should be limited to that. This, in my opinion, is the more probable view and the nearer analogy, and is strengthened by the tradition of the two girls who sang in the house of 'Ā'isha, since it is known that the Prophet was wont to listen to their voices and did not guard himself; temptation in this case was not to be feared and therefore he did not guard himself. So, then, this varies with the circumstances of the woman and the circumstances of the man in being young or old; and such a varying with circumstances has its analogies, for we say in the case of an old man that he may kiss his wife, though it be time of fast, but that that is not allowable for a young man; for kissing invites to sexual intercourse in time of fast, which is forbidden. And hearing[1] may invite to looking and drawing near which is unlawful; so that, too, varies with individuals.

[1] Hearing = *as-samā'*. I have translated this word hitherto as 'listening to music and singing.' Literally it means 'hearing' or 'listening,' but it became a Ṣūfī technical term for the devotional exercises of darwīshes. In the sequel I shall frequently translate it as here, regarding it as such a technical term.

The second attribute is in the instruments in so far as they are of the badges of people who drink and of the *Mukhannaths*. They are pipes and stringed instruments and the *kūba*-drum. These three kinds are forbidden, and all besides these remain under the fundamental principle of allowableness, like the *duff* whether it has little bells or not, and the *ṭabl* and the *shāhīn* and beating with the *qaḍīb* and the other instruments.

The third accident is in the content of what is sung, the poetry. If there is in it anything of obscenity or ribaldry or satire or what is a lie against God Most High or against His Apostle or against the Companions, like what the Rāfiḍīs [1] composed in satire on the Companions and others, the listening to it is unlawful, with melodies or without melodies, and he that listens is partaker with him that speaks. So, too, is that in which there is description of a particular woman; for the description of a woman before men is not allowable. And as for satire of unbelievers and heretics, that is allowable; Ḥassān b. Thābit was wont to boast of the Apostle of God and to satirize the unbelievers, and the Apostle of God commanded him to do that. And as for amatory poetry, i.e. love poetry with description of cheeks and temples and beauty of figure and stature and description of women in other points, it calls for consideration. The sound view with regard to it is that the composing of it and the reciting it with melody and without, is not unlawful. But it is for the listener to see to it that he does not apply what he hears to a particular woman, and if he does apply it that he apply it to one permitted

[1] It was early fixed as a principle that the handing down of traditions derogatory to the Prophet or to the Companions was unlawful. Thus an-Nasafī lays down in his creed: "We abstain from the mention of the Companions of the Prophet except with good." The name Rāfiḍīs came to be applied to all schismatics who spoke against any of the Companions, but historically it has a narrower application. They were a sect of the Shī'a of al-Kūfa who abandoned Zayd b. 'Alī, a descendant of 'Alī the fourth Khalīfa—after having belonged to his party the Zaydites—because he commanded them not to speak against the two first Khalīfas, Abū Bakr and 'Umar. See Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1,121*a*; *Thousand and One Nights*, ii, pp. 233 and 265, and notes 33 and 90 (Story of 'Alā ad-Dīn Abū-sh-Shāmāt, Nights 255 and 265), Haarbrücker's translation of ash-Shāhrastānī, i, pp. 176 and 180.

to him, his wife or slave-girl, for if he apply it to a strange woman then he is a rebel against God by thus applying it, and by his causing his thought to circle in it. He to whom this description applies ought to put aside music and singing absolutely. For he over whom a passion has gained control applies all he hears to that passion, equally if the expression suits it or not; for what expression is there that cannot be applied to ideas by means of metaphorical usage? So he over whose heart the love of God has control is reminded by the blackness of the hair on the temples of a like thing, the darkness of unbelief, and by the brightness of the cheek, of the light of Faith, and by the mention of union, of the meeting God Most High, and by the mention of parting, of the separation from God Most High in the company of the rejected, and by the mention of the censurer who disturbs the gladness of union, of the obstacles of the world and its defects that disturb the endurance of intercourse with God Most High. And in this application there is no need of search or meditation or leisure; yea, the thoughts which control the heart weigh more than the expression in the understanding of what is heard.[1] So it is related from one of the Shaykhs that he passed through the market and heard one saying, "The good ones ten for a grain[2]!" then ecstasy overcame him. And he was asked about that, and said, "When the good are ten for a grain, then what is the value of the evil?" And one of them crossed in the market and heard a speaker saying, "O wild thyme!" [*Yā sa'taru barrī*]; then ecstasy overcame him. And they said to him, "For what is thy ecstasy?" He said, "I heard him as though he were saying, 'Persevere and thou wilt see my benevolence!'" [*Isa' tara birrī*]. And this goes so far that ecstasy sometimes overcomes a Persian at verses in Arabic, for some Arabic words correspond to Persian words; so he understands from them another meaning. One recited—

[1] Literally, *arrive first at understanding what is heard in spite of the expression.*

[2] The weight of a grain of barley; apparently a fraction of a dirham.

"And there has not visited me [*wamā zāranī*] in slumber
aught but his phantom-form." [1]

Then a Persian was seized with ecstasy at that, and he was asked the cause of his ecstasy, and he said, "Lo, he said in Persian *Mā zārīm*, 'We are all coming nigh to destruction.'" For the expression *zār* indicates in Persian *are coming nigh to destruction*, so he fancied that he was saying "We are all coming nigh to destruction," and feared thereby the peril of the destruction of the other world.

And the ecstasy of him who is consumed in love of God Most High is in proportion to his understanding, and his understanding is in proportion to his power of imagination, and what he imagines does not necessarily agree with what the poet meant or with his language. This ecstasy is truth and sincerity; and he who fears the peril of the destruction of the other world is fitted that his intellect should be disturbed in him and his limbs agitated, and then there is no great advantage in changing the expressions themselves. Yet he whom love of a created thing has overcome ought to guard himself against music and singing with whatever expression they come, but him whom the love of God Most High has overcome, the verbal expressions do not trouble and do not hinder from understanding the benignant ideas that join themselves with the flow of his exalted aspiration.

The fourth accident is in the listener, and consists in lust having control over him. If he is in the glow of youth, and this quality have more control over him than any other, then music and singing are unlawful to him equally whether the love of a particular individual have control of his heart or not. For however that may be, he cannot hear a description of temples and cheeks and separation and union but it moves his lust, and he applies what he hears to a particular form, the Devil puffing at the lust in his heart, and so the flame of lust is kindled in him and the arousers

[1] On the *Tayf al-Khayāl*, the form of the beloved seen in dreams, see an article by de Slane in the Journ. As., sér. III, v, 376 ff.

of evil incite him. And it is a help to the party of the Devil and a cause of cowardice to Reason which defends him and which is the party of God Most High. The fighting is constant in the heart between the forces of the Devil—they are the lusts—and the party of God Most High—it is the light of Reason—except in a heart which one of the two parties has conquered and over which it rules completely. The army of the Devil conquers most hearts and overcomes them; so, therefore, there is need that inciters of fighting should keep beginning afresh to harass the forces of the Devil. How, then, is the increasing of the weapons of these forces and the sharpening of their swords and spears allowable? And music and singing sharpen the weapons of the army of the Devil in the case of such an individual as this; so let such go out from the assembly where music and singing are heard, for he is hurt by them.

The fifth accident is that the individual should be of the commonalty of creation.[1] Given that the love of God Most High does not control him; further, that music and singing are beloved to him, and that no lust controls him; yet in his case it is prohibited. But, just as the other kinds of permitted pleasures, it would be permitted in his case except that, when custom and habit of it take hold of him, and however numerous its occasions, they are yet too few for him, then he is one of the foolish whose testimony is to be rejected; for persistence in sport is a sin. And just as a little sin by persistence and continuance becomes a great sin, so some permitted things by continuance become little sins; and this case is like perseverance in following negroes and Abyssinians, and constant watching of their playing, for that is prohibited, although its beginning is not prohibited, since the Apostle of God did it. To this class belongs playing at chess, for it is permitted; yet perseverance in it is disliked with the strongest dislike. And whenever the object is play and taking pleasure in

[1] By *'awāmm al-khalq* he means all mankind but those who have intercourse with and knowledge of God in ecstasy, whether they be ignorant or philosophers or theologians.

sport, then it is permitted only on account of what is in it quieting to the heart; since quiet of the heart at certain times is a medicinal treatment, so that the impulses of the heart may be aroused, and then it may busy itself at other times in diligent application to worldly things, as gain and trade, or to religion, as prayer and recitation of the Qur'ān. And regarding that as a good thing to come between periods of application is like regarding a black mole on the cheek as beautiful. But if the moles were to take possession of the whole face, as a curse on it, how ugly that would be! So beauty becomes ugliness on account of abundance, and it is not every beauty much of which is beautiful, nor every permissible thing much of which is permissible. Bread is permissible, but seeking much of it is unlawful. So this permissible thing is like the other permissible things.

But if you say, "What all this comes to is that it is permissible under some circumstances and not under others; so why did you first make it absolutely permissible when such a statement, when it comes to distinguishing cases with yes or no, is false and faulty?" Then know that this objection is mistaken; for the laying down such an absolute statement stands in the way only of such a stating of special cases as begins from the entity of the thing which is being considered; but as for that which begins from the circumstances which came as accidents joined to it externally, the absolute statement does not prevent that. Do you not see that we, when we are asked concerning honey whether it is lawful or not, say that it is lawful in the absolute, though it is unlawful for one who is of a sanguine temperament, to whom it is hurtful? And when we are asked concerning wine we say that it is unlawful, although it is lawful for him to drink it who is choking with a morsel whenever he cannot find anything else. But it, in respect that it is wine, is unlawful, and is only permissible on account of the accident of the need; and honey, in respect that it is honey, is lawful, and is only unlawful on account of the accident of hurtfulness. And

no attention is paid to what belongs to an accident, for selling is lawful, but becomes unlawful through the accident of its happening at the time of the summons to prayer on Friday; and there are many accidents such as that. Then music and singing belong to the class of things permissible in respect that they are listening to an agreeable measured voice with a meaning to be understood, and their being unlawful is only on account of an accident external to their true entity. So, when the veil is withdrawn from what shows the permissibility, no attention need be paid to him who opposes after the indication is plain.

And as for ash-Shāfi'ī, his school does not pronounce singing unlawful as a fundamental principle. Ash-Shāfi'ī laid down a rule, and said of the man who takes up singing as a profession that his evidence is not allowable. And that is because it belongs to sport which is disliked and which resembles what is vain; and he who takes it up as a profession is put in a relationship to folly, and his manly virtue [*murū'a*] falls from him, and, although it is not an unlawful thing in itself, yet its being unlawful under these circumstances is clear. But if he does not put himself into a relationship to singing, and people do not come to him on account of that, and he does not go to people for its sake, and all that is known of him is that he is sometimes in a state of emotion and chants in it, then that does not make his manly virtue fall away or render worthless his evidence. That is shown by the tradition of the two girls who were singing in the house of 'Ā'isha.

And Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'là[1] said, "I asked ash-Shāfi'ī about the people of al-Madīna permitting music and singing. Then ash-Shāfi'ī said, 'I do not know one of the learned of the Ḥijāz who disliked music and singing except what consisted in amatory descriptions; as for the driving-song and the mention of the traces of the encampment and of the spring pastures[2] and the making beautiful the voice in

[1] Abū Mūsà Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'là aṣ-Ṣafadī al-Miṣrī; d. 264. An-Naw., pp. 641 f.; Ibn Khall., iv, pp. 591 f.

[2] Referring to the descriptions with which innumerable *qaṣīdas* open.

singing poems, it is permitted.'" And when ash-Shāfi'ī says that it is a sport which is disliked and which resembles what is vain, then his saying 'sport' [*lahw*] is right, but sport, in respect that it is sport, is not unlawful; the play of the Abyssinians and their dancing is sport, yet the Prophet was wont to look at it sometimes and did not dislike it. And sport and nonsense [*laghw*] God Most High does not blame if by it is meant doing that in which there is no advantage; for if a man lay upon himself that he will place his hand upon his head one hundred times a day, that is trifling with no advantage in it, yet it is not unlawful; God Most High said, *God does not blame you for nonsense in your oaths* [Qur., ii, 225; v, 91]. And when God does not blame for the mention of His name to a thing by way of oath without being pledged to it and without being determined to keep it, rather being variable as to it, along with there being no advantage in it, how shall He blame poetry and dancing? And as for his saying that it resembles what is vain [*bāṭil*], that does not indicate a belief that it is unlawful; even if he had said explicitly that it was vain, that would not have indicated that it was unlawful. It only indicates that it is destitute of advantage; what is vain is that in which there is no advantage. If a man says to his wife, for example, "I sell myself to you," and she says, "I buy," it is a vain bargain whenever the object is play and jesting, and it is not unlawful except when the object is really making a slave of him, which the law forbids. And as for his saying "disliked" [*makrūh*], he means that it is disliked on some of the occasions which I have mentioned to thee, or else he means that it is disliked through fear of evil. For he has laid down a rule as to the allowableness of playing at chess, and has remarked, "Verily, I dislike every play." The explanation he gives indicates this; for he says, "It is not one of the customs of religious people and people of manly virtue." This points to fear of evil. And his rejecting evidence for persistence in play does not indicate that it is unlawful; he sometimes rejects evidence for eating in the market-place and for what in general violates manly virtue

[*murū'a*]. Thus, weaving is allowable ; yet it is not of the occupations of those who possess manly virtue. And sometimes he rejects the evidence of those who pursue an ignoble trade, and his explanation shows that he meant by dislike fear of evil.[1]

This is the view also of others besides him of the great Imāms. So if people desire to make it unlawful, what we have said above is an argument against them.

3.

A statement of the Arguments of those who pronounce Music and Singing unlawful, and an Answer to them.

They base an argument upon what God Most High says, *And of mankind there are some who buy sport consisting of stories* [*in order to lead astray from the path of God*].[2] Ibn Mas'ūd[3] and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī[4] and an-Nakha'ī[5] said that "sport consisting of stories" was singing. And 'Ā'isha handed down that the Prophet said, "Verily, God hath made the singing-girl unlawful and the selling of her and her price and teaching her." To this we say, As to the

[1] The SM. gives, as examples, cupping and the clearing away of ash-heaps. On the Oriental attitude towards cupping, see Spitta's *Al-Aš'arî*, pp. 29 f. In the *Tanbîh* of Abū Isḥāq ash-Shīrāzī, a Shāfi'ite manual of law, pp. 336 f. of ed. of Juynboll, there is a statement of those whose testimony must be rejected. These included slaves, youths, deranged persons, heedless persons or simpletons (*mughaffal*), those who have no manly virtue (*murū'a*), such as scavengers, rag-gatherers, sweepers, bathmen, those who play in the bath and singers, dancers, jugglers, those who eat in the streets and make water in public and play at chess on the highway. As to pursuers of base occupations (*makāsib daniya*), such as watchmen, weavers, cuppers, there are two views, one that their testimony is to be rejected, the other and better that it may be received if their religious walk is right. See, too, the *Minhāj aṭ-ṭālibîn*, ed. van den Berg, iii, pp. 400 ff. On improper use of the public streets, compare Goldziher, *Arabische Philologie*, p. 111, who explains that these are the places of prayer of the Jinn.

[2] Qur'ān, xxxi, 5. I have added the necessary context in square brackets.

[3] Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd b. Ghāfil al-Hudhalī al-Kūfī; d. 32. Ibn Qut., p. 128; an-Naw., pp. 369 ff.

[4] Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. Abī-l-Ḥasan Yasār al-Baṣrī, d. 110. An-Naw., pp. 209 ff.; Ibn Khall., i, 370 ff.

[5] Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd an-Nakha'ī; see note 4 on p. 202.

singing-girl, what is meant by her is the slave-girl who sings to men in a place where there is drinking; and we have mentioned that the singing of a strange woman to men of dissolute life and to those for whom temptation is feared is unlawful; such seek from the singing-girl only what is legally forbidden. But as for the singing of a slave-girl to her possessor, its unlawfulness cannot be gathered from this tradition. Further, even to any other than her possessor, listening is lawful when there is absence of temptation according to what is indicated by the tradition in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* of the singing of the two slave-girls in the house of 'Ā'isha. And as for the buying of "sport consisting of stories" for religion, by way of exchange for it, "to lead astray" by it "from the path of God," that is unlawful and blameworthy and the question is not as to it. Every singing is not an exchange for religion, bought for it, and a thing leading astray from the path of God Most High, and that is what is meant in the passage. If anyone read the Qur'ān "to lead astray thereby from the path of God," his so reading the Qur'ān would be unlawful. It is related of one of the Hypocrites that he used to act as Imām to the people, and would only recite the Sūra *'Abasa*[1] on account of the rebuke of the Apostle of God which it contains. And 'Umar thought of killing him, and regarded his action as unlawful on account of the leading astray which is in it; then is the leading astray by poetry and singing to be regarded as more unlawful?

Further, they base an argument on what God Most High says, *And at this narrative do ye not marvel? but ye laugh and do not weep and ye are lifters up* (sāmidūn).[2] Ibn 'Abbās[3] said, "It is singing in the language of Ḥimyar," meaning the "lifting up." To that we say, Laughter and

[1] Sūra lxxx of the Qur'ān. It begins *'Abasa wa-tawallà*, "he frowned and turned away," said of the Prophet repelling a blind man. For that he is rebuked by God in the Sūra, and this Hypocrite—the Hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*, Ibn Qut., p. 174) played much the same part in Medina as the Libertines in the Geneva of Calvin—chose thus to keep alive the memory of the rebuke.

[2] Qur'ān, liii, 59; see Bayd., ii, 296, l. 14; and Lane, p. 1,424*b*.

[3] Abū-l-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abdi-l-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim; d. 68. An-Naw., pp. 351 ff.; Ibn Qut., pp. 58 f.

lack of weeping ought to be unlawful too, since the passage embraces them. And if it be said that it is limited to laughter against the Muslims for their becoming Muslims, then this also is limited to their making poems and singing with the object of ridiculing the Muslims. Even as He Most High has said, *And the poets—those going astray follow them* [Qur., xxvi, 224]; He meant by that the poets of the unbelievers; it does not indicate that the composition of poetry is unlawful in itself.

Further, they base an argument on what Jābir[1] has handed down that the Prophet said, "Iblīs was the first who wailed and the first who sang." So he joined wailing and singing. Then we say, Verily, just as the wailing of Dā'ūd and the wailing of sinners for their crimes are excepted, so is excepted that singing which seeks the moving of joy and sorrow and longing where it is allowable that it should be moved. It is excepted just as the singing of the two slave-girls on the Festival day in the house of the Apostle of God was excepted, and the singing of the women who sang at his arrival, when they said—

"The full moon has risen upon us, from the passes of al-Wadā'."

Further, they base an argument on what Abū Umāma[2] has handed down from the Prophet that he said, "No one lifts up his voice in singing but God sends to him two devils on his two shoulders, beating with their heels on his breast until he refrains." We say, This applies to some of the kinds of singing which we have already brought forward; there are those which excite from the heart that which is the desire of the Devil, consisting of lust and passion ['*ishq*] for creatures. But as for what excites longing towards God and joy in Festival time, and at the birth of a child or the arrival of him who has been

[1] Abū 'Abd Allāh (or Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān or Abū Muḥammad) Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr al-Anṣārī as-Salamī al-Madanī; d. 68 or 73 or 78. An-Naw., pp. 184 ff.; Ibn Qut., pp. 156 f.; Ibn Khall., ii, 204, n. 1.

[2] Abū Umāma Ṣudday b. 'Ajlān al-Bāhilī; d. 81 or 86. Ibn Qut., p. 157; an-Naw., pp. 651 f.

absent, all that is the opposite of what is the desire of the Devil, as is indicated by the story of the two slave-girls and the Abyssinians and the narratives which we took from the *Ṣaḥīḥs*. So the fact that it was permitted on a single occasion is a statute that it is allowable; and that it was prevented on a thousand occasions is subject to interpretation and explanation; but the actual doing of a thing cannot be interpreted away, since when a thing is unlawful it can only become lawful through the accident of compulsion, and if it is allowable it is made unlawful by a great number of accidents up to intentions and objects.

Further, they base an argument on what 'Uqba b. 'Āmir[1] handed down that the Prophet said, "Everything with which a man sports is vain except his training his horse and shooting with his bow and playing with his wife." We say, His saying "vain" does not indicate that it is unlawful, but indicates the lack in it of advantage. And sometimes that is conceded on the ground that the having part in sport in watching the Abyssinians came outside of these three and yet is not unlawful; so things not excepted are joined to things excepted on analogy, just as the Prophet said, "The blood of a Muslim is not lawful save for one of three things," yet he joined with them a fourth and a fifth.[2] Like this, too, is the playing with one's wife; there is no advantage in it, only the pleasure. And it shows that amusing oneself in gardens and listening to the voices of birds and to the different kinds of jesting, of that wherewith a man sports, nothing of that is unlawful although it may be possible to describe it as vain.

Further, they base an argument on the saying of 'Uthmān, "I have not sung, and I have not lied, and I have not wiped my penis with my right hand since I did homage

[1] 'Uqba b. 'Āmir al-Juhanī; d. 58. An-Naw., pp. 425 f.

[2] The three are adultery, murder, and relapse after embracing Islām; see the tradition in al-Bukhārī, vol. viii, p. 36 of ed. of Cairo, 1296, and in the *Sunan* of Ibn Mājah, p. 185 of lithog. of Dehli, 1889. I do not know what is referred to under the fourth and fifth.

with it to the Apostle of God."[1] We say, Then let the lying and the wiping the penis with the right hand be unlawful if this is an indication that singing is unlawful! When was it established that 'Uthmān abandoned only what is unlawful?

Further, they base an argument on the saying of Ibn Mas'ūd, "Singing makes Hypocrisy to spring up in the heart," and some add, "just as water makes herbs spring up"; some even carry it back to the Apostle of God, but that form of the tradition is not sound. They say, "There passed by Ibn 'Umar[2] some people wearing the *Iḥrām*,[3] and among them was a man singing. Then he said, 'Ho, I do not hear God from you; ho, I do not hear God from you!'" And from Nāfi'[4] is handed down that he said, "I was with Ibn 'Umar on the road and I heard the flute-playing of a shepherd, and he put his fingers in his ears, then turned from the road, and did not cease saying, 'Nāfi', do you hear it?' till I said 'No'; then he took his fingers out and said, 'Thus I saw the Apostle of God do.'" And al-Fuḍayl b. 'Iyāḍ[5] said, "Singing is the spell which raises fornication." And one of them said, "Singing is one of the scouts of depravity." And Yazīd b. al-Walīd[6] said, "Beware ye of singing, for it maketh modesty to be lacking

[1] For this saying of 'Uthmān see *Lisān*, s.v., xx, p. 164, ll. 7 ff. from foot. On the attitude of Muslims towards lying, allowed and unallowed, see *Iḥyā*, vol. vii, pp. 522 ff. The statement there begins, "Lying is not forbidden (*ḥarām*) on account of itself (*linafsihi*), but on account of detriment in it to the person addressed or any other." Compare, too, the doctrine of Intention, *nīya*, in *Iḥyā*, vol. x, pp. 72 ff. Similarly, to use the right hand for certain purposes would be bad manners, but could not be called *ḥarām*.

[2] 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had two sons who are referred to in tradition, 'Abd Allāh and 'Ubayd Allāh. This, according to the SM., is 'Abd Allāh, who d. in 73. An-Naw., pp. 357 ff.; Ibn Qut., p. 92; Ibn Khall., i, p. 567, note.

[3] *Iḥrām* is the prescribed dress worn by a pilgrim and also his state while wearing it. It is put on at the last stage before reaching Mecca, and laid aside after the tenth day, the day of sacrifice.

[4] Abū 'Abd Allāh Nāfi' was a mawlà of Ibn 'Umar, and d. 117. Ibn Qut., pp. 95 and 234; Ibn Khall., iii, pp. 521 f.; an-Naw., pp. 589 f. The tradition here related is an important and much debated one in several legal respects.

[5] Abū 'Alī al-Fuḍayl b. 'Iyāḍ at-Tamīmī al-Yarbū'ī; d. 187. An-Naw., pp. 503 f.; Ibn Khall., ii, 478 ff.; the extract from al-Biqā'ī's *Aswāq al-ashwāq* in Derenbourg et Spiro, *Chrestomathie élémentaire*, pp. 33 ff.; al-Qush., p. 11.

[6] Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Mālik b. Marwān, the 12th Umayyad Khalīfa; d. 126. Ibn Qut., p. 186.

and increaseth lust and ruineth manly virtue; and verily it takes the place of wine and does what drunkenness does; then if ye cannot avoid having to do with it, keep it out of the way of women, for singing incites to fornication." But we say, When Ibn Mas'ūd says that it makes Hypocrisy grow up, he means by that in the case of the singer; in his case it makes Hypocrisy grow up, for his whole desire is to show himself to advantage in competition with others, and to make his voice sell well in such competition, and he keeps playing the hypocrite and making himself beloved by people that they may desire his singing. But even that does not involve that singing must be declared unlawful. For the wearing of beautiful clothes and the riding of ambling horses and the other kinds of adornment and emulative glorying in wealth and pleasant things and children and so on make Hypocrisy and dissimulation spring up in the heart; but what Ibn Mas'ūd said does not go so far as to make these unlawful. So it is not only acts of rebellion against God which cause Hypocrisy to spring up in the heart; yea, such permitted things as these on which the gaze of the people falls are still better fitted to procure it. And therefore 'Umar alighted from a horse which ambled under him and cut off its tail, because he feared in himself vainglory in the beauty of its gait. Thus the beginning of Hypocrisy is in permitted things.

And as for the saying of Ibn 'Umar, "Ho, I do not hear God from you!" it does not indicate that singing is unlawful in respect that it is singing; but they were in *Iḥrām* and loose talk did not befit them, and it appeared to him from their signs that their listening was not for the sake of ecstasy and longing unto the visitation of the House of God Most High, but for pure sport. So he disliked that in them, because it was objectionable in connection with their state and the state of *Iḥrām*. Again, in the stories of particular cases, the possible views are many. For example, opposed to his putting his fingers in his ears is the fact that he did not command Nāfi' to do the like and did not disapprove of his listening. He only did it

himself because he considered that he should guard his ear in its then condition, and his heart from a sound which usually would move sport, and so might hinder him from a thought he was engaged in or a recollection that was more in place. And so, too, the action of the Apostle of God, along with the fact that he did not hinder Ibn 'Umar from listening, does not indicate that it is unlawful, but indicates that the more fitting course is abandoning it. And we hold that abandoning it is more fitting in most cases; yea, that the abandoning of most of the allowable things of the world is more fitting when it is known that they make an effect on the heart. The Apostle of God actually stripped off the robe of Abū Jahm[1] after the completion of prayer because there was a pattern upon it which distracted his heart. But do you think that that indicates the unlawfulness of a pattern upon a robe? Perhaps the Prophet was in a state from which the sound of the flute of the shepherd would have distracted him as the pattern distracted him from prayer. Yea, the need of arousing the Glorious States in the heart by music and singing is a falling short in the case of him who is constant in his witnessing the Truth, though it may be perfection in the case of others than such a one. And therefore al-Ḥuṣrī[2] said, "Even the most affecting of Music and Singing (Hearing) is cut off when he dies who is listening to it"; thus pointing out the fact that the Hearing which is from God Most High is abiding. And the Prophets had constantly the pleasure of Hearing and Witnessing,[3] and had no need to have them aroused by devices. As for the saying of al-Fuḍayl, and similarly all the other sayings kin to it, it is applicable to the music and singing of dissolute people and lustful youths; and if these sayings were

[1] Abū Jahm 'Āmir (or 'Ubayd) b. Ḥudhayfa al-Qurashī al-'Adawī; d. in the days of az-Zubayr or of Mu'āwiya. An-Naw., pp. 686 f., and al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-libās*, part vii, p. 39.

[2] Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuṣrī al-Ḥaḍramī al-Baṣrī; d. 371. Al-Qush., p. 38; Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno* 371.

[3] See note in Life, p. 94.

generally valid, wherefore did they listen to the two slave-girls in the house of the Apostle of God?

Then, as for analogy, the utmost of what can be said as to it is that the analogy lies against stringed instruments, and the differences have already been given. Or it is said that Music and Singing are sport and play, and so they are, but the whole of this world is *sport and play* [Qur., xxix, 64]. 'Umar said to his wife, "Thou art only a plaything in the corner of the house." And all playing with women is sport except tillage, which is the cause of the existence of children. "And all jesting in which there is nothing vile is lawful." That is quoted from the Apostle of God and the Companions, as shall come in detail in the Book of the Defects of the Tongue,[1] if God will; and what sport could exceed the sport of the Abyssinians and negroes in their playing? Its allowableness stands firm by statute on the basis of what I said, that sport rests the heart and lightens from it the burden of thinking; and when hearts are over-driven they are blind, and resting strengthens them for serious work. So he, for example, who is persistent in study ought to cease work on Friday, for ceasing work on one day incites alertness on the other days. And he who is persistent in works of supererogation in prayer on most occasions, ought to be idle on some occasions; and, on his account, prayer on some occasions is disliked. So idleness is a help to work, and sport an aid to seriousness; only the souls of the Prophets can endure against pure seriousness and bitter duty. Sport is the medicine of the heart against the disease of weariness and restlessness; so it ought to be permitted. But there ought not to be too much of it, just as there ought not to be too much medicine. Then, whenever sport is for this object, it becomes a pious work. This is even in the case of one in whose heart music and singing do not rouse a praiseworthy quality—the rousing of which is sought—but the hearer has only pleasure and simple rest. So it is fitting that

[1] A Book of the *Iḥyā*; the fourth of the third *Rub'*.

that be approved in him that he may attain by it to the goal which we have mentioned. It is true that this indicates a falling short from the summit of perfection, for the perfect man is he who has no need that his soul should be rested in other than duty, but "the good deeds of the pious are the evil deeds of archangels,"[1] and he who has mastered the science of dealing with hearts and the different ways of being kind to them to lead them to the Truth, knows absolutely that resting them with such things as these is a useful medicine that cannot be done without.

[1] The SM. ascribes this saying to Abū Muḥammad Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh at-Tustarī, who d. 293 or 283 or 273. Al-Qush., p. 18; Ibn Khall., i, pp. 602, 590.

(*To be continued.*)

Art. IX.—*The Jānakīharaṇa of Kumāradāsa.*

By F. W. Thomas.

The history of this little-known work is remarkable. No manuscript of it has yet been discovered, and on the continent of India the only traces of its existence consist in the facts that a few of its verses are quoted in two Sanskrit anthologies, the Çārṅgadharapaddhati and the Subhāṣitāvalī, and in the Aucityavicāracarcā of Kṣemendra, and that the author is coupled with Kālidāsa in a memorial verse of Rājaçekhara—

> Jānakīharaṇaṃ kartuṃ Raghuvaṃçe sthite sati
> kaviḥ Kumāradāsaç ca Rāvaṇaç ca yadi kṣamaḥ.

The Singhalese literature, however, has preserved to us a *Sanna* or word-for-word gloss of the first fourteen cantos and of the fifteenth in part, from which gloss it has been found possible to piece together a text which cannot diverge very far from the original. The first attempt at such a reconstruction was made by a Singhalese pandit for James d'Alwis, who, in his "Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit, Pali, and Singhalese Literary Works of Ceylon," gives, pp. 191–2, a specimen of ten verses so brought to light. But for the recovery of all the surviving cantos we are indebted to K. Dharmārāma Sthavira. In the year 1891 this scholar published at Pėliyagoḍa in Ceylon both text and Sanna with a valuable introduction. This work is in Singhalese character throughout. But in 1893 there appeared at Calcutta a nāgarī text with a few notes compiled by the late pandit Haridāsa Çāstrī, M.A., Director of Public Instruction in the Jeypore State, and published after his death by Kālīpada Bandhyopādhyāya, Principal of the Sanskrit College at Jeypore. The latter (which, however,

has not the value of an independent restoration) was reviewed by Professor Rhys Davids in this Journal for 1894, pp. 623–4. Dharmārāma's edition was noticed in vol. iv of the *Orientalist*, pp. 78 sqq., and was used by Professor Leumann for the purpose of his discussion of the work in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. vii, 1893, pp. 226–232,

Two circumstances give to Kumāradāsa's poem a special importance. The first is the native tradition, not seriously questioned, and accepted by Geiger in his recently published work on the Singhalese Language and Literature, which identifies the author with the King Kumāradāsa, or Kumāradhātusena, who reigned over Ceylon during the years 517–526 A.D. It is thus the earliest Ceylonese work in Sanskrit. Secondly, there is the tradition making him a friend and contemporary of Kālidāsa, for the details of which it will be sufficient to refer to Dharmārāma's introduction and to Professor Rhys Davids' article in this Journal for 1888, pp. 148–9. For these reasons, and because the poem is written in a style of some difficulty, accentuated by the lack of a Sanskrit commentary, I have thought it worth while to call attention to some of its numerous peculiarities. The reader will find appended a short abstract of the contents of the poem, as experience shows that even in the case of better known *kāvyas* such a conspectus is of some utility.

What amount of confidence can be placed in the text of a poem composed in complicated metres and pieced together from a commentary? Professor Leumann, who has discussed this question in the article above referred to, arrives at the conclusion that "the insignificance of the variants proves for the text a greater degree of certainty than could have been expected." This conclusion, based on a comparison of the seven cited verses (i, 29 and 32; iii, 2; ix, 12; xi, 63, 71, and 92), seems beyond question, though complicated by the fact that four of these were known to the author of the reconstruction. Two classes of divergences are to be distinguished, those due to the editor, who could not fail

sometimes to arrange the words supplied by the Sanna in an order different from the original, and those due to variations of reading in the Sanna itself. The former case is illustrated in ix, 12, and the latter in several instances, of which I will refer only to one, viz., i, 29, reading as follows :—

Çārṅgadharapaddhati.	*Dharmārāma.*
paçyan hato manmathabāṇapātaiḥ ;	tasyā hataṃ manmathabāṇapātaiḥ
çakto vidhātuṃ na nimīlya cakṣuḥ ;	çakyaṃ vidhātuṃ na nimīlya cakṣuḥ
ūrū vidhātrā hi kṛtāu kathaṃ tāv	ūrū vidhātrā nu kṛtāu kathaṃ tāv
ity āsa tasyāṃ sumater vitarkaḥ.	(ity āsa tasyāṃ sumater vitarkaḥ).

As Professor Leumann has pointed out, the Sanna reads *dhātrā* for *vidhātrā*, and supplies a word *dṛṣṭāu*, for which Dharmārāma can find no place in the text. The latter difficulty Haridāsa Çāstrī has removed by inserting the word in place of *tasyāḥ*, rendering it by *darçane sati*. Now it is certain that the text supplied by the Çārṅgadharapaddhati alone gives the general sense, namely, that indicated by my punctuation: "'If he looked, he was smitten with love's arrows: with his eyes shut he could not create: how then did the creator frame her thighs': thus were the wise at fault." We have in fact a poetical syllogism in due form, and a rendering in effect the same as that of Aufrecht (*ap.* Leumann): "An intelligent man can reasonably doubt how the creator could have framed her thighs: he could not do it without shutting his eyes, since if he looked he would have been at once hit by the arrows of love." I think, however, that the above rendering, taking *hato* and *çakto* as finite verbs, has a distinct superiority. The question of reading is now clearer. *Hataṃ* MUST BE a mistake for *hato*. On the other hand, *paçyan* and *dṛṣṭau* are variants between which we may reasonably doubt, and I suggest that *both* are derived from an original *dṛṣṭvā*, while *tasyāḥ* is a corruption of *paçyan*. As regards *çakyaṃ* and *çakto*, again, there is liberty of choice. But when we observe that the neuter would account by attraction for the reading *hataṃ*, and that the genderless use of *çakyaṃ* is

specially provided for in treatises on Alaṅkāra (Vāmana, v. 2. 25), further that, as we shall point out, Kumāradāsa was a poet devoted to grammatical niceties, we cannot but incline to the view that this was the word which he used. The question of *dhātrā* and *vidhātrā*, *hi* and *nu* (? *ūrū hi dhātrā nu kathaṃ kṛtau tau*), I will not linger over, but will merely draw the conclusion that the sources of the poem point to the existence of ordinary differences of reading in addition to the special divergences due to the reconstructor. Professor Leumann has also called attention to the desirability of securing a greater number of MSS. of the Sanna.

We are fortunately enabled to continue this test of the reconstructed poem by the aid of further verses not known to the editors. For in the Subhāṣitāvalī we find a number of these ascribed to a poet Kumāradatta, and *all these verses are to be traced in the Jānakīharaṇa.* The identification of the two poets may hereafter, should further information be obtained concerning Kumāradatta, prove of some importance. In the meanwhile I will quote the verses along with one other anonymously cited by the same author :—

Kumāradatta.	*Jānakīharaṇa.*
vimalam ambu nipīya *nadīçataiḥ* salilabhāranirantaritodaraḥ klamam *ivānubhavann* atipānajaṃ giritaṭe niṣasāda payodharaḥ.	Reads *vimalavāri*, *nadīçataṃ* and *abhivahann* (xi, 53).
"bhuvanadṛṣṭinirodhakaraṃ kṛtaṃ ravikarān uparudhya mayā tamaḥ vilasitena nihanti muhur muhus taḍid" itīva rarāsa ruṣā ghanaḥ.	"ravikarān uparudhya kṛtaṃ mayā bhuvanadṛṣṭinirodhi tamas taḍid vilasitena nihanti muhur muhur" ghana itīva rarāsa ruṣā ghanaḥ (xi, 59).
divi niveçitatāmravilocanā navaghanānilakampitakuntalāḥ visasṛjuḥ saha vāridaçīkarair nayanavāri ciraṃ pathikāṅganāḥ.	Reads *diçi* and transposes ll. 3–4 (xi, 60).
navavibodhamanoharaketakī-kusumagarbhagataḥ saha kāntayā aviditānilavṛṣṭibhayāgamaḥ sukham açeta cirāya çilīmukhaḥ.	The same (xi, 73).

Kumāradatta.	*Jānakīharaṇa.*
*viṣama*vṛṣṭihate 'pi davānale bhramara*dhūli*bhṛto 'pi vanāvaliḥ samabhivīkṣya kṛçānusamaprabhā na mumucur bhayam eva mṛgāṅganāḥ. Subhāṣ., 1751–5.	*samaya*vṛṣṭihate 'pi davānale bhramara*dhūma*bhṛtā *navalāṅgalīḥ* samabhivīkṣya kṛçānusamaprabhā mumucur eva bhayaṃ na mṛgāṅganāḥ (xi, 75).
maṇiprabheṣu prativimbaçobhayā nimagnayā bālaçaçāṅkalekhayā visāṅkuro vāriṣu vañcitātmanā na rājahaṃsena punar vicicchide. Subhāṣ., 1812.	} Reads mṛgāṅka vicicchide vāriṣu vañcitātmanā na rājahaṃsena punar visāṅkuraḥ (xii, 9).
Kasyāpi.	
līlāgatir yatra nisargasiddhā matto na dantī muṣito na haṃsaḥ itīva jaṅghāyugalaṃ tadīyaṃ cakre tulākoṭyadhirohaṇāni. Subhāṣ., 1559.	Reads *yater atra* (i, 28).

These verses present the same features as the foregoing. In the second, third, fifth, and sixth we find differences of order. In all but the fourth there are differences of reading, and these not consistently in favour of one text or the other. In the first verse the reconstructed text is the simpler, and derives a support from the recurrence in v. xi, 58, beginning *vimalavāri nipītavato bhṛçaṃ*. For such repetitions of the same idea in but slightly different language are a strange and most common peculiarity of Kumāradāsa's style. Another instance is to be found in the fifth verse. Here the reading *viṣama* is preferable; but in the next line Dharmārāma's text has undoubtedly the advantage, except that *bhṛto* should be read. For (1) it is a comparison of the red *Lāṅgalī* 'flower' with the *black* bees to the fire and smoke that is here indicated, (2) *bhramaradhūli* is nonsense and one MS. has *dhūma*, (3) the second *'pi* is out of place, and (4) the whole idea recurs in v. 72—

samarocata lāṅgalī
samuditeva kṛçānuçikhāvalī

and v. 80—

samudayo nu vikāçakṛtadyuter
vitatavahniçikhākusumaçriyaḥ,

where the *vahniçikhā* = *lāṅgalī* is compared to lightning.[1] In the second verse the double *ghana* of the Singhalese text seems to be a stop-gap, and in the third I am inclined to prefer *diçi*. The only doubt in this last case is due to the fact that v. 51 also has *diçi*, apparently meaning 'in the sky.' That this is the meaning intended is clear from the fact that there is a pun in *tāmravilocana* (=*tāmrākṣa*) 'crow,' and the crows are overhead (*divi*), not all round (*diçi diçi*). But possibly Kumāradāsa thought there was authority for *diçi* in this sense (cf. xiv, 44).

The general result of this discussion is that both the Singhalese text and the Anthologies present good and bad readings. A perfectly reliable restoration of the poem will never be obtained from the Sanna alone, and we must fix our hopes upon the recovery of the work in an Indian MS. Meanwhile every additional verse brought to light will give valuable information.

Before leaving the question of reading I will call attention to a few passages where Haridāsa's text or the Singhalese edition need correction:—

(1) i, 4. Read *skhalitendusṛṣṭa*, not °*endra*°, with Dharmārāma.

(2) i, 85. Read *yaminaṃ*, not -*āṃ*, with Dharmārāma.

(3) ii, 17. Read *nirmāṇa*: Haridāsa has perhaps misread the Singhalese character into *nirvāṇa*.

(4) ii, 69. Read *kathitāgamaḥ*, not *kaṭhināgamaḥ*: the same explanation.

[1] Also a fourth time, v. 84—

"vanakṛçānuçikhā nihatā vapus
tvayi tadīyam idam pratipādyate"
jalam itīva vimuñcati lāṅgalī—
kusumahastatale jaladodayaḥ;

and again in v. 85.

(5) ii, 75. *kukṣisthaniḥceṣaloka°* does not scan.

(6) v, 7. For

pramṛjyamānaṃ çanakais tapasvibhiḥ
kuçasya muṣṭyā 'nalamandirodaram

read

kuçasya muṣṭyā çanakais tapasvibhiḥ
pramṛjyamānānalamandirodaram,

since a *bahuvrīhi* is required.

(7) v, 38. For *kuraṅgame* read *turaṅgame* with Dharmārāma; and in v, 23, *vilokaya dvi°* for *°ddvi°*.

(8) v, 43. *apavarṇṇitam* is a misprint for *apavarjjitam*.

(9) vii, 56. For *harṣaiḥ* read *harṣe* with Dharmārāma.

(10) viii, 6. For *saṅginiḥ* read *saṅginī* with Dharmārāma.

(11) ix, 67–8, is a curious case. Both Dharmārāma and Haridāsa Çāstrī give *Sudhājit* as the name of the Kekaya prince. This is, however, a mere error for *Yudhājit*, due to the similarity in the Singhalese script of *s* and *y*.

(12) xi, 45. Read—

atanunā 'tanunā ghanadārubhiḥ
smarahitaṃ rahitaṃ pradidhakṣuṇā
rucirabhā 'cirabhā'sitavartmanā
prakhacitā khacitā na na dīpitā.

"By mighty love (*atanu*) eager to burn the deserted lover with clouds for logs the pyre of the sky, brightly shining, and irradiated with the lightning's (*acirabhā*) fire (*asitavartman*), was kindled."

(13) xiii, 46. For *bhuvanamahito* and *janitayaçaso* read *-tau* and *-sau* with Dharmārāma.

(14) xiv, 78. For *mṛgalakṣaṇaḥ* read *-lakṣmaṇaḥ* with Dharmārāma.

(15) xii, 11, *mahībhujas suto* (for *sutā*), and xiii, 40, *sammadaḥ* (for *°daṃ*) seem to be required.

The poem is characterized by remarkable grammatical and lexicographical peculiarities, and, as in the case of the

Bhaṭṭikāvya, the display of such learning seems to have been one of the objects of its composition. We find not only a great number of rare words, known either not at all or only from grammars and dictionaries, but also strange forms and constructions, for which no doubt the author considered himself to have sufficient authority. I will now exemplify the most noticeable of them.

(1) *Grammatical peculiarities.*

(*a*) The use of the 3rd pers. sing. of the perfect *atmanepad* as an impersonal with the subject in the instrumental, a construction unknown to me elsewhere, is instanced in the following:—

saroruhām uddhṛtakaṇṭakena
prītyeva ramyaṃ jahase vanena (iii, 9).

mṛdhāvatāravyathitena cetasi
kṣaṇaṃ vicakre nikaṭena dantinā (v, 36).

kvāpi prapede mṛgalāñchanena
trāsād ivādāya nijaṃ kuraṅgam (i, 68).

(Other examples occur—i, 55, *neme*; iii, 55, *ūce*; and iii, 73, *cakampe*.)

(*b*) An equally extraordinary impersonal is seen in

nṛpatāv iti veditāpadā
muninā *joṣam abhūyata* kṣaṇam (iv, 27).

(*c*) An imitation of a Vedic construction, sanctioned by Pāṇini, ii, 3. 2, with the Kāçikā and Patañjali, is the use of the accusative after *sarvataḥ* and *ubhayataḥ* in

ubhayatas tapodhanam (iv, 62).
hiraṇyaretaḥçaraṇāni sarvatah (v, 5).

utpātam anu 'like a portent' (ix, 26) is less unusual.

(*d*) We find an unusual verbal construction in

yena yena harati sma tām asau
tat tad eva punar āpa yoṣitaḥ (viii, 45).
dūtena tena tanayaṁ duhitur didṛkṣuḥ
kālasya kasyacit athendrasakham *yayāce* (ix, 67).
sūktam eva hṛdaye 'bhinidhatte 'touches the heart' (xv, 6).

(*e*) *samāḥ sahasrāṇi* for *samāḥ* (or *samānām*) *sahasram*.

(*f*) *subāhvor* (v, 61) is an ekaçeṣa for *subāhumāricayor*.

(*g*) The following are new verb forms :—

abībhavad (iv, 5), 'brought into existence.'
samabībhavad (iv, 16), 'honoured.'
nirayīyatad (iv, 49), 'presented.'
samāsajjita (v, 8), 'attached.'
adīdhapata (x, 75), 'caused to drink.'
yeya (x, 50), 'to be gone.'
nyavīvadat, 'reported'; but *nyavīvidat* (also unique) seems to be required.

(*h*) *doṣā* (iii, 33, and x, 3) as instrumental of *doṣan* is without precedent, and *suhṛttara* (x, 39) has to be added to *suhṛttama*.

(2) *Lexicographical peculiarities.*

If the above are not the innovations of an unschooled poet, much more patently is this the case with the choice of words. In the appended list comprising the chief of these I have marked with an asterisk those words or meanings which have hitherto been traced only in dictionaries and grammars. The remainder are, with few exceptions, altogether new. An examination of the words with asterisks will show that a large proportion of them is taken from Pāṇini and his commentators.[1] Some of them, such as *āyaḥçūlikatā, āsutīvala, ikṣuçākaṭa, kattrayāḥ, māçabdika, muṣṭindhaya, paçyatohara, jampatī, bhidelima, vitūstay-, saṅghāṭa*, are remarkable forms, and it is quite plain that Kumāradāsa was a diligent student and ransacked his grammar for rare expressions. In one instance I believe I can point out a Pāṇinean word which has been improved out of the poet's text. We read (x, 76) of Rāvaṇa's approach to Sītā in these words :—

dambhājīvikam uttuṅgajaṭāmaṇḍitamastakaṃ
kañcin maskarinaṃ Sītā dadarçāçramam āgatam.

[1] Naturally many forms which *do* occur elsewhere (e.g. *nirasyate* in the middle voice, vii, 44) are also taken by our author from Pāṇini.

The word *ājïvika* or *ājïvaka* 'a religious mendicant,' hitherto known to us from only one Brahmanical source, the Varāhamihira Bṛhat-Saṃhitā, might come appropriately enough upon the lips of a Buddhist author. But when we remember that *dāṇḍājïnika* is contemptuously used of a pretended ascetic, that it is a Pāṇinean word occurring in a passage from which Kumāradāsa has culled another of his choicest flowers, viz. *āyaḥçūlika*, and, further, that *mb* and *ṇḍ* are often indistinguishable in Southern MSS. (whence the variants *ḍiṇḍima* and *ḍimbima*, 'drum'), it becomes increasingly likely that this was the word actually used. Seeing, however, that the Kāçikā gives *dāmbhika* as the rendering of *dāṇḍājïnika*, I will admit the possibility that Kumāradāsa in our passage is merely referring to the sūtra of Pāṇini and not quoting it.

Another remarkable word is *saṅghāṭa*, occurring in the verse—

tataḥ pratīkasaṅghāṭo vīraḥ kekayavaṃçyajaḥ
bibhrac chokadviguṇitaṃ çramaṃ rāmāçramaṃ yayau (x, 57).

The phrase *pratīkasaṅghāṭo* means, as the Singhalese Sanna informs us, 'along with a company of counsellors.' Now according to Patañjali *ad* Vārttika 3 on Pāṇ. iii, 2. 49, *saṅghāṭa* is used for *saṅghāta* at the end of a compound, and the Kāçikā tells us that the sense is then 'one who collects, etc.,' as *varṇasaṅghāṭa* = *yo varṇān saṃhanti*. Probably in these cases *saṅghāṭa* has nothing to do with *saṅghāta*, but such a word as *varṇasaṅghāṭa* is formed from *varṇasaṅgha* (*varṇasaṅgho yasya sa*) by the suffix which we find in *karnāṭa*, *garvāṭa*, *bhāvāṭa*, *vācāṭa*, etc., regarding the origin of which I may refer to a paper on "The *D* Suffix" published by the Cambridge Philological Society, 1900. The form *saṅghāṭa* recurs with probably the same sense in *kucakalaçasaṅghāṭa* (xi, 95).

Two other interesting additions to the lexicon are the roots *tāv* and *raṅg*. The former, hitherto known only as a suspected reading in the Atharva Veda, bears the meaning of 'quake,' apparently, in the verse—

tarutale viṣamārutamāruta-
kṣatatanur na latāvati tāvati;
viratir abjarasaṃ prati samprati;
svam alisaṃhatir akṣati rakṣati (xi, 86),

where we must note also *akṣati*, an adverbial form meaning 'safely.' The verb *raṅg* is seen in *raṅgatturaṅga* (i, 53) and its derivative *raṅga* (xiv, 21), thus confirming the *raṅgati · gatau* of the Dhātupāṭha.

A special feature of Kumāradāsa's vocabulary is due to his fondness for the figure *paryāya* or circumlocution. In all the *kāvyas* this is, of course, a familiar device, but it is carried beyond all moderation in cases of appellatives such as *kuliçāyudhagopaka* (xi, 46), *purandaragopaka* (xi, 77), and *harigopaka* (xi, 89), all synonyms for *indragopaka* 'firefly,' and in *makarākarapāyi* (iv, 59) = Agastya, *gaganasāgarabhogadharāṅganā* (xi, 9) = Ganges, *vasiṣṭhatanūjapātitakṣitipasvarvasatiprado muniḥ* (iv, 63) = Viçvāmitra, *balaniṣūdanajāla* (xi, 68) = *indrajāla*, *paṅkajarāga* (xiv, 19, cf. *paṅkajanābha*, Ragh. V., xviii, 19) = *padmarāga*, *çakranīla* (xi, 96) = *indranīla*, *dantavāsas* (viii, 40) = *daçanacchada*, *sitakarakānta* (viii, 92) = *candrakānta*, and *kṛṣṇapaddhati* (xiii, 14) with *sitetarādhvan* (ix, 30) = *kṛṣṇavartman*. Note also *saṅgatāni parihṛtya cāriṇau* (viii, 53) = *brahmacāriṇau*. The concluding verse of the poem contains a distortion of the poet's own name into *Kumāraparicāraka*. Such periphrases cannot, however, be neglected, since, as in the case of *dantavāsas*, they are sometimes taken from other works or pass into the common possession of the *kavis*. Among the other singularities of Kumāradāsa's use of words we may note the very numerous circumlocutions for 'king,' and the constant recurrence of *sampad* and *tata*, the latter of which with the noun *tati* must be exemplified at least one hundred times.

For grammatical and lexicographical purposes Kumāradāsa's learned refinements give a special importance to the poem. The testimony of so careful a student to the correctness of a word or construction cannot be neglected.

I do not, therefore, quite agree with Professor Leumann's remark (op. cit., p. 232) that the use of *maruta* as a bye-form of *marut* proves the author no *mahākavi*. On the contrary, I should accept upon his authority the existence of this form or of a grammatical rule sufficient to justify it; and in fact the word is found in B. and R. and the other lexica. In xiii, 34, we have the word *halacarma*, meaning 'furrow,' where *carma*, though not elsewhere known, obviously comes from √*car*. I do not think that Kumāradāsa invented this word. But I would not defend *kaṭuka* for *kaṭaka*, 'flank of a mountain' (xiii, 17). The use also of *khalu* (xiii, 39) and *iva* (x, 72) at the beginning of a line is quite inexplicable. It is expressly forbidden by Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkāravṛtti* (v, 1. 5). In xv, 2, I suspect that *vidita* means, not 'known,' but 'knowing,' 'informed.'

In style the Jānakīharaṇa is more artificial than the Raghu Vaṃça, perhaps more than the Kirātārjunīya, but it does not approach the extravagance of the later Kāvya. It is not so recondite as the prose of the Vāsavadattā. Many of the well-known plays upon words are to be found in the poem, e.g. on *parāga* (xiv, 32), on *kula* (xiv, 47), *vṛtta* (i, 35): but the more minute puns are not common. We have a grammatical example in i, 89—

atha sa viṣamapādagopitārthaṃ
jagadupayogaviyuktabhūridhātum
bahutuhinanipātadoṣaduṣṭaṃ
girim asṛjat kukaver iva prabandham—

with plays on *pāda, dhātu, tuhina* (*tu hi na*), and *nipāta*. But the author's favourite ornament, after the above-mentioned *paryāya*, is alliteration, which is kept up without intermission throughout the poem (cf. Leumann, loc. cit., p. 231). A good instance is xiv, 44—

ninadatā nadatāḍitamekhalaṃ
vigalatā 'galatāvṛtasānunā
asubhujā subhujā 'surasaṃhatiḥ
praviditā viditā diçi bhūbhṛtā.

But we have no very elaborate *yamakas* nor repetitions of a single *akṣara* throughout a stanza. The general result is to give a very mellifluous flow to the poem, which in respect of metrical skill and ease is probably unsurpassed in Sanskrit. The *vikaṭākṣarabandha* of the Gauḍa style is avoided, and the general effect is rather that of *mādhurya* and *saukumārya* than of *ojas*. Of the *arthālaṅkāras* in general, such as *upamā, rupaka, utpreksā, ākṣepa, arthāntaranyāsa*, etc., only a moderate use is made.

Kumāradāsa excels in the pretty and the grandiose. A good example of the former is a stanza describing the baby Rāma—

na sa Rāma iha kva yāta ity
anuyukto vanitābhir agrataḥ
nijahastaputāvṛtānano
vidadhe 'līkanilīnam arbhakaḥ (iv, 8);

and so again—

tārakā rajatabhaṅgabhāsurā
lājakā iva vibhānti tānitā
digvadhūbhir udayād udeṣyato
vartmani grahapateḥ samantataḥ (viii, 83).

The other quality is well illustrated in the description of the Viṣṇu—

nijadehabharākrāntanāganiçvāsaraṃhasā
gatāgatapayorāçipātālatalam āsthitam (ii, 2);

in the fine description of the sunset beginning—

sannigṛhya karasantatiṃ kvacit
prasthito 'pi ravir esa rāgavān
astamastakam adhiçritaḥ kṣaṇam
paçyatīva bhuvanaṃ samutsukaḥ (viii, 56);

and in the whole canto xiv, narrating the construction of Rāma's causeway, e.g. v, 34, where the agitated sea is compared to a lotus—

pracalatuṅgataraṅgadalāntara-
sphuritavidrumakesarasampadi
kṣubhitasindhusaroruhi karṇikā-
vapur uvāha patan kanakācalaḥ.

It must be confessed that this power of grandiose imagination occasionally strays into the ridiculous, as when the monkeys are represented bearing mountains in their arms, while the earth rises and sinks under their tread—

rayiturаṅgakhurāhatamastakaṃ
dhvanikṛtaḥ parigṛhya vanaukasaḥ
padabhareṇa yayus taṭam ambudher
vinamitonnamitakṣitimaṇḍalam (xiv, 22).

On the whole, Kumāradāsa is both an excellent poet and one eminently suitable for educational uses.

Among the works known to him the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali must, as we have seen, certainly find a place. Whether he knew the Kāçikā is a more delicate question. He uses the verb *satyāpay-* in the sense given only by that work, and *uptrima vitūstay- marmāvidh*, not actually supplied by the rule of Pāṇini nor mentioned by Patañjali, are also from the Kāçikā. On the other hand, he assigns to *āsutīvala* a meaning ('priest') different from the Kāçikā's *çauṇḍika*. Considering, however, that the aorist *acakamata* (viii, 98) is also from this work (*ad* Pāṇ. iii, 1. 48, and vii, 4. 93), I incline to the affirmative answer. In the *Kāvyālaṅkāravṛtti* of Vāmana, who may or may not be identical with the joint author of the Kāçikā, he is never quoted by name, and we could not assume that the rule against initial *khalu* is directed against him. But a verse cited in ii, 1. 13, of this treatise bears too many marks of Kumāradāsa's style to leave any doubt of its authorship. It reads—

sapadi paṅktivihaṅgamanāmabhṛt-
-tanayasaṃvalitam balaçālinā
vīpulaparvatavarṣaçitaiḥ çaraiḥ
plavagasainyam ulūkajitā jitam.

Here the use of *paṅkti* = 'ten' and *plavaga* = 'monkey,' the *paryāya* in *paṅktivihaṅgamanāmabhṛt* = Daçaratha, and in *ulūkajit* = Indrajit, the alliteration, the flow of the metre, and the subject assure us that we have a verse, the first hitherto traced, from the lost parts of Kumāradāsa's poem. Unfortunately the date of Vāmana's *Vṛtti*[1] is not certain, while the Kāçikā, if we accept I-tsing's account (Takakusu's trans., p. 176), must be assigned to the seventh century, and Kumāradāsa's acquaintance with it, if proved, would involve a reconsideration of his own age. We must, however, regard with suspicion the testimony of a foreign traveller who states, as I-tsing does (trans., p. 178), that Patañjali wrote a commentary (sc. the Mahābhāṣya) on the obviously later and fuller Kāçikā.

Kumāradāsa used also the Rāmāyaṇa and the Raghu Vaṃça. The former he follows step by step throughout the story, and that in places, e.g. the account of the exile in canto x, where Kālidāsa gives only a brief summary. He shares also with the Rāmāyaṇa a few rare expressions, such as *tanucchada*, xi, 17 = 'feather.' That he was familiar with the Raghu Vaṃça cannot be doubted by anyone who will compare canto xii with the corresponding parts of our poem. But this can further be proved by decisive facts. Not only have the two works in common such rare words as *avarṇa* 'shame' and *ajarya* 'friendship,' but we find the following used in identical parts of the narrative :—

puruṣākṛti (Ragh. xi, 63 ; Jān. ix, 26), of the appearance of Paraçu Rāma ;

palitacchadmanā . . . . *jarā* (Ragh. xii, 2 ; Jān. x, 3), concerning the old age of Daçaratha ;

vṛṣasyantī (Ragh. xii, 34 ; Jān. x, 72), of Çūrpanakhā.

We will therefore waste no words in proving to this extent the correctness of the tradition associating the two works. Whether the Kāmandakinītisāra was studied by

[1] Vāmana quotes, without naming, the Harṣa Carita (p. 203, ll. 5–6, Bomb. ed.) in the commentary to the rule, i, 3. 26.

Kumāradāsa, I cannot decisively prove. But Daçaratha's admonitions to Rāma in canto x seem to show some slight reminiscences of the eleventh chapter of that work. Whence comes the *sāma auçanasa* of x, 26? With the Ciçupālabadha the poem shares a few words, such as *aga* 'tree,' *adhijānu* 'at the knee,' while in the use of others (see the list) it has apparently been copied by the author of the Bālarāmāyaṇa.

Of the references in the poem we may mention those to *Kaṭāha* (i, 17), *Kāñcī* (i, 18), the *Yavanas* (i, 19), the *Turuṣkas* (i, 20). Udyāna with its *vihāras* is, no doubt, punningly alluded to in iii, 23—

kiṃ kautukena çramakāriṇā te
sṛja tvam *udyānavihāra*rāgam
bāle! tvam asyopavanasya lakṣmīr
ity evam ūcē lalanā sakhībhiḥ;

while an open reference to the Buddhists occurs v, 55, as follows:—

sthitvā guṇe mahati tatkṣanalabdhamokṣāḥ
suçliṣṭayuktiphalānanasampadas te
çākyā ivāsya viçikhā ripusainikebhyaç
cakrus triviṣṭapasabhāgamanopadeçam.

The allusions to the Yavanas and Turuṣkas have been discussed in the introduction to the edition of the Raghu Vaṃça by Nandargikar, with whose conclusions, however, it is impossible to agree.

The Sāṅkhya philosophy provides material for puns in the verse—

*asaṃkhya*gṛhyā api tatra sainikāḥ
piçācarakṣastatibhir nirantaraṃ
kṛtāndhakāraṃ rathecakrareṇubhir
jagur jagat *sattvarajastamo*mayam (v. 27);

and in i, 28 we find a mention of the *tulā*(*koṭi*), or balance, ordeal.

List of Rare Words and Meanings.[1]

akṣati, 'safely' xi, 86
aga, 'tree' (Çiç. iv, 33) xiv, 44
ajaryyam, 'friendship' (Pāṇ. iii, 1. 105, and Ragh. xviii, 6) xi, 24
atikṣayiṣnu, 'very thin' i, 30
atidantay, ? sense (read *atidantavad* ?) v, 28
adhikarma, adv., 'in accordance with one's karma' (Paṇ. ii, 1. 6) i, 83
adhikratu, adv., 'around the sacrifice' v, 12
adhikṣayam, adv., 'at death' xi, 37
adhijānu, adv., 'at the knee' (Çiç.) v, 39
adhipayodhi, adv., 'on the sea' xiv, 41. 56
adhiraya, 'great speed' xi, 69
adhivāri, adv., 'over the water,' cf. adhipatham iii, 59
anupayogavant, 'uninvited' vii, 44
anuptrima, 'unsown,' v. *supra* v, 13
anuvraj, 'imitate,' cf. anvi xii, 38
anuçiṣṭi, 'instruction' (Jātaka M.) x, 21
anusyandanam, 'after the chariot' ix, 15
*anyataredyus, adv., 'one day' (Pāṇ. v, 3. 22) iv, 15
anyāyita, 'ill-treated' x, 83
apaghana, 'body' (Pāṇ. iii, 3. 81, and Naish. viii, 11) xi, 13
abalīkṛta, 'effeminatus' v, 52
abhikopam, adv., 'in anger' viii, 5
abhivyātan (ātmanepad c. 2 acc.), 'address' vi, 17
abhiçatru, adv., 'against the enemy' v, 40
abhinidhā ātm., 'touch' (?), c. loc. xv, 6
*ambūkṛta, 'spluttering' (of speech), v. *supra* x, 17
ayaḥçūlikatā, read āyaḥçūlikatā, q.v. x, 24
araṇa · paribhramaṇa xiv, 79

[1] Any word or meaning not found in the last edition of Monier-Williams' dictionary has been thought worth including. Words and senses found only in native grammars and dictionaries are marked with an asterisk. A few others are quoted with references. A small number of the words will be found cited by Nandargikar, op. cit., p. 125.

*avana, 'haste' xi, 74
avanimittam, adv., 'with evil omen,' or adj., 'ill-omened'? xi, 2
*avita, 'protected' (?) xiv, 28
avyāhati, adv., 'beyond question' x, 31
açam · açānti xiv, 55
udas, 'take,' 'choose' iv, 34; xv, 16
asekima, 'unwatered'; for *sekima* see Patañj. and Kāçikā *ad* Pāṇ. iv, 4. 20 iv, 73
asauhitya (sauhitya), 'insatiableness' ii, 34

*āyaḥçūlikatā = sāhasikatā, cf. Pāṇ. v, 2. 76, with Patañj. and Kāç. x, 24
āloka(bhūmi) = āsthāna, 'audience hall' i, 22
āçīya (adj. to āçā) = diksambandhi i, 20
*āsutīvala, 'priest' (Pāṇ. v, 2. 112. The Kāçikā gives the sense *çauṇḍika*, also found in dictionaries) vi, 33
āsthā, 'servants' (?) iii, 69
āhāva, 'trough' (found in ṚV. and Pāṇ. iii, 3. 74) v, 13

*ikṣuçākaṭa, 'field of sugar-cane,' cf. Pāṇ. v, 2. 29, with Patañj. and Kāç. x, 52
indukānta = candrakānta i, 25
uccairbhṛta, 'overpowered' vii, 43
uttāra, 'with stars distinct' (punningly) xii, 4
samutpucchay, 'uplift the tail' ix, 20
*uddehikā, 'white ant' vi, 11
udric, 'shoot an arrow from a bow' vi, 43
undura · mūṣika (Suçruta) iv, 11
upakāñci, 'near the girdle' viii, 46
upakāryyā, 'royal tent' (Rām., Ragh.) or '*palace' vii, 4
upanitambam, 'near the hips' iii, 46

*ṛbhu · deva v, 33
Ṛṣīka, 'Çiva' ix, 40
*aitihāsika, 'historian' (with *yamin*), cf. Pāṇ. iv, 2, 60; Vārtt. 5 iv, 51

auçanasa, adj. with *sāma* ('according to Uçanas') x, 26
*kattrayaḥ, 'three vile ones,' Patañj. and Kāç. *ad* Pāṇ. vi, 3. 101 x, 9
kadana, 'destroyer' viii, 54
*kandhara, 'cloud' xi, 62
kandhṛti, 'cloud' xi, 66
*karīrī, 'part of an elephant's tusk' v, 36
*karkaça, 'sword' (punningly), cf. the verse quoted by Vāmana, *Kāvyālaṅkaravṛtti*, iv, 3. 7 i, 18; x, 8
kalahaṃsikā (fem.) ix, 21
*kāca, 'yoke-pole' xiv, 66
kīkaṭa, 'poor' vi, 38
kīnāça = Yama (Naish., Bālar.) ii, 27
kuliçāyudhagopaka = indragopaka xi, 46
kṛṣṇapaddhati = kṛṣṇavartman xiii, 14
kaitava, 'trickery' (Bālar.) viii, 52
kaumuda, 'lotus bed' (or 'lotus,' Bhāg. P.) iii, 58
kramabandha, 'crouching (or perhaps 'circling') of a lion preparatory to springing'? xiv, 78
saṅkrīd-, 'creak' (also in Kiratārj., Harṣa Car., etc.) v, 59
*klamatha, 'weariness' iv, 51
*klamathu, id. ii, 60
khuragrāhaka, perhaps appellative, = 'a horse's hobble' xii, 2
gadgadita, 'throbbing' (utterance), cf. Pāṇ. Çikṣā x, 18
*guṇya, 'virtuous' (Pāṇ. v, 2. 120) vii, 6
gṛhya = *(1) bāhya, 'outside' ix, 18
(2) 'friend,' 'intimate' x, 28
(Cf. for both senses, Pāṇ. iii, 1. 119, and Kāç.)
gopatimaṇi = sūryakānta xiii, 19
caturaṃçīkṛta, 'in four portions' iii, 4
candrakin, 'peacock' (Çiç.) i, 51
carma in halacarma, 'furrow' xiii, 34
jam, onomatop., 'splash' xiv, 26
*jampatī, 'husband and wife' (gaṇa to Pān. ii, 2. 31, and Kāç.) viii, 49
jyeṣṭha = jyaiṣṭha (Var. Br. S. and Dictt.) xi, 92

abhivyātan (ātm. c. 2 acc.'s), 'address' vi, 17
tanucchada, 'feather' (Rām.) xi, 17
tāmravilocana = tāmrākṣa xi, 60
tāv- (tāvati), 'crouch' (?) xi, 86
*timita, 'wet' and 'quiet' xiv, 46
*tīrī, 'arrow' iii, 6
*tuṭuma = mūṣaka iv, 55; vi, 11
*vitūstay-, 'comb out one's jaṭā': tūstay- is given in Pāṇini, iii, 1. 21, and vitūstay- in the Kāçikā v, 21
daka, 'water' (Divyāv.) xiv, 18 and 50
dantavāsas = daçanacchada (Kumāra S. v, 34) viii, 40
daṣṭa, 'near,' 'next to' ix, 10
dāṇḍājinika, v. *supra* (dambhājīvika) x, 76
dīdhitimālin = aṃçu° xi, 1
*dīpra, 'bright' (Pāṇ. iii, 2. 167) vii, 7
durnaha, 'hard to fasten' (of a girdle) viii, 37
devatāmukha, 'fire' iv, 21
devanagolaka, 'play-ball' xi, 68
druhiṇa = Brahmā (cf. druhaṇa) iii, 31; iv, 39
abhinidhā, ātm., c. loc., 'touch' (?) xv, 6

samupanam, 'arrive' (of time) iii, 77
*nityagati, 'wind' xiv, 7
nirantarita, 'quite filled' xi, 53
nirūḍhi = prasiddhi (the phrase *nirūḍhim āgata* recurs Kirāt. ii, 6) ix, 41
nirjīvika, 'reft of life' x, 83
nirdantatva, 'toothlessness' x, 17
nirmokay-, 'let go' like a slough or veil x, 85
niryātay-, 'present' iv, 49
nivarhaka, 'oppressor' iv, 47
niṣṭhā, 'levee' (?) iii, 69
*nīçāra, 'covering' (Patañj. and Kāç. *ad* Pāṇ. iii, 3. 21) ix, 45
naipuṇa, 'dexterity' vii, 17
paṅkajarāga = padmarāga xiv, 19
paṅkajamaṇi, id. xiii, 16
paṅkita, 'muddy' xiii, 13

paṅkti in Paṅktiratha, paṅktisaṅkhya, paṅktimukha (for reff. see B. and R. with nachträge) i, 12; xi, 4
patatpati, 'Garuḍa' xi, 15; xiv, 25
*padika = pedes (gaṇa parpādi) v, 28
parikalpa,[1] (1) 'apportionment,' iv, 5; (2) 'fancy,' vii, 28
parikṣobha, 'disturbance' iii, 36
parirodita, 'reduced to tears' viii, 84
parivījana, 'fanning' x, 85
parisravaṇa, 'stream' xi, 47
paretapati, 'Yama' xiii, 28
*paçyatohara, 'open robber' (Patañj. and Kāç. *ad* Pāṇ. vi, 3. 21) iv, 22
pālikā, 'mass,' 'collection' xii, 6. 21
pāvana(ka) = pāvana, *'water' xi, 61
purandaragopaka = indragopaka xi, 77
*pṛṣatka, 'arrow' (Indian Wisdom, p. 405, n. 1) v, 34
praṇīvāka, 'submission' or 'contrition' xii, 52
praticchandas, 'image' (= praticchanda) vi, 13
pratijanma, adv., 'at each birth' iv, 42
*pravara, 'covering' (Pāṇ. iii, 3. 54) x, 82
prahāra = prahara, 'portion of time' (cf. ardha-prahărikā) xiii, 2
prārṇam (Pāṇ. vi, 1. 89, Vārtt. 7), 'chief debt' vi, 51
protsveday-, 'make to sweat' i, 17
balā vidyā, 'mantraviçesa' (cf. balā · *oṣadhi) iv, 51
balakāya, 'army' (Divyāv.) ix, 16
*balīmukha, 'ape' xii, 38
bālāy-, 'to be young' vi, 24
bhadra, used of an elephant, 'manageable' (Rām. i, 6. 26) x, 7
*bhārgavāy-, 'resemble Paraçu Rāma' vi, 23
*bhidelima = bhettavya (cf. Patañj. and Kaç. *ad* Pān. iii, 1. 96) iv, 59
bhojī, 'earth' i, 85

maṇita, 'noise,' 'clink' (of jewels: for a different sense cf. B. and R., s.v. *maṇ*) xiii, 42

[1] The two senses here employed correspond to the two senses of the verb *parikalp-*.

madhyelalāṭam, adv., 'in middle of forehead' i, 59; iii, 22
maruta = marut (cf. B. and R.) x, 79; xi, 71
*marmāvidh, 'piercing vital parts' (AV., Bhaṭṭ.) x, 67
maçi = masi xiv, 19
*māçabdika, 'ushers preserving silence' (cf. Patañj. and Kāç. *ad* Pāṇ. iv, 4. 1) vii, 46
mukulībhū, 'contract' vii, 70
*muṣṭindhaya, 'baby' ('fist-sucker'; cf. Pāṇ. iii, 2. 30, with Patañj. and Kāç.) x, 17
niryātay-, 'present' iv, 49
yāmaghaṭī = yāmaghoṣă, 'water-clock' vii, 41
*raktākṣa, 'buffalo' x, 5
*raṅg-, 'leap' (raṅgatturaṅga °sāranga) i, 53; x, 71
raṅga, 'restless' (?) xiv, 21
raṅgi, id. xiv, 47
rājaçukhāy-, 'resemble a rājaçuka' ii, 31
udric-, 'shoot with' (a bow, cf. pūray-) vi, 43
rūpya, 'suitable' v, 11
*rekhāy-, 'make a streak' (gaṇa kaṇḍvādi) i, 72
rohitavājin, 'fire' iv, 3
layin, 'keeping time' xiv, 36
lālāṭya, adj. to lalāṭa (v.l. lālāṭa) vi, 55
*lūtikā, 'spider's web' iv, 56
vaṃçyaja = vaṃçaja (cf. Vām. v, 2. 54) x, 57
*vanada, 'cloud' xi, 55
*vanaukas, 'ape' xii, 50
vapra, 'field' (Dharma-çarma) xii, 18
varṇaliṅgin, 'disguised as a twice-born man' x, 77
*vahniçikhā, name of a plant = Lāṅgalī xi, 80
vāḍava, adj. to vaḍavā, 'the submarine fire' (cf. Çārṅgadharapaddhati, 284 and 109, 5; Subhās., 1759) viii, 62
vārī = vāṭī, 'elephants' enclosure' xi, 93
vikṣaṇa(m), adv., 'intently' xi, 28
vitūstay-, see tūstay- v, 21
vidravaṇa, 'frightening' = vidrāvaṇa x, 73
*vinīla, 'black' i, 66
*viplus = vipruṣ, 'spark' viii, 68

viçadabhrū · mayūra xi, 48
viṣṇuvartman = viṣṇupada, 'sky' viii, 67
*visāri, 'fish' ix, 33
visrasā, 'old age' (Bālar.) vi, 35; x, 2
vṛthā vidhā, 'make light of' ix, 35
*vṛṣasy- · maithunecchāyām (cf. Pāṇ. vii, 1. 51, and Ragh. xii, 34) x, 72
vyāsphālay-, 'slap' iii, 34
vaibudhalaukika, adj. to vibudhaloka (= svargya) v, 11
anuvraj- = anvi-, 'imitate' xii, 28
çakranīla = indranīla, 'sapphire' xi, 96
*çakla = priyaṃvada, x, 48 = 'compassion' (?) xiii, 38
çayālu, 'slothful' (Pāṇ. iii, 2. 158, Çiç.) ii, 14
çarabhavant-, 'containing çarabhas' xiv, 47
*çāyikā, 'sloth,' illustrating Pāṇ. iii, 3. 108, and ii, 2. 15, with Patañj. and Kāç. ii, 72
çukānana, 'horse' (cf. Rām. v, 12. 36) xii, 18
çitakarakānta = candrakānta viii, 92
*saṅgrāha, 'fist' (Pāṇ. iii, 3. 36) xii, 34
*saṅghāṭa, v. *supra* x, 57; xi, 95
*satyāpay- = satyam ācakṣ. (Kāç. *ad* Pāṇ. iii, 1. 25) i, 86
samagratā, 'integritas' v, 46
samutpucchay-, 'lift up the tail' ix, 20
*sarvajanīna, v. sārva° iv, 64
savyapadeçam, adv., 'with a gesture' (or excuse) iii, 47
*sārvajanīna, 'belonging to a whole people,' Patañj. and Kāç. *ad* Pāṇ. v, 1. 9 (read *sārva°*) iv, 64
*sitacchada, 'goose' xii, 7
sitetarādhvan = kṛṣṇavartman ix, 30
siṣeviṣā, 'desire to cultivate' ii, 65
sītā, 'furrow in the sea' (punningly) x, 90
sudhājit = Yudhājit (misreading) ix, 67, 68
suhṛttara x, 39
*saukharātrika, 'asking if one has slept well' (Patañj. and Kāç. *ad* Pāṇ. iv, 4. 1) iv, 49
skandha = 'body' (?) ii, 15
*stambakari, 'clustering' or 'rice' (?) xii, 27

sthapatya = *sthapati, 'chamberlain'	vii, 1
sthāman, 'weight,' 'force' (Bālar.)	vii, 20
vyāsphālay-, 'slap'	iii, 34
*syada, 'speed'	vi, 22; xiv, 24
protsveday-, 'make to sweat'	i, 17

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halacarma, 'furrow'	xiii, 34
hiraṇyaretaḥçaraṇa = vahniçālā	v, 5
hṛdayālutā, 'good sense': for hṛdayālu (cf. Pāṇ. v, 2. 122, with Patañj. and Kāç.)	x, 10

Abstract of the Poem.

Canto I.

(*a*) vv. 1–11. Description of Ayodhyā.
(*b*) vv. 12–25. King Daçaratha.
(*c*) vv. 26–44. The king's wives.
(*d*) vv. 45–74. Daçaratha goes hunting and shoots a hermit's son.
(*e*) vv. 75–90. The boy's death and the hermit's curse.

Canto II.

(*a*) vv. 1–8. The gods visit Viṣṇu, who is described.
(*b*) vv. 9–18. The gods laud Viṣṇu.
(*c*) vv. 19–32. The latter inquires the cause of their depression.
(*d*) vv. 33–73. Bṛhaspati in reply describes the acts and power of Rāvaṇa, and implores the help of Viṣṇu.
(*e*) vv. 74–79. Viṣṇu promises to come himself to the assistance of the gods in the form of an avatar named Rāma.

Canto III.

(*a*) vv. 1–13. Description of Spring.
(*b*) vv. 14–24. Sports of the king and his wives in the garden.
(*c*) vv. 25–31. The king describes the scene.
(*d*) vv. 32–58. The sports in the water.
(*e*) vv. 59–62. End of the sports.
(*f*) vv. 63–68. The sunset described by the king.
(*g*) vv. 69–75. The night.
(*h*) vv. 76–81. The morning and the réveilles by the minstrels.

Canto IV.

(*a*) vv. 1–14. Birth and growth of Daçaratha's sons.
(*b*) vv. 15–29. Viçvāmitra, whose sacrifices are disturbed by Rākṣasas, approaches Daçaratha with the request that Rāma may join him as a protection. The request is granted.
(*c*) vv. 30–49. Daçaratha's parting counsels to Rāma, who prepares with his brother Lakṣmaṇa to accompany the sage.
(*d*) vv. 50–58. The three reach the hermitage, where Rāma remarks upon the desolate aspect of the infested place.
(*e*) vv. 59–61. The Rākṣasī appears.
(*f*) vv. 62–69. Viçvāmitra encourages the brothers not to spare her, though a woman.
(*g*) vv. 70–73. Death of the Rākṣasī and presentation of divine weapons to Rāma.

Canto V.

(*a*) vv. 1–10. Entrance into Viçvāmitra's hermitage.
(*b*) vv. 11–24. Viçvāmitra assigns his task to Rāma, who relates the history of the place and describes its peaceful life.
(*c*) vv. 25–51. An army of Piçācas appears and is destroyed by the brothers, Mārīca and Subāhu being killed.

Canto VI.

(*a*) vv. 1–8. Viçvāmitra conducts the brothers to Mithilā to see the bow of Janaka.

(*b*) vv. 9–15. They stay on the way at a long deserted hut of Gautama, where Rāma restores to life a woman (Ahalyā) turned to stone, the victim of one of Indra's youthful misdemeanours.

(*c*) vv. 16–30. Rāma reaches the birthplace of the Maruts, Mithilā, who celebrate its glories.

(*d*) vv. 31–32. Arrival and welcome at Mithilā.

(*e*) vv. 33–41. Viçvāmitra addresses Janaka in complimentary terms.

(*f*) vv. 42–46. Janaka displays the bow.

(*g*) vv. 47–59. Rāma breaks the bow and is chosen as son-in-law by Janaka. The people praise Rāma.

Canto VII.

(*a*) vv. 1–6. Meeting of Rāma and Sītā.

(*b*) vv. 7–18. Sītā described in Rāma's words.

(*c*) vv. 19–21. Sītā withdraws.

(*d*) vv. 22–34. Love of Sītā and Rāma.

(*e*) vv. 35–62. Daçaratha arrives with his sons and charioteer at Mithilā, and the marriage is celebrated.

Canto VIII.

Sambhogavarṇana. (vv. 55–92, fine description of sunset and night.)

Canto IX.

(*a*) vv. 1–25. Daçaratha departs with his sons and their new wives from Mithilā. (vv. 4–9, Janaka's counsels to Sītā.) The journey.

(*b*) vv. 26–45. Appearance of Paraçu-Rāma, who fights with Rāma. (Speech of Rāma, 32–34; speech of Paraçu-R., 36–43.)

(*c*) vv. 46–66. Entry into Ayodhyā.

(*d*) vv. 67–68. The Kaikeya king sends his son Yudhājit to fetch Bharata from Ayodhyā.

Canto X.

(*a*) vv. 1–42. Daçaratha proposes to install Rāma as king: his speech on the duties of a sovereign.
(*b*) vv. 43–45. Intervention of Mantharā.
(*c*) vv. 46–56. Departure of Rāma to Citrakūṭa.
(*d*) vv. 57–61. Bharata brings the news of Daçaratha's death.
(*e*) vv. 62–68. Rāma admonishes and calms Bharata, and induces him to return to his sovereignty.
(*f*) vv. 69–70. Death of Virādha.
(*g*) v. 71. Removal to Pañcavaṭī.
(*h*) vv. 72–75. The incident of Çūrpaṇakhā and her brothers Khara and Dūṣaṇa.
(*i*) vv. 76–90. Rāvaṇa carries off Sītā.

Canto XI.

(*a*) vv. 1–22. Fight between Jaṭāyu and Rāvaṇa: the former with his dying breath reports to Rāma the rape of Sītā.
(*b*) vv. 23–24. Rāma, removing to Mt. Mūka, meets with Hanumān and becomes his ally.
(*c*) vv. 25–37. Fight between Hanumān and Bāli.
(*d*) vv. 38–80. The Rainy Season.
(*e*) vv. 81–96. Rāma describes the Rainy Season.

Canto XII.

(*a*) vv. 1–10. The Autumn.
(*b*) vv. 11–37. Rāma's description of the same, and account of Sugrīva's improper advice.
(*c*) vv. 38–52. Lakṣmaṇa remonstrates with Sugrīva, who makes his apology.
(*d*) vv. 53–56. The monkeys go forth in search of Sītā.

Canto XIII.

(*a*) vv. 1–5. Rāma's dejection.
(*b*) vv. 6–25. Sugrīva describes to him the mountain.

(*c*) vv. 26–44. Hanumān's return and report.
(*d*) vv. 45–46. Rāma advances to the sea-coast.

Canto XIV.

(*a*) vv. 1–45. The monkeys build the causeway over the sea.
(*b*) vv. 46–50. Rāma describes the scene.
(*c*) vv. 51–81. Continued description of the causeway and the passage over it.

Canto XV.

(*a*) vv. 1–22. Aṅgada, being sent as envoy to Rāvaṇa, delivers his message.

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Canto XXV.

The colophon of the work.

ART. X.—*The Cities of Kirmān in the time of Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfi and Marco Polo.* By GUY LE STRANGE.

IN a later number of this Journal I hope to give a summary account of the Cosmography known as the *Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb* or "Heart's Delight" by Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfi, more especially indeed of the geographical part of that compilation, and this will serve as a supplement to the paper recently given us by Mr. E. G. Browne on the historical work written by this same Persian author, called the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*. My summary, however, not being as yet quite ready for printing, I take this occasion to publish some preliminary notes on the vexed question of the older capitals of Kirmān, with a brief reference to the other chief cities of the province, since the account written by Ḥamd-Allah appears likely to prove useful in understanding the description of Kirmān given in the Travels of Marco Polo.

In the *Nuzhat*, the Kirmān province forms the subject of Chapter 14 of Part ii, describing "The Lands of Irān," in Book III, which treats more especially of geography, the remainder of the *Nuzhat* being devoted to natural history, astronomy, and general cosmography. The Persian text of this chapter will be found on p. 181 of the lithographed edition, published at Bombay in A.H. 1311 (1894) by Mīrzā Muḥammad Shīrāzī; and of this edition I shall have more to say in my next paper.

After giving some details of the revenues of Kirmān, and mentioning the boundaries of the province, Ḥamd-Allah states that the capital of Kirmān was Gawāshīr, otherwise called Bardasīr, while the chief towns of the province were Sīrjān, Jīruft, Rīghān, Bam, Khabīṣ, Māshīz,[1] Shahr-i-Bābak,

[1] For Māshīz the better reading is probably *Narmāshīr*, as given in the MSS. and in the corresponding passage of the Turkish text of the *Jihān Numā* (p. 257); Narmāshīr being the chief town of the district of the same name which lies a short distance to the south-east of Bam.

and Hurmūz. An examination of the modern map shows that, of these nine cities, the six last in the list given by Ḥamd-Allah still exist in a more or less flourishing condition at the present day; while, though the three first mentioned have, as *towns*, apparently disappeared, the Districts of Bardasīr, Sīrjān, and Jīruft still exist. The late Sir R. Murdoch Smith found the ruins of Jīruft city at the ancient site now called Shahr-i-Dakyānus, which lie on the banks of the river Khalīl-rūd, a short distance to the west of the modern hamlet of Sarjaz. Further it will be remembered that General Schindler, in 1898, in the pages of this Journal, pointed out that the place called 'Camadi' by Marco Polo, where the Venetian traveller rested on his journey down from Kirmān to Hurmūz, must be the suburb of Jīruft called Ḳamādīn, frequently mentioned in the Saljūḳ Chronicle published by Dr. Houtsma.[1] The question therefore remains outstanding, what are the sites respectively of Gawāshīr, otherwise called Bardasīr, and of Sīrjān, both of which figure constantly in the chronicles as the names of the two capital cities of Kirmān.

General Houtum Schindler, in the pages of this Journal and elsewhere, has already identified Bardasīr with the present city of Kirmān, and the correctness of his conjecture will be confirmed by the data given in the following paragraphs. In regard to Sīrjān, however, which he holds to be Sa'īdābād, the modern capital of the Sīrjān District, the evidence of the Arab geographers is against this identification, for Sa'īdābād is upwards of 110 miles from Kirmān city, and all our authorities agree in stating that Sīrjān lay but two marches distant from Bardasīr, the equivalent of 50 or at the utmost 60 miles.[2]

Turning to the history of these two capitals of the Kirmān province, as set forth in the Arabic and Persian chronicles, the following is a brief summary of the information there given.

[1] Journal of the Royal Geographical Society for 1855, p. 47; J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 43; and cf. Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoucides*, i, 48, 49, 83, 153.

[2] J.R.A.S., 1881, p. 492; Numismatic Chronicle, 1880 (No. lxxx), p. 324.

During the Caliphate of Omar, the Arab armies were despatched to the conquest of Persia, and after Fārs had been partially subjugated, the Moslems passed on into Kirmān and laid siege to Sīrjān. This stronghold Mujāshi' ibn Mas'ūd stormed after an investment of a few days, and taking possession of its district in the name of the Caliph, he then marched onward against the cities of Bam, Jīruft, and Hurmūz, which in quick succession fell under the power of the Moslems, and thence their armies moved on eastwards towards Khurāsān. The name of this town, which was the Sassanian capital of Kirmān, is spelt by the Arab geographers either As-Sīrajān or Ash-Shīrajān (but always in Arabic with the article); the Persians write it Sīrjān, and this is the modern pronunciation of the name of the district. This city continued to be the capital of Kirmān province until the middle of the fourth century of the Hijrah (the tenth A.D.), when all Southern Persia came under the power of the Buyid Princes, under whom a certain Ibn Ilyās was made governor of Kirmān, and he for an unknown reason took up his residence at Bardasīr, transferring the government offices to this town from Sīrjān.

The city of Bardasīr (or Bardashīr) is not mentioned in the chronicles of the first Arab Conquest, but Hamzah of Ispahān, a historian of the fourth century A.H., asserts that Bardashīr in Kirmān was originally built by King Ardashīr, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, who called it Bih-Ardashīr, which name by corruption became successively Bihrasīr (or Bihdasīr) and then Bardashīr. Muḳaddasi (also of the fourth century A.H.) gives us the further information that Bardasīr was in his time commonly called Gawāshīr by the Persians, a name which Yāḳūt also spells Juwāsīr and Juwāshīr, adding that Bardasīr is but the Arabicized form of this word.[1] From the middle of the

[1] Balādhuri, 391; Hamzah Ispahāni (edited by Gottwaldt) text, p. 46; Muḳaddasi, 460, 461. Yāḳūt, i, 555; ii, 927; iv, 265. The pronunciation *Yazdashīr*, sometimes given, is merely a clerical error from a mis-setting of the diacritical points of the Arabic writing. I believe General Schindler to be mistaken in deriving Bardasīr from Kūrah-Ardashīr (J.R.A.S., 1881, p. 492); the authority of the Persian dictionary called the *Farhang-i-Anjumān Ārā* is hardly to be trusted in matters of etymology.

fourth century A.H. onwards, Bardasīr, where the seat of government was now permanently fixed, rises in importance, and under the Saljūḳs, who were masters of the Kirmān province from 433 to 583 (1041 to 1187 A.D.), though Sīrjān is one of their chief cities, Bardasīr continues to be the 'Dar-al-Mulk' or official capital of this governorship.

In the Persian chronicle of these Kirmān Saljūḳs, which Professor Houtsma has lately published, the name is given sometimes as Bardasīr, sometimes as the city of Gawāshīr; but what is of more importance is to note that in the corresponding chapters of the historical work known as the *Rawẓat-aṣ-Ṣafā*, Mīrkhwānd invariably refers to the Saljūḳ capital as "the city of Kirmān," or more briefly as Kirmān, and the name Bardasīr is nowhere mentioned by him. The two names, therefore—Bardasīr and Kirmān—evidently represented one and the same place, and all doubt in the matter is removed by a reference in the Chronicle of Ibn-al-Athīr, who, under the year 494 A.H., relates how Irān Shāh the Saljūḳ was expelled "from the city of Bardasīr, which same is the city of Kirmān." In 619 (1222 A.D.) the Saljūḳs were supplanted by the dynasty of the Ḳārākhitay; and in the pages of the *Rawẓat-aṣ-Ṣafā*, Ḳutluḳ Khān, the first prince of this line, is described by Mīrkhwānd as taking possession of "the city of Kirmān," and later on it is stated that he was buried in the Madrasah, or College, which he himself had caused to be built "in the Quarter called Turkābād outside the city of Kirmān." In the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah* of Ḥamd-Allah, on the other hand, as also in the Chronicles of the Saljūḳs published by Professor Houtsma, it is stated that Ḳutluḳ Khān, in the year 619, took possession of "the city of Bardasīr" (or Gawāshīr as the *Guzīdah* has it), thus becoming ruler of all the Kirmān Kingdom; while the contemporary authority of Yāḳūt also gives Bardasīr as the name at this time (thirteenth century A.D.) of the capital of Kirmān.[1]

[1] Guzīdah MS., chapter iv, section x, Reign of Burāḳ Ḥājib; Houtsma, *Seljoucides*, i, 4, 54, 200, 201; Rawẓat-aṣ-Ṣafā (lithographed in Bombay A.H. 1266), part iv, 104, 105, 128, 129; Ibn-al-Athīr, x, 219; Yāḳūt, iv, 265.

The town of Sīrjān, however, is frequently mentioned by Mīrkhwānd during the reigns of Ḳutluḳ Khān and his successors. It appears to have been the second capital of Kirmān, and Sīrjān continued a flourishing town until the end of the following century, at the time of the overthrow of the Muẓaffarids, who had succeeded to the heritage of the Ḳārākhitay dynasty in Kirmān during the early part of the eighth century (the fourteenth A.D.). The Muẓaffarids had established their government in Fārs, where Shīrāz was their capital, and the Kirmān province became a dependency; but at the close of this century they, in common with all other dynasties in Western Asia, were overwhelmed by the invasion of Timur. He appeared for the first time before Shīrāz in the year 789 (1387 A.D.), and after receiving the submission of the two provinces of Fārs and Kirmān, he graciously reinstated the Muẓaffarid prince Abu-Isḥāḳ, grandson of Shāh Shujā' the Muẓaffarid, in the government of Sīrjān, while Kirmān City was left in the hands of 'Imād-ad-Dīn Aḥmad, a brother of Shāh Shujā'.

In the course of the next few years, however, Timur became dissatisfied with the behaviour of these Muẓaffarid princes; and in the year 795 (1393 A.D.) he again appeared before the walls of Shīrāz, crushed the Muẓaffarid forces in a pitched battle, and then, after appointing his own son, Prince Omar Shaykh, Governor-General of Fārs and Kirmān, himself returned westward to the conquest of Mesopotamia.

Prince Omar Shaykh had a difficult task to perform in the restoration of order throughout Southern Persia, for many districts refused to come under his authority. Sīrjān in particular was still in the hands of Gūdarz, the Muẓaffarid Governor, who held that province in the name of Sultan Abu-Isḥāḳ, and Prince Omar Shaykh had to send troops and lay formal siege to this stronghold. The fortifications of the Ḳal'ah (castle) of Sīrjān, according to the statement of 'Alī of Yazd, had recently been repaired, and the place was very strong. The siege operations made no progress, and after the lapse of a year Prince Omar Shaykh set out in person to go to Sīrjān in order, if possible, to bring

matters there to a crisis. He was, however, at this same moment recalled by his father, and shortly afterwards met his death in Kurdistan while travelling to rejoin Timur at the royal camp before Diyār Bakr. This was in 796 (1394 A.D.), and for two years more Sīrjān still held out, the garrison ultimately yielding to famine rather than to force of arms, and by the order of Timur, when Gūdarz at length did surrender, he and his few remaining soldiers were all put to death, as an awful warning to the disaffected in other parts of the province. From this time onward the name of Sīrjān disappears from history, and all recollection of the site has apparently vanished from the memory of man, Kirmān City becoming the sole capital of the province.[1]

The evidence from the chronicles, given above, that modern Kirmān City represents the capital called Bardasīr of the Middle Ages, is entirely confirmed by the accounts of the earlier Arab geographers and the descriptions of modern travellers. Muḳaddasi, in the fourth century (the tenth A.D.), describes Bardasīr as a city with four gates, three of which, the Gates of Zarand, of Khabīṣ, and of Māhān, evidently opened on the high roads leading to these three towns, which lie respectively to the north-west, east, and south of Kirmān City. Muḳaddasi then mentions the three fortresses for which Bardasīr was famous: one was the castle (Ḳal'ah) on the hill, so high up as completely to overlook the town, and here there was a very deep well; secondly, there was the fort (Ḥiṣn) defended by a ditch, which stood immediately outside the city gate; and lastly, there was the castle within the town, near to which stood the great Mosque. In the Persian Chronicle of the Saljūḳs frequent reference is made to the Castle on the Hill (Ḳal'ah-i-Kūh), to the Old Castle, and to the New Castle, and these are evidently the three places already described by Muḳaddasi; while in modern Kirmān we find that there is, in the first place, an ancient fortress crowning the hill to the east of the city, now generally known as the

[1] Rawẓat-aṣ-Ṣafā, part iv, 170; part vi, 48, 69. Ẓafar Nāmah, by 'Alī of Yazd (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1887), i, 618, 667, 784.

Ḳal'at-i-Dukhtar or 'the Maiden's Fort,' and attributed to King Ardashīr in the popular belief; then, in the second place, at the foot of this hill are fortifications with walls and towers now crumbling to ruin, which must represent the older fortress outside the city gate; while, lastly, the older fortress, within the town, doubtless stood on the site of the present Governor's Palace.

Another building connecting Kirmān City with the time when it was still called Bardasīr, is the magnificent Green (or blue) Dome, called the Ḳubbat-i-Sabz, which covers the tomb of a celebrated princess, Turkhān Khātūn. She was the daughter of Ḳutluḳ Khān, already mentioned, of the Ḳārākhitay, and marrying his nephew, ousted her own brother from the throne, and then during twenty-five years became virtual ruler of Kirmān, governing in the name of her husband and of her two sons, who in turn she allowed nominally to succeed to the throne. Mīrkhwānd states that she died in 681 (1282 A.D.), and was buried under the dome of the Madrasah-i-Shahr, or City College. The Green Dome, within which her tomb now lies, bears an inscription on its walls giving the names of the architects, with the date 640 (1242 A.D.) when the building was completed, during the nominal reign of the son of Ḳutluḳ Khān, whom his sister Turkhān Khātūn afterwards set aside.[1]

The question still remains as to the site of Sīrjān; and for this we must refer to the excellent maps, which both General Schindler and Mr. Stack have appended to their accounts of the Kirmān Province, and plot out the distances which, according to the mediaeval geographers, separated Sīrjān City from known points, namely, from the neighbouring towns in the districts lying round it.[2]

It is to be noted that already in the fourth century (the tenth A.D.) Muḳaddasi describes Sīrjān as the largest

[1] Muḳaddasi, 461; Houtsma, *Recueil*, i, 28, 34, 177, 187, 189, 190, 194; Rawẓat-aṣ-Ṣafā, part iv, 129, 130; Journal of the Society of Arts for 1897, p. 657, *Kirman and Persian Baluchistan*, by Captain P. Molesworth-Sykes.

[2] *Six Months in Persia*, by E. Stack (1882), i, 133, 221. General H. Schindler, "Reise in Persien": *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, Berlin, 1881, vol. xvi, p. 307.

city of the Kirmān province, having eight gates and two markets, the Old and the New, between which stood the Mosque, the minaret of which had been recently built by 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah. This same Buyid Prince had also built himself a noble palace outside one of the town gates; and all the houses, Muḳaddasi adds, were then well supplied with water from conduits originally dug by the two Ṣaffarid Princes 'Amr and Ṭāhir, sons of Layth. Ibn-al-Athīr also frequently mentions Sīrjān in his chronicle, when relating events connected with the various Buyid princes, and Yāḳūt asserts that the city was known as Al-Ḳaṣrān, 'the Two Palaces,' but without stating any reason for this name. Sīrjān, therefore, was in those days a large city.

Coming now to the distances which separated Sīrjān from known points, the following is a summary of the information given in the various Itineraries; and in these the *farsakh* (league) may be counted as between 3 and 4 miles, while the *marḥalah* (day's march) may be estimated at 7 or 8 *farsakhs*, about 30 miles. It must, however, be remembered, when spacing out these distances on the map, that in the mountains (e.g. to the east or to the south of Sīrjān) the day's march may cover a distance, as the crow flies, only of 10 to 15 miles, while across the plains (e.g. those lying to the south-west or to the north of Sīrjān) the day's march may become extended so that three of these *marḥalahs* will here cover about a hundred miles in the direct line.

Beginning from the north-west, Sīrjān is given as about 70 farsakhs distant from Yazd, by the route traversing Rūdhān and Fahrij. From the westward, Sīrjān was distant from Shahr-i-Bābak between 24 and 32 farsakhs by different routes; and from Great Ṣāhik, which lay near the eastern end of Lake Bakhtigān, it was distant three long marches, otherwise estimated as from 38 to 46 farsakhs. Persepolis (Iṣṭakhr) and Shīrāz were respectively 59 and 64 farsakhs from Sīrjān; Rustāḳ-ar-Rustāḳ (one short day's march to the north-west of Forg) being four marches, and Nīrīz five and a half marches distant. On the east and south-east, the road from Sīrjān to Jīruft measured six marches or 54

farsakhs; while to Rāyin it was five marches, and to Sarvistān (to the south-east of Rāyin) 45 or 47 farsakhs; finally, from Sīrjān to Māhān was counted as three marches, and to Bardasīr (Kirmān City) two marches.[1]

The two last distances, as already stated, preclude the possibility of Sīrjān city being identified with Sa'īdābād, the capital of the modern Sīrjān District; and if we plot out these distances, which form so many spokes of a wheel in which Sīrjān shall stand at the centre, this point will fall very nearly on the modern Bahramābād. Now this is a town which was only founded (or reoccupied) in the beginning of the present century; but in Persia it has often been observed that modern towns generally stand in the neighbourhood of ancient sites, seeing that considerations of water supply and trade routes, due to the physical conformation of the land, remaining unaltered, the new foundation reoccupies the spot that had been already used in a previous generation. Bahramābād, however, though about the right distance from Kirmān City, and other places, to be the site of Sīrjān, has this against it, that it stands in the Rafsinjān plain, and this plain is divided from the plain of the (modern) Sīrjān district by a mountain pass and a watershed. Examination goes to show that no modern town will answer the requirements of the case, and search must be made in the Sīrjān plain for the remains of ancient structures, some traces of which should certainly still exist, notably of the Castle and the town walls that existed in the time of Timur. A site that would appear to suit most of the circumstances of the case is that marked Farīdūn, a couple of leagues east of Pāriz, where, according to Mr. Stack, there is an ancient cemetery (such as must have been found near Sīrjān), with tombstones bearing inscriptions which, according to his informant, "nobody could read"—in other words, doubtless in Kufic characters such as to

[1] Muḳaddasi, 455, 464, 473; Istakhri, 131, 135, 168, 169; Ibn Hawkal, 203, 224, 225; Ibn Khurdadbih, 48, 53; Kudamah, 195; Ibn Fakih, 206, 208; Yāḳūt, iv, 106.

a modern Persian are practically undecipherable. In confirmation of this site, we learn that near Farīdūn also there still exists an ancient avenue of plane-trees (Chinārs), which, on the supposition that in former times there had been near here a city, would not be out of place, and possibly on one of the neighbouring hills once stood the Fortress of Sīrjān, in which, as narrated above, Gūdarz held out for the Muẓaffarid princes in the time of Timur Lang.[1]

[1] Stack, i, 213; Schindler, p. 361. An alternative site would be Pāriz, but Mr. Stack (i, 185) writes that this "lies in a dell enclosed by four low hills," and there do not appear to be any ancient remains in or near the modern town, except the ruin of an insignificant mud fort on a neighbouring hill. Then, again, to the south of Pāriz and a little to the east of Farīdūn lies Sirāj, but unfortunately of this place no account is given by Mr. Stack or our other authorities.

ART. XI.—*Impressions of Inscriptions received from Captain A. H. McMahon, Political Agent for Swat, Dir, and Chitral.* By E. J. RAPSON, M.A., M.R.A.S.

THE impressions of inscriptions represented, on very greatly reduced scales, in the accompanying collotype plate by Mr. W. Griggs were sent for publication to Dr. M. A. Stein by Captain A. H. McMahon, Major Deane's successor on the Malakand and Political Agent for Swat, Dir, and Chitral. It was Dr. Stein's intention to publish them in continuation of the series of inscriptions in unknown characters sent to him by Major Deane, and described by him in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1898, p. 1). The preparations for his tour to Khotan did not, however, allow him the leisure to carry this design into effect, and the impressions were forwarded to me with the request that I would superintend their publication during his absence.

The impressions were all made by Mulla Abdul Hanan, of Shahbazgarhi, and the following account of them is chiefly derived from a list sent to Dr. Stein. This list is evidently a copy made by someone to whom the geographical names of this newly opened-up hill-country were not familiar; and I have to thank Mr. M. Longworth Dames and Mr. L. White King for some important corrections. I regret that it has not been possible to verify all these references from the available maps. The term 'Ilaqua' (*'ilāqa*, عِلَاقَة) has been retained in the general sense of 'region.'

Fig. 1. Paper, in six pieces: total length 7 ft. 5 in.; single width 9½ in.: from a large stone at Kanai in the Ilahi Ilaqua, on the right bank of the Indus.

Owing to the flooding of the river, by which a great portion of the stone was rendered inaccessible, only an impression of a part of the inscription was taken. An attempt is to be made during the present Winter, when the river has gone down, to take an impression of the whole. The present impression is scarcely satisfactory. Most of the letters are indistinct, and it is often impossible to determine whether certain marks are intended for letters or are merely abrasions of the stone; but, thanks to Mr. Griggs' skill, the collotype is rather more legible than the original.

Fig. 2. Paper: 2 ft. 8 in. by 9 in.: from a stone found on a hill about one mile north of Choga, in the Makhorzai Ilaqua (Buner).

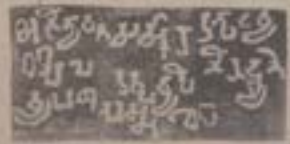
Fig. 3*a*. Paper: 1 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 9 in.: from a stone found on the Kalour Hill, to the north of Chagam, in the Puran Ilaqua.

Fig. 3*b*. Paper: 3 in. by 9 in.: on the back of the same stone.

Fig. 4. Paper: 3 ft. by a width varying from 1 ft. to 8 in.: from a stone found at a short distance from the one bearing the inscriptions illustrated by Figs. 3*a* and 3*b*.

Fig. 5. Cloth: 6 ft. by 3 ft.: from a rock at Shakorai (?).

This inscription is engraved in very large letters above the entrance to a small chamber cut out of the rock. The writing is undoubtedly some form of the Brāhmī character, and nearly every *akṣara* can be read with more or less certainty. The words *sa[ṃ]skāra,* in the middle of the first line, and *niruddhyate,* at the end of the second line, seem to be clear enough, and would point to the conclusion —if these readings are correct—that the language of the inscription is intended to be Sanskrit; but all attempts to give an intelligible translation of the whole, on this hypothesis, have hitherto been in vain, and Dr. Stein was of opinion that it was neither Sanskrit nor Prakrit. If not, there is some hope that, by the discovery of a number of inscriptions in this known character, we may be enabled, first, to determine in what language the inscriptions of this region are written, and, subsequently, to secure some



clue to the interpretation of the inscriptions in 'unknown characters' which are found in the same districts.

Fig. 6. Cloth: 10 in. by 8 in.: from a stone found near the village of Kas, in Ghorband (Indus Kohistan).

In this case, also, many of the letters bear a close resemblance to those of the Brāhmī alphabet. Mixed up with them, however, are others not derived apparently from that source.

Inscriptions of this class seem to be abundant in the districts bordering on the north-western frontier of India, and it may be confidently expected that many more will be discovered. It is important that facsimiles of as many of these as possible should be made available for the use of scholars, and that the best means of securing this end should be found. Professor Rhys Davids informs me that the question of publishing collotype plates of these inscriptions in the Journal has already been discussed by the Council of the Society. Considerations of expense will not allow of great numbers being published in this way, but it is hoped that it will be possible, from time to time, to find room for typical specimens. In the meantime, every effort will be made to collect impressions and photographs of these inscriptions, and to arrange them in the Society's Library in as convenient a manner as possible; and lists will be given in the numbers of the Journal of any additions which may be made to the collection. It is hoped that travellers in these regions who come across inscriptions of the kind will do what they can to further this object. The taking of impressions is a task demanding time and patience and a certain amount of skill; but, in these days when the use of the camera is almost universal, the taking of a photograph is usually a very simple matter. Precise details as to locality, size, etc., should, of course, be given in each case. It should also be borne in mind that 'inscriptions in unknown characters' submitted for purchase by enterprising

natives are not necessarily ancient. Experience has shown that the demand for any class of Indian antiquities is certain to be supplied.

The actual impressions here described will be deposited in the Society's Library, and a first contribution to an album of photographs has already been made by the authorities of the Lahore Museum, who, at Dr. Stein's request, have sent some excellent photographs of inscribed stones discovered by Captain McMahon and placed in their charge.

ART. XII.—*Archæological Work about Khotan.* By M. A. STEIN, Ph.D., M.R.A.S.

EVER since an accidental discovery, some thirty-five years ago, at Yōtkan, a village of the Borazān tract, disclosed remains of the ancient capital of Khotan, the layers of its *débris*, deeply buried under alluvial soil, have been regularly mined and washed for 'treasure' by the villagers. The great mass of the highly interesting finds of ancient art pottery, engraved stones, and early Khotan coins with Kharoṣṭhī-Chinese legends, which have recently been so thoroughly examined in Dr. Hoernle's report on the "British Collection of Central-Asian Antiquities," has come from this site. The detailed examination of the great excavations made in the course of the treasure-seeking operations furnished interesting evidence as to the way in which those remains are embedded in layers of decomposed rubbish, evidently the accumulations of centuries. It also showed conclusively that the layer of earth (loess), from 9 to 20 feet deep at various points, which covers these 'culture-strata,' is due solely to silt deposit, the necessary result of intensive irrigation, and not to any great flood or similar catastrophe such as has been assumed by some earlier visitors of the site.

Sun-dried bricks and clay were undoubtedly in ancient times, just as now, the most conveniently available building materials of the country about Khotan. They account for the striking absence at Yōtkan and other old sites of the oasis of more conspicuous or solid remains. In order to extract coins, pottery fragments, gems, etc., it is necessary to wash the soil just as it is done for the tiny pieces of leaf-gold which form the main proceeds of the villagers' diggings. The late Autumn and Winter, when the irrigation

channels contain no water or else are frozen, is obviously not the season for such operations. But I was able to acquire on the spot enough of the last Summer's output, and thus to form a fairly exact idea of the remains which the parts of the site not yet exploited are likely to contain.

The tenacity of local worship has proved in Khotan quite as helpful for my enquiries into questions of ancient topography as it has in Kashmir. The sacred sites of Buddhist Khotan which Hiuen Tsiang and Fa-hian describe can be shown to be occupied now, almost without exception, by Muhammadan shrines forming the object of popular pilgrimages. The introduction of Islām, close on nine hundred years ago, has evidently affected local worship as little as it has the general character and ways of the people of Khotan. In this marked constancy of ethnic characteristics, too, Khotan curiously resembles Kashmir, from which it probably received much of its early Indian culture.

By the end of November the small parties of professional treasure-seekers whom I had previously despatched on reconnaissances to various old sites in the Taklamakān desert, to the north-east of Khotan, returned with their spoil. The specimens of antiques thus secured induced me to select a locality known to that fraternity by the name of Dandān-Uiliq for my first explorations in that direction. After making the arrangements necessary for a longer journey into the desert I started from Khotan in the first week of December and reached Dandān-Uiliq by nine marches. It proved identical with the site which Dr. Sven Hedin had seen on his memorable march to the Keriya Daryā, and which is spoken of in the narrative of his travels as "the ancient city Taklamakan."

Dandān-Uiliq, situated *circâ* 81° 2′ 50″ long., 37° 49′ 10″ lat., is separated from Tawakkel, the nearest inhabited place of the Khotan oasis, by about 45 miles of desert covered with moving sands. Though the question of transport and supplies presented some difficulty, the effective help of the Amban of Khotan enabled me to bring to the place, and

to keep there at work, a sufficient party of labourers for purposes of excavations.

The remains of Dandān-Uiliq consist of small groups of half-ruined buildings, partially buried under low sand-dunes and scattered over an area about two miles long from north to south and three-quarters of a mile broad. Though the site can only be that of a cluster of villages, or rather hamlets, the excavations carried on by me during a stay of eighteen days have yielded very interesting antiquarian results. Among the ruins at present partly exposed by the sand I found half-a-dozen Buddhist shrines, and the exploration of these has proved particularly fruitful. They consist invariably of a small square cella enclosed by a quadrangular passage, while at a short distance are found dwelling-places of varying size which must have served for the accommodation of the attending Bhikṣus. The walls show uniformly a framework of wooden posts and beams, the interstices being filled by a kind of strong and closely packed reed matting to which thick and remarkably hard layers of plaster are applied on either side. On the carefully stuccoed walls of the cellas and their enclosing passages, paintings, more or less well preserved, representing objects and scenes of Buddhist worship, came to light. The large-sized statues and relievos, modelled in stucco and coloured, which originally occupied the cellas, have suffered far more. But enough remains to show the high technical development and thoroughly Indian type of sculptural art as practised in these Buddhist establishments of old Khotan. Small relievo images representing Buddhas, Gandharvas, etc., and probably used in the decoration of the upper portions of the walls now destroyed, turned up in plenty. Equally interesting for the history of Indian art in Central Asia are the numerous wooden tablets with elaborate pictures of Buddhist saints and gods, which were found around the pedestals of the principal statues just as they were originally deposited by the worshippers.

Some of the mural paintings bear short inscriptions in that variety of Indian script which has been designated

by Dr. Hoernle, its first decipherer, as Central Asian Brāhmī. But far more numerous and important are the finds of manuscript material which have rewarded the excavation of the dwelling-places attached to the shrines. The manuscripts that have come to light there are all written, after the fashion of Indian *pōṭhīs*, on detached leaves of paper, a circumstance which largely accounts for their fragmentary condition. They are all written in Central Asian Brāhmī, with variations in the form of the script which indicate considerable differences of age. The majority of the texts are in Sanskrit and seem to treat of subjects connected with the Buddhist canon. Others, however, though written in Indian characters, present us with specimens of a non-Indian language, in which we may suspect with some reason the tongue indigenous to the country, perhaps an early form of Turkī. Judging from such palaeographical indications as a necessarily hurried examination has so far permitted me to observe, the manuscripts appear to range in date approximately from the fifth to the eighth century of our era.

In addition to these manuscript finds a considerable number of papers have been unearthed which, from their general appearance, may be assumed with great probability to contain memoranda and correspondence. They are written partly in very cursive Central Asian Brāhmī characters and in the non-Sanskritic language already referred to, and partly in Chinese. The latter documents, I hope, will, when examined by competent Chinese scholars, prove specially useful by furnishing dates and other particulars of historical interest. I cannot detail here other curious objects that came to light from the sand-filled dwellings of Dandān-Uiliq. But I may briefly point out that the manuscript finds described possess an additional value apart from their intrinsic philological or palaeographical interest. They are the first finds of this kind in Central Asia of which the place and circumstances of discovery have been authentically recorded. The observations made in connection with them are likely to throw fresh light

on important earlier finds which have reached European collections from Chinese Turkestan, and they will also enable us to scrutinize more closely certain other and more recent acquisitions, about the genuineness of which grave suspicion seems justified.

It was no easy task to extract the epigraphical relics of Dandān-Uiliq from their resting-places without injury. The paper of the manuscripts has become exceedingly brittle through the very dryness of the desert sand which has helped to preserve them. Still more difficult was it to unfold and clean the leaves with half-benumbed fingers. The Winter of the desert is truly Sarmatic. During my stay at Dandān-Uiliq the temperature at night usually fell to somewhere about 10° F. below zero; in the daytime it never rose above freezing-point in the shade. Fortunately the trunks of dead trees, which still rise, shrivelled and gaunt, between the sand-dunes from what were once gardens and groves, supplied fuel in plenty.

Until all the documents recovered at Dandān-Uiliq have been thoroughly examined it is impossible to indicate with certainty the time when the site was finally abandoned. But I think there is enough evidence to show that the place was deserted before Muhammadanism was established in Khotan. The survey of the surrounding desert track has furnished no proof of the supposed great change in the course of the Keriya River with which the abandonment of Dandān-Uiliq could be connected; nor will it be easy to account for the comparative preservation of its ruins while so many other old sites in and along the desert are now marked only by thin layers of pottery fragments, until the peculiar conditions of the moving sands in this whole region have been observed more closely and for a prolonged period. It will be a somewhat trying task for a future scientist. This 'ocean of sand' is truly forbidding even in the depth of Winter, and must be an inferno during the period of the great sand-storms and the terrible Summer heat.

I have now reached inhabited ground again at Keriya, from where I propose to march eastwards to Niya in order

to explore various old localities reported to me in that neighbourhood. Here, as in Khotan and elsewhere, I am offered every assistance by the local Chinese authorities. I must appreciate their good offices and their readiness to further my labours all the more at a time when full knowledge of the great troubles eastwards must have reached even this distant corner of the empire.

Art. XIII.—*The Semitic Origin of the Indian Alphabet.*

By Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe.

In my note on the above subject which appeared in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1895 (Vol. XXVII, pp. 895–898), I brought to notice the existence in Ceylon of several ancient inscriptions in Southern Maurya characters (*Brāhmī lipi*), which read from right to left. I stated further that "this oft repeated peculiarity of so many inscriptions certainly cannot be merely accidental or due to the ignorance of the inscribers; the more so, because of the important fact that the anomaly is to be met with only in the most ancient inscriptions in the Southern Aśoka character." I hope before long to obtain ink 'estampages' of some of these from the indefatigable Archæological Commissioner in Ceylon, Mr. H. C. P. Bell, to whom should be given the credit of first suggesting a reading of one of them from right to left. Facsimiles will, in due course, be included in the forthcoming "Epigraphia Zeylanica."

The Eran coin in the British Museum is the sole instance as yet discovered in India of an inscription which reads from right to left, thus supporting to some extent the theory of the Semitic origin of the Indian alphabet.[1] But in the Aśoka inscriptions themselves there are traces of Semitic influence, or at least of the fact that the ancient Indians wrote and read at first from right to left like the Semitic races.

To prove this, we must start with the established fact that before writing was known in India, the ancient Indians had a literature which was handed down orally,[2] and that

[1] Professor Bühler's "Indische Palaeographie," pp. 8, 9.

[2] Cf. Professor Macdonell's "History of Sanskrit Literature," p. 16; Professor Bühler's "Indische Palaeographie," pp. 3–4.

this literature was for the most part old Sanskrit, in which conjunct-consonant sounds such as *pr*, *br*, *st*, etc., abound.

Now when writing was introduced, each word must, as a matter of course, have been represented by a certain number of signs or letters arranged uniformly, according to the order in which each sound inherent in the word in question is pronounced. Thus in a word such as *kartavyaḥ*, the sign for *ka* would be written first and that for *ḥ* last. Even in the conjunct-consonant sounds *rt* and *vy*, the symbol for *r* would be placed before *t*, and that for *v* before *y*, in accordance with the order of pronunciation. Therefore, if we find that a great many of the conjunct-consonants in the most ancient writings yet discovered in India, such as the Rock Edicts of Aśoka, admit of being read from right to left, and that in later inscriptions these conjunct-consonants are written in reversed order so as to read from left to right, we can explain the anomaly only by the following suppositions :—

(1) The ancient Indians first wrote and read from right to left.

(2) When in later times, long before Aśoka's period (i.e. third century B.C.), they began to read and write from left to right (through some cause still unknown), they left the conjunct-consonants intact.

(3) Already in the Aśoka period, these compound consonants had commenced to be written reversedly, most probably under the influence of the long-settled system of reading from left to right.

The following facts support these hypotheses :—

The commonest of the compound letters in the Aśoka Rock Edicts[1] are those containing *r*, which is there represented by a wavy line ⟆. When *r* is the last consonant

[1] The pillar edicts are later than the rock edicts. See Bühler's article in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, p. 268.

pronounced in a nexus, we find it invariably tagged on to the left side of the letter pronounced before, thereby making the group read from right to left, e.g.:

pra, *pri* } Girnār i, 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12;
prā, *pru* } ii, 4; iii, 1, 5; iv, 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 12; v, 1, 4; viii, 5; ix, 1, 4; x, 1; xi, 1, 2, 3; xii, 4, 8.

In later inscriptions the sign for *r* is to be found written below *p* on the right side, so that the nexus may be read from left to right as at present, e.g. *pra* in Nānāghāt inscription (*circâ* 150 B.C.) and *prī* in Kuṣana (first to second century A.D.).[1]

The same thing is the case as regards other consonants joined with *r*. For examples:—

(1) *bra*, *brā* (Girnār iv, 2, 6), whilst in later inscriptions such as Nānāghāt and Uṣavadāta[1] *r* is attached to the right side of *b*, as *bra*.

(2) *tra*, *trā*, *trai*, Girnār ii, 4, 6, 7, 8; iv, 8; v, 2, 4; vi, 4, 12, 13; ix, 2, 6. In later inscriptions *ttra* (Pabhosa), *tre* (Śoḍāsa, Mathurā), *ttra* (Kuṣana).[2]

(3) *sra*, *srā*, *sri*, *sru*, *srū*. Girnār i, 9; iii, 4; iv, 2, 7; v, 8; vi, 6; x, 2. In Uṣavadāta inscription *srā*.

(4) *krā*, Girnār vi, 1. In Gupta inscriptions (*circâ* fourth century A.D.) *kkra*.

(5) Following the analogy of the foregoing examples from the Girnār inscriptions, we should read the Girnār sign as *vra*, not *rva*. The word in Girnār ii, 4, 6, 7, should, therefore, be read *savratra*, as it is in Shāhbāzgarhi ii, 1, and Mansehra ii, 7;

[1] Cf. Bühler's Palaeographic Tables, pls. ii and iii.
[2] Cf. Bühler's Palaeographic Tables, pls. ii and iii.

vii, 32, 33.[1] In the Nānāghāt inscription, which is about a century or so later than those of Girnār, we find *vra* written , so as to read from left to right, as in the case of *bra* mentioned above.

Other compound letters in the Girnār Edicts read the same way, from right to left. In these instances, the letter which is pronounced first is found written below the second letter, a little to the right, e.g.:

tpa, *tpā* (Girnār i, 3; iv, 4; vi, 11; x, 1, 4; xii, 3). This sign would be read *pta* or *ptā* in later inscriptions (see Bühler's Palaeographic Tables, pl. iv, i, 44, and xviii, 42).

sṭa, *sṭi*, *sṭe* (Girnār iii, 3; iv, 5, 9, 10; v, 4, 5; vi, 4, 13; vii, 4).

[2] *vya*, *vyā* (Girnār i, 3, 4; iii, 5, 6; iv, 4, 12; v, 4, 6, 7, 8; vi, 7, 9; viii, 1; ix, 3, 5, 6). In Siddāpura inscription of a later date *vya* is written (see Ep. Ind., iii, p. 138).

In this manner we should read the Girnār signs as *hma* and *hmi*. Senart also says that strictly speaking, they should be so read.[3] Bühler and Bhagwānlāl Indraji have adopted this reading in two instances only, the former at Girnār iv, 6,[4] and the latter at i, 5.[5] In all other instances they have read as *mhi*. It is, of course, impossible to say with certainty whether at the time of the composition of the Girnār Edicts this group was read *hmi* or *mhi*, although in later times it must have been pronounced *mhi*, the Indians having by then forgotten that it was

[1] Cf. Bühler's article on the Aśoka Edicts in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, pp. 447–472.

[2] Bühler has read this symbol as *vya* in Girnār iii, 5, 6, and Kālsi iv, 10, but in all other places as *yra* (see Ep. Ind., ii, pp. 447–472). Senart and Bhagwānlāl Indraji have, on the other hand, always read it as *vya*.

[3] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxi, 1892, p. 2.

[4] Ep. Ind., vol. ii, p. 451.

[5] Ind. Antiq., vol. x, p. 107.

originally read from right to left. This may indeed have been the origin of the well-known phonetic change of Sanskrit *śm*, *shm*, *sm*, and *hm* into Prākṛit *mh*,[1] as stated by Vararuci (Prākṛitaprakāśa, iii, 8, 32) and by Hemacandra (ii, 74), the former of whom flourished about seven and a half or eight centuries after Aśoka and the latter nearly thirteen centuries.

There seems to be no doubt that in the Aśoka period the conjunct-consonants had already begun to be written so as to read from left to right. There are four examples in the Girnār record, viz., *dv* or *db* (ii, 4; iii, 1; iv, 12), *sv* (vi, 6, 12; ix, 6, 9), *my* (ix, 4; xi, 2), and *st* (i, 6; iii, 4; iv, 3; vii, 3; xii, 2).

In final confirmation of the view advanced above, I may point to the evidence afforded by the ancient Brāhmī numerals, which are invariably read either from right to left or from bottom to top. Thus, in writing 128, the symbols would be placed either horizontally, as

𑀮 𑀑 𑀖 (i.e. 100, 20, 8), or vertically, $\begin{matrix}\text{𑀮}\\ \text{𑀑}\\ \text{𑀖}\end{matrix}\begin{pmatrix}100\\ 20\\ 8\end{pmatrix}$.[2] In Sanskrit this would be read *ashṭā-viṃśati-śatam*, i.e. eight-twenty-hundred.

[1] *śm*, *shm*, *sm*: at first to *hm* and then to *mh* by confusion of the pronunciation of 𑀯𑀼.

[2] Cf. Bühler's "Indische Palaeographie," p. 75; J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 128.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. Buddhist Sūtras quoted by brahmin Authors.

Dear Mr. Rhys Davids,—Several months ago, I invited my friend Professor Satiś Candra Vidyābhūṣaṇ, the joint editor of the Buddhist Text Society's Journal—whose essays are eulogized in the last *Bulletin* of M. Barth — to collect the numerous references to Buddhist sayings or tenets, scattered in the treatises of Uddyotakara, Udayana, Vācaspatimiśra, etc. I heard from the Paṇḍit that, just at the same time, he had been urged by yourself to devote himself to that work. A few weeks ago, he sent me copious materials; their publication will, no doubt, prove itself a contribution of some importance to our knowledge of the great schools of the Mahāyāna Philosophy, and of the polemical relations between these schools and the orthodox adherents of the Darśanas.

We shall first publish, in the *Muséon*, our observations and references to the Bauddha chapter of the Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha, without any claim to philological or historical accuracy and exhaustion of the subject—of course! We intend to show only the practicability and usefulness of such inquiries, if trained scholars would but care for it. Nevertheless, two discoveries of Professor S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇ deserve actual notice in a more *conspicuous* journal.

The first is the following:—The Śālistambasūtra quoted by Candrakīrti in chap. xxvi of the Madhyamakavṛtti, by Śāntideva in the Śikṣāsamuccaya, also by Prajñākaramati in the Bodhisatyāvatāraṭīkā as giving a complete *exposé* of

the Pratītyasamutpāda, is quoted (without any mention of its name) with remarkable fidelity by the celebrated author of the Bhāmatī, *ad* Brah. S. ii, 2, 19. Fragments of the same sūtra are to be found in the Sarvadarśana.[1]

The second also is curious: — The sūtra of "the burden and the burden-bearer," as well known from the Abhidharmakośa, the Bodhicaryāvatārat., and the Tibetan authorities, was one of the most decisive authorities referred to by the "Pudgalavādins."[2] This very sūtra is cited by Uddyotakara against its Buddhist opponents[3]:—" . . . . therefore, if [a Buddhist] says, '[there] is no ātman,' he hurts [his own] system. It has been said: 'I shall teach you, Bhikṣus, the burden and the burden-bearer: the five skandhas are the burden, and the pudgala is the burden-bearer.' 'Who says [there] is no ātman, is heretic.' Such is the sūtra."

Are these last words authentic?—"Yaś cātmā nāstīti sa mithyādṛṣṭiko bhavatīti sūtraḥ." This seems very hard; but you know, dear Mr. Rhys Davids, that I cannot help thinking that the pudgalavāda is more in harmony with the duḥkhasatya and the Law of the Karman than the nairātmyavāda. But we are not in the least obliged to admit logical congruency in Buddhist philosophy and tradition; and such dissidences between the pious followers of the semi-historical, semi-dogmatic Buddha have much analogy with our own actual disputes!—Believe me, yours faithfully,

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

Ghent, January 7, 1901.

[1] Madh. vṛtti (edition of the Buddhist Text Soc.), pp. 209, 210; Śīkṣās., pp. 219 and foll.; Bodhic. t., *ad* ix, 73, 142 (pp. 257, 309; cf. 239. 15; 369. 11); Bhāmatī (Calc., 1891), pp. 354–7; Sarvadarś. s. (1858), p. 21.

[2] Bodhic. t., p. 307. 3; Wassilief, Buddh., p. 269; Abhidh. k.v., fol. 33^{b}; *apud* Minayef, Recherches, p. 225, note, *et* Kathāvatthup. atthāv., quoted ibid. See Rhys Davids's article on the Kathāv., J.R.A.S. 1892, p. 8, Milindapañha, p. 25 (Trenkner = transl., i, 40, 41), and Minayef, Kathāv. atthāv. in J.P.T.S., pp. 32, 35. These last references I owe to the kindness of Professor Bendall.

[3] Nyāyavārtika (Bibl. Ind.), p. 342. 2.

2. Golden Temples of Northern India.

Sir,—The question I ventured to put to Orientalists about the Pāṇḍu Temple on the road to Srinagar will, I trust, meet with some response. I would now ask permission to put another question. We hear in the Rāmāyaṇa of Rāvana's golden temple and palace in Lankā. Have architects followed the poet, or had the poet in his mind any temple then existing roofed with gilded tiles?

There are now three 'golden temples' in Northern India. There is the famous old Śiva temple of Viśveśvara in Benares. This is the origin perhaps of the expression, so often heard in the mouths of devotees, of 'golden Benares,' *Suvarṇa-kāśi*. Then there is the great golden temple of the Sikh Granth Sahib at Amritsar, the largest in the world, a dream of gold and marble on the breast of the tank water. The third, and less known one, is at Jammu, begun by the Mahārāja Ranbu Singh of Jammu and Kashmir. It forms the most attractive fixture in the cluster of beautiful temples adjoining the city gate. And one may reckon as a fourth the Golden Mosque at Lahore.

Were there such buildings when the Rāmāyaṇa was written? Which is the oldest such building in India?

M. N. Chatterji.

Fairy Cottage, Patiala, Dec. 4, 1900.

[The seven-storied Loha-mahā-pāsāda at Anurādhapura, the Great Brazen Palace, so called from its tiles of burnished metal, was built in the second century B.C. In the description of the finest palace imagination could paint at the time, given in the Mahā-sudassana Suttanta, there is no mention of tiles at all.—Ed.]

3.

[The following letter about a picture of the Wheel of Life presented to the Society by Dr. Anesaki has been received from the donor.]

Kiel.

February 3, 1901.

HIGHLY ESTEEMED PROFESSOR,—To-day I have received your letter in the name of the Royal Asiatic Society. I should have long before written to you about my Sino-Japanese picture of the Wheel of Life and Death. The picture was drawn in 1850 under the direction of a priest, and was published by my grandfather. As I know, there is another edition of the same picture, which was a little earlier published in Tôkyô (my copy in Kyôto). The Chinese seem to have had the picture, because a miraculous anecdote is told, that a man was rescued from the pains of purgatory by his vision of the Wheel of the Five Resorts (五 道); but the copy is unknown to us. Whether some older copy of the picture existed in Japan, and whether our copy was taken from some original Chinese picture, is not clear. As regards these points I have asked a friend in Japan to make research. As to the Vinaya text, which gave direction to the present picture, you may see it in the original Chinese under the picture, and the English translation of it by Mr. Watters in *Man*. As to some points in the English translation, from which my view deviates, I have written to Mr. Thomas; but they are not essential. There is no parallel passage in other Vinaya texts, because the Vinaya text of the Sarvâsti-vâdins differs throughout from other traditions. A parallel passage I have found in a passage of the Chinese Eka-uttara-âgama, which treats of five Skandhas and mentions the same verses as our Vinaya text. I have not yet referred to the Pâli Aṅguttara. As to my conjecture about the relation of the texts and further history of the picture, I will write to you later.—With sincere wishes, yours,

DR. ANESAKI.

4. On a Passage in the Bhabra Edict.

Würzburg.
Feb. 18, 1901.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—I beg to offer a few remarks on a passage in the Bhabra Edict of Asoka.

The passage in question, according to Senart's edition of the text ("Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi," t. ii, p. 198), runs thus: e cu kho bhaṃte hamiyāye diseyāṃ hevaṃ sa dhaṃme (4) cilaṭhitīke hāsatīti alahāmi hekāṃ[.] tavitave(.)[1]

M. Senart has put the full stop before instead of behind tavitave, whereas no visible stop has been made by him before e cu kho bhaṃte, and so on. The reason why I differ from that excellent scholar, as regards tavitave having to be joined to the preceding words, will be clear from my interpretation of the passage under discussion, but before propounding it I have to deal for a moment with the question—Where ought we to put full stops in our edict as a whole?

Nowhere is the answer easier than here; because, save the first, each sentence appears to be clearly marked by bhaṃte, which is altogether unlikely to occur twice in the same sentence. Therefore, a stop must be inserted in l. 3 between vā and e cu kho, and likewise in l. 6 between bhāsite and etāna. Moreover, if we compare the different phrases in which bhaṃte occurs, we learn that this word stands only either after one preceding word, as etāna in l. 6 and eteni in l. 8, or after two preceding ones which cannot be separated from each other, as vidite ve in l. 2 and e kiṃci in l. 2, and the same observation holds true of e cu kho in l. 3. Hence it seems to follow that tavitave imāni, provided that they open a new sentence, as Senart, and with him the general opinion, likes to assume, do not agree with the usage elsewhere observed in our edict.

[1] The full stop in brackets corresponds to Senart's edition, in parenthesis to my proposal.

None the less, I will not lay much stress upon this statement itself. However, it might corroborate the meaning I shall vindicate for the passage mentioned above.

As to the last word, i.e. tavitave, already M. Senart, although he adhered to the explanation of tavitave by tāvatāva (= Skt. tāvattāvat) in the sense of 'par exemple,' could not refrain from expressing doubt, saying: "Mais je ne suis pas bien sûr que tavitave, ou quelle qu'ait été la forme primitivement gravée, ne cache pas quelque infinitif dépendant de alahāmi" ("Les Inscriptions," l.c., p. 203). An infinitive, indeed, is required after alahāmi, and in tavitave we really have what is wanted. For tavitave proves to be identical with the Pāli form ṭhapetuṃ of the Buddhist scriptures, having the meaning of 'to establish, to settle,' or 'to inculcate.' With respect to the softening of *p* to *v*, I would only refer to pāvatave (Sahasrām, l. 3), which corresponds to pāpotave (Rūpnāth, l. 2); and to avaladhiyenā (Sah., l. 6) for apaladhiyenā (Rūpn., l. 4). For the whole matter see now R. Pischel, "Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen," § 199. On the other hand, the consonant *t*, in the beginning of the word, stands for *th*, tavitave or tapitave representing, of course, thapitave (cf. Mahāvastu, t. iii, p. 122, l. 14, thapemi), and the substitution of a hard consonant for an aspirate is not rare in Asoka's inscriptions, as Senart himself observes (l.c., t. i, p. 56 sq.).

If that is the case, the particle iti after hāsati, neglected by Kern and misunderstood by Senart, who makes the words hevaṃ . . . hāsatīti dependent on alahāmi (= 'je souhaite'), reminds us that the phrase beginning with hevaṃ is a quotation or, at least, forms the subject which the king feels himself compelled or dares to settle or to inculcate.

Besides, I differ from M. Senart when he believes that sa before dhaṃme cannot be but a correlate to e at the beginning of the passage in question. In my opinion, the relative e (= yaṃ) is used adverbially with the meaning of 'if,' and the particle cu may be taken either for ca with slight shade of an adversative meaning, or for ca in the sense of the conditional adverb ce. Instances of the adverb

yaṃ are to be found in Childers. It is true, no instance is given by Childers where yañ ca opens a phrase, and the single one which occurs to me at present is not wholly congruous.[1] But a reasonable doubt will scarcely arise; and, besides, we are open to attribute a conditional meaning to ca, as it has sometimes, also in the Pāli texts, e.g. Aṅg., vol. v, p. 87,[2] so that yañ ca would be equivalent to yañ ce, for which see Childers. If, then, sa is by no means a correlate to e, it must be joined to dhaṃme, representing the well-known term sadhaṃme (for saddhammo).

Now the question is, whether we have in hevaṃ . . . hāsatīti a quotation or not. To find the solution it will be necessary to remember that Asoka immediately before has spoken of the sayings of the Buddha in general, and that in the passage in question he tries to inculcate one of them especially, which best suited his own mental disposition at the time of the issue of the edict or the actual state of the Order. Bearing that in mind, I see no other way to understand the true meaning of the phrase hevaṃ and so on but by assuming it to be a quotation. Would it be possible to trace it in any of our Buddhist scriptures? I think we can.

When K. E. Neumann, among many other coincidences between the language of the edicts of King Asoka and that of the canonical Pāli books to which he referred some years ago in the *Vienna Oriental Journal* (vol. xi, p. 156 sqq.), pointed out a parallel to the second Pillar Edict in the Mahāparinibbāna-S., p. 36, he did not mention the Bhabra Edict, where cilaṭhitika also occurs. The expression itself is not rare in Asoka's edicts, but it is nowhere used by the king in the mode of a quotation, excepting the passage in the Bhabra Edict. Minayeff, in his "Recherches sur le

[1] I mean Aṅguttara, vol. v, p. 191: Yañ ca khvāssa gahapati tapaṃ tapato akusalā dhammā parihāyanti, kusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti, evarūpaṃ tapaṃ tapitabban ti vadāma.

[2] Ime ca Mahāli dasa dhammā loke na saṃvijjeyyuṃ, na yidha paññāyetha: adhammacariyā visamacariyā ti vā dhammacariyā samacariyā ti vā. The reading ca is warranted by the good Mandalay MS., also by the Phayre MS., against kho in the Sinhalese MSS. and the Siamese edition.

Bouddhisme" (p. 85), was the first, I suppose, who compared with this passage the words in the Mahāvyutpatti, 237, 90—saddharmaśca cirasthitiko bhavati—but he believed the king expressed only his own opinion when saying, "Thus the Good Doctrine will be of long duration."

In contradistinction to my honoured predecessors, I venture to suggest another explanation, by which we may account both for the iti as well as for the hevaṃ. The king, by the words hevaṃ . . . hāsati, meant to refer to a concise statement of the Buddha on the reasons why the 'Good Doctrine' will endure, the very expression of which is now preserved in the Aṅguttara (vol. iii, pp. 247=340). The same Sutta may occur also elsewhere, and perhaps the very words evaṃ saddhammo ciraṭṭhitiko hessati may be brought to our knowledge. Meanwhile the words of the Aṅguttara, Ayaṃ hetu ayaṃ paccayo yena saddhammo ciraṭṭhitiko hoti, will answer our purpose.

As to the remaining portions of our passage, I agree with M. Senart, and having myself no better materials than Senart had when reading hamiyāye, not pāmiyāye (Skt. pramā), and diseyāṃ or diseyā, I have also no better way to explain them. I take hamiyāye for an instrumental of the personal pronoun of the first person. It will best be rendered by 'for my part,' 'for my person.' Diseyāṃ from diś with the meaning of the Pāli verb deseti is 1 sg. potential.

The whole passage, then, may be appropriately rendered into Pāli by Yañ ca kho bhante mayâ[1] deseyyaṃ, "evaṃ saddhammo ciraṭṭhitiko hessatī" ti arahāmi ahaṃ ṭhapetuṃ. I translate it as follows:—"But if, reverend sirs, I for my part may point out (such a one), I venture to adduce (the word of the Buddha): 'Thus the Good Doctrine will long endure.'"

In the next sentence, beginning with imāni bhaṃte and

[1] I know no passage where the personal pronoun in the instr. occurs connected with the verb in the active, but I see no reason to object to such a connection. Moreover, we have to supply after deseyyaṃ an acc. of the object, e.g. ekaṃ (sc. subhāsitaṃ).

ending with bhāsite, the verb is missing, but we may easily supply hoti, unless we prefer to supply from tavitave tavemi (thapemi), perhaps with an additional pi (api). I propose to translate the opening words—"(Moreover), reverend sirs, these (are) portions of the Doctrine," or, probably more in accordance with the general purport of our edict—"(Moreover, I adduce), reverend sirs, these passages of the Doctrine."—Yours truly,

E. HARDY.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE PALESTINIAN SYRIAC LECTIONARY OF THE GOSPELS. Re-edited from two Sinai MSS. and from P. de Lagarde's edition of the "Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum." By AGNES SMITH LEWIS, M.R.A.S., and MARGARET DUNLOP GIBSON, M.R.A.S. (London, 1899.)

By the publication of the Sinai manuscripts of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels a great addition is made to the meagre remains of a once considerable literature. Before the year 1892 the Palestinian Version of the Gospels was known to us only from a solitary manuscript contained in the Vatican Library, and from a few fragments, published in 1875 by Dr. Land, of Leyden, taken from two of the Nitrian MSS. in the British Museum, and some fragments obtained by Tischendorf for the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg. The Vatican MS., which was written A.D. 1030, was edited by Count Miniscalchi-Erizzo in 1864, and was re-edited by Dr. Paul de Lagarde, being published in *Bibliotheca Syriaca* after the death of the latter scholar in 1892.

In February of the same year, during Mrs. Lewis's visit to the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, she was shown by the Librarian another MS. of a Palestinian Syriac Lectionary, of which she photographed several pages; and in the following year in the same convent another similar lectionary was discovered by Mr. Rendel Harris. The former MS. has bound up with it four leaves from another lectionary, and contains yet another leaf in its cover. It was written A.D. 1104. The latter MS. was written A.D. 1118.

Mrs. Lewis has edited the earlier MS., which she calls B, in its entirety, with the variants of A (the Vatican MS.) and C (the later Sinai MS.) in parallel columns. She has also added an introduction and a list of variants in the three codices.

It is obvious at a glance that the lectionary in each of the three MSS. belongs to the same version. Moreover, "the lessons in all three codices follow the same order till the end of Lesson clii." The three MSS. agree also in some instances where one would be inclined to suspect mere copyists' blunders. Thus, for example, all three MSS. have no equivalent for the clause, *ἵνα ἀπόληται ἓν τῶν μικρῶν τούτων*, St. Matthew, xviii, 14 (p. 60).

The two Sinai MSS., however, are independent of the Vatican MS. This is sufficiently clear from the fact that the order of lessons which they follow after Lesson clii differs considerably from that of the latter: moreover, passages are wanting in A which are found in B and C, and *vice versâ*.

That B and C are more closely connected with each other than with A is shown not only by the fact that, with two exceptions, they contain the same lessons in the same order, but also by the text which they exhibit. Thus, for example, in St. Matthew, xxiii, 10 (p. 90), where A reads ܘܠܐ ܬܬܩܪܘܢ ܡܪܒܝܢܝܢ ܀ ܚܕ ܗܘ ܡܪܒܝܢܟܘܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܀, both B and C omit the words ܚܕ ܗܘ ܡܪܒܝܢܟܘܢ, thus making havoc of the sense. B, indeed, has inserted ܐܠܐ before ܡܫܝܚܐ, but this, though it improves the grammar, gives an impossible meaning. Similarly, if we may trust the transcription, B and C have occasionally the same obvious scribes' blunders, as, for example, in St. Matthew, xxi, 34, 37, 40 (p. 88), where they both have ܐܪܝܣܐ, though the plural is evidently intended, and A rightly has ܐܪ̈ܝܣܝܐ. Again,

in St. John, viii, 43, where A has correctly ܡܟܠܝܢ, B and C have the same blunder, ܡܟܠܘܢ (as the part. plur. masc. agreeing with the 2nd pers. plur.). In St. John, viii, 55 (p. 38), both B and C omit the same important word ܢܛܪ. In St. John, x, 28 (p. 42), B and C have ܐܕܘܗܝ *His hands* where A has rightly ܐܝܕܝ *My hands.*

On the other hand, the variations between B and C preclude the possibility of any immediate connection between them. C cannot be copied from B, for leaving out of account its different spelling, it contains passages which are missing in B, and *vice versâ.* Moreover, C frequently agrees with A against B, as for example in St. John, ix, 6 (p. 43), where A and C have ܛܝܢܐ and B has rightly ܛܝܢ, which is also the reading of C in vv. 11, 15 (cf. Schwally, *Idioticon*, p. 39). Similarly, in St. John, viii, 25 (p. 31), A and C agree in reading ܘܗܢܘܢ ܐܓܝܒܘ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ where B has ܗܘܘ ܐܘܢ ܐܡܪܝܢ. Sometimes C has a reading found neither in A nor in B. A noteworthy instance occurs in St. Matthew, xii, 36 (p. 79), where C has ܕܒܘܠ ܡܠܐ ܛܒܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܠܠܘܢ for ܕܒܘܠ ܡܠܐ ܒܛܠܐ ܕܡܬܠܠܘܢ. There seems, however, to be little ground for the hypothesis given in Mr. Rendel Harris's name on p. xiv of the introduction, viz., that the reading of C constituted "the second limb of an antithetical *Logion*," for the corruption of ܒܛܠܐ into ܛܒܐ ܠܐ (through an intermediate ܛܒ ܠܐ) is a very simple one. Moreover, the absence of the relative in C before ܡܬܠܠܘܢ shows that the passage is corrupt. Mrs. Lewis's translation of the variants into Greek is indeed likely to prove a stumbling-block to those who are not acquainted with the original Syriac. Thus, on p. li of the "List of Variants," in a note on St. Luke, xxii, 44, Mrs. Lewis writes, "Whilst

A and C have *ὡς ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ*, B has *ὡς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ*." But the reading of B which she thus translates is ܒܗ ܝܘܡܐ, and this is obviously the mere blunder of a scribe for the correct reading ܒܗܝܡܐ.

There is now extant in Palestinian Syriac about four-fifths of St. Matthew's Gospel, about two-sevenths of St. Mark, not quite two-thirds of St. Luke, and the whole of St. John with the exception of some 50 verses, and to the greater portion of the amount that is extant we have the independent testimony of three MSS.

Unfortunately all these MSS. were written at a time when the peculiar dialect which they represent had ceased to be a spoken language. The proofs of this are numerous, but it will be sufficient to mention the fact that the rubrics are in Carshuni, and that *beth* is constantly confused with both the ordinary and the inverted *pe*. This confusion, it is true, occurs in other specimens of the same dialect, but it is especially noteworthy in the Sinai MSS., particularly in B, and in any case it must denote Arabic influence.

In grammar and spelling the Sinai MSS. for the most part exhibit the same peculiarities which are met with in the Vatican MS., the language of which has been exhaustively described by Nöldeke in *Beiträge zur Kentniss der aramäischen Dialekte* (Z.D.M.G., xxii, pp. 443–527).

At the same time there is a considerable difference between B and C, forms which occur only sporadically in C being common in B, and the reverse. Thus, for example, the use of *yôdh* to represent vocal *sh'wā* is especially characteristic of B, which on the other hand frequently omits *yôdh* where it seems necessary, as in the passive part. Pe'al, e.g. ܕܥܒܝܩܐ = ܕܥܒܝܩܐ, St. Matthew, v, 32 (p. 63), and in the masc. plur., e.g. ܝܗܒܝܢ = ܝܗܒܝܢ, St. Matthew, vii, 11 (p. 68). B has also frequently ܡܪܢܬܐ for ܡܪܝܢܬܐ, etc.

Both B and C are commonly less grammatical than A. Thus, for example, in St. John, x, 3–5 (p. 40), ܐܡܪܬܐ

is construed as masc. in both B and C. A has here the fem., as have B and C in v. 8. Similarly, we find in St. John, ix, 41, ܗܢܘܢ (C ܩܐܡܝܢ) ܩܡܝܢ agreeing with ܣܝܟܠܬܟܘܢ where A has ܩܐܡܝܢ ܗܢܝܢ; and ܡܕܢܬܐ ܒܘܠܗܘܢ, St. Matthew, ix, 35 (p. 78), where A has ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܘܠܗܝܢ.

B is disfigured by many copyists' blunders, such as the transposition of letters and a constant tendency wrongly to insert the prefix ܕ.

In the matter of the suffixes there are some noteworthy forms in the Sinai MSS. Thus, for example, C has usually ܬܠܡܝܕܝ as the equivalent of *οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ* where B has ܬܠܡܝܕܘܝ. In some cases B has ܬܠܡܝܕܝܗ, e.g. St. John, vi, 3 (p. 38), sometimes ܬܠܡܝܕܗ, e.g. St. Matthew, viii, 21 (p. 72), sometimes ܬܠܡܝܕܝ, e.g. St. Matthew, ix, 14 (p. 74). It is very difficult to say how such forms were pronounced by the scribes. That ܬܠܡܝܕܝܗ was not intended to be pronounced *talmîdhayyâ* is probable from the occurrence of the form ܬܠܡܝܕܗ without the *yôdh*, unless the *yôdh* has been omitted by accident. It looks, indeed, as though the forms in ܝܗ and ܗ had arisen through a misapprehension of the ending ܝ (pronounced *ēy*), but how are we to explain this form from an original ܘܝ or ܘܗܝ?

Unfortunately the chaotic irregularity of the spelling and the late date of the MSS. make it uncertain whether the forms are correctly given: see St. Matthew, xxii, 13 (p. 91), where the suffixes are given differently in two consecutive words.

A curious pronominal form ܩܩܢܝ occurs in St. John, xii, 26, in A (p. 48), but appears in another place (p. 168) as ܩܝܡܢܝ. In the former case both B and C have ܩܩܢܝ, in the latter ܩܝܩܢܝ; but in St. John, iii, 27 (p. 11), where A has ܩܩܢܟܘܢ, C has ܩܩܢܝܟܘܢ, and B ܩܢܝܢܝܟܘܢ.

It is pretty obvious that the text in these cases is corrupt, but it is not easy to see how it should be corrected, the change from an original ܩܢܘܡܐ, which is suggested by Mrs. Lewis, not being easily accounted for, even if ܩܢܘܡܐ ever stood in the original text. All the readings might have arisen from a form ܩܢܝܢ, which is actually the reading of B in St. John, iii, 27; but was this ever used for the reflexive pronoun? The readings are interesting as showing not only the early date at which the corruption arose, but also the fact that the language of the lectionary was practically unintelligible to the scribes who penned these MSS.

B (and occasionally C) shows a tendency to contract the plur. def. of adjectives in *yôdh*, writing, for example, ܦܪܝܫܝ, *Pharisees*. ܢܘܕܐ as 1st pers. sing. Imp. Aph'al occurs in all three MSS. in St. Matthew, x, 32 (p. 66); but see Nöldeke, *Beiträge*, p. 497. ܢܘܒܕ as the 3rd pers. sing. Imp. Pe'al occurs in all three MSS., St. Matthew, v, 29 (p. 63); also in B and C in St. John, vi, 12 (p. 39), where A has ܢܒܘܕ; in B in St. John, iii, 16 (p. 236), where C has ܢܐܘܒܕ and A ܢܐܒܘܕ; in B in St. John, vi, 39 (p. 22), where A has ܢܒܘܕ and C ܢܒܕ; ܢܘܒܕ occurs in B in St. John, xi, 50, where A and C have ܢܒܘܕ; ܬܘܒܕ is found in B, ܬܘܒܕ in C, St. Luke, xxi, 18 (p. 240), where A has ܬܒܘܕ; ܢܘܒܕܘܢ in B and C, St. John, x, 28 (p. 42), where A has ܢܒܘܕܘܢ: see, however, Nöldeke, *Beiträge*, p. 501.

Dr. Nestle considers that these Lectionaries are not taken from a complete version of the Gospels, but are translated directly from Greek Lectionaries. His argument, as given on p. xvi, is as follows: "In one of the parallel passages of Codd. A and B, John, xvii, 7, occurs the word ἔγνων, which in Greek allows of two meanings, and it is taken in Lesson xlii (p. 53) in the meaning of ܝܕܥܬ 'I knew,' and in Lesson cl (p. 190) in that of ܝܕܥܘ 'they knew.'

This would not have been the case if the copyist had copied both passages from the same Syriac Gospel." This argument, however, is not very conclusive, for it is evident that both lessons were *translated* by the same person, and it is therefore difficult to understand why he should have rendered the same word differently. Moreover, C reads ܝܕܥܘ on p. 52, as do all three MSS. on p. 190. It is possible, therefore, that ܝܕܥܘ (for ἔγνωκαν) was the original reading in both Lessons, and that ܝܕܥܬ in A and B is either a corruption or a subsequent correction from the reading ἔγνων.

In St. Luke, ii, 14, both Sinai MSS. agree with "The Liturgy of the Nile" in reading ܠܫܘܒܚܬܗ for ܠܫܘܒܚܐ. C also agrees with it in reading ܓܒܝܘܢܟ. See "The Liturgy of the Nile," edited by the Rev. G. Margoliouth, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1896.

There are some curious blunders in the Introduction which are not corrected in the list of *Errata*. Thus, it is stated on p. xiv that "both" codices "have ܡܬܒܣܡܘܢ for ܡܬܒܣܪܘܢ in St. Matthew, xi, 5," and on p. xxv that "ܒܘܠܗ in all three Codices is probably a mistake for ܒܘܠܢܘ"!

A ܕܝ has accidentally been omitted after ܒܪܗ, St. Matthew, viii, 20, in C: see the facsimile given in *Studia Sinaitica*, i, p. 93.

The book is well printed, and the editors are to be congratulated on the form in which their labours have been given to the world.

A Hand-List of the Muḥammadan Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge. By E. G. Browne, M.A., M.B., M.R.A.S.

When a scholar of European reputation, who in his own department stands pre-eminent, devotes many months of

toil to the cataloguing of a not very important collection of MSS., the gratitude which we rightly feel for his arduous and unselfish labours is not untinged with a measure of regret. And so when Mr. E. G. Browne, to whom we owe a very large proportion of such accurate and intimate knowledge concerning the Bábís and their faith as we possess, and who has unveiled for us for the first time the mysterious teachings of the Hurúfís, turns aside from the task, which he alone can adequately discharge, of interpreting for us the doctrines and aspirations of those strange sects that have come to life within the fold of Islam, and spends his precious time in the compilation of this Catalogue, a work for which a lesser man would amply have sufficed, we are unable wholly to repress a feeling somewhat akin to disappointment.

It is not that we underrate the value of the cataloguer's work; the cataloguing of a great collection, such as that of the British Museum, is a task worthy of all the energies of the most gifted scholar; and it is a matter of universal congratulation that the duty of drawing up the catalogue of the Muḥammadan MSS. in the national collection fell into the hands of so talented and painstaking an Orientalist as Dr. Rieu, whose admirable and invaluable volumes will remain an abiding monument of his marvellous accuracy and profound scholarship.

But with the Cambridge collection the case is different; it is not sufficiently extensive to be really representative of any one of the great Muḥammadan literatures, while by far the larger proportion of the books it does contain are naturally enough to be found in one or more of the greater libraries. None the less, there is at Cambridge a considerable number of very rare and valuable works, even some which are unique in this country, if not in Europe. It was therefore very desirable that someone should catalogue the collection; and though we may on the one hand be inclined to grudge the time and labour spent by an eminent scholar over the task, we must on the other congratulate ourselves that it has been accomplished by one so thoroughly qualified

to bring it to a successful issue. For it is superfluous to say that whatever work Mr. Browne takes in hand, whether or not it be worthy of his learning and ability, is carried out in the true spirit of scholarship, and consequently cannot fail to be profitable to every student of Muḥammadan thought and culture.

Mr. Browne has prefixed to his Catalogue a list of the rarer Arabic and Persian works belonging to the collection in question, but he has said nothing as to any of the Turkish MSS. mentioned in the volume. There are, however, two of these which, if not very important, are at least extremely rare. One is the first volume of an early verse translation of the Mesneví of Jelál-ud-Dín Rúmí. This is dedicated to a Sultan Murád, and the MS. is dated A.H. 840. In that year the throne was occupied by Murád II, so he is probably the sovereign referred to, the more especially as there was considerable literary activity in Turkey during his reign. So far as I am aware, this translation is quite unknown except from the present MS. The other is a version of the romance of Leylí and Mejnún made in A.H. 920 by a poet called Sevdá'í. No poet of this name is mentioned by the Ottoman biographers; and so but for this Cambridge MS. he and his work might have remained for ever in oblivion.

E. J. W. G.

R. Pischel. Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen. (Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, Bd. i, H. 8.) 8vo; 430 pp. (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1900.)

More than forty years have passed since Lassen published his "Institutiones linguae Prakriticae" (Bonn, 1837), at a time when the Prakrit literature was all but unknown in Europe. Though the difficulties with which he had to contend were great, his work was an admirable one, and nothing would have been more natural than that he should have found many successors. But we all know that this was not so. The sister language of the Prakrits, Pali, has been

eagerly studied, because it was the sacred language of early Buddhism, but the study of the Prakrits, from a linguistic point of view, has been much neglected. In this fact we also have to look for the reason why Pischel's Prakrit Grammar is by far the largest contribution to the *Grundriss*.

Since the time of Lassen a large literature in Prakrit has been published in Europe and India, but much of it very unsatisfactorily. To study the different dialects has been an extremely difficult task, and a scientific treatment of the Prakrits has been a real desideratum. To give us such a work nobody was better qualified than Professor Pischel, and it is to be hoped that the appearance of his grammar will mark a new epoch in Prakrit philology.

Besides the literature mentioned above, there is also another source for our knowledge of Prakrit, viz. the Prakrit grammarians. In India the interest taken in these languages has been much greater than in Europe, though small there also when compared with the interest devoted to Sanskrit. The Indian tradition traces the grammar of the Prakrits back to Bharata and Pāṇini, and it is quite certain that its date is a very early one. To account for this fact it is not sufficient to refer to the linguistic skill of the Indians. It is also necessary to remember what the Prakrits are. In former times, when Sanskrit was considered to be the mother tongue, not only of all Indo-Aryan, but also of all Indo-European languages, the prevailing opinion was that the Prakrits were old vernaculars derived from Sanskrit. For the latter supposition, the derivation from Sanskrit, we have also the evidence of the Indian grammarians, who unanimously derive the word *prākṛta* from *prakṛti*, 'basis,' and declare the *prakṛti* of the Prakrits to be Sanskrit. But nevertheless we now know that these languages were no proper vernaculars, and were not derived from Sanskrit, if we are to understand under this denomination the classical language of Indian literature. The Prakrits are both older and younger than Sanskrit. In many characteristics they agree with the language (or rather the dialects) spoken in Vedic time

(cf. Pischel, § 6, and passim), and on the other hand they are more or less related to the modern vernaculars of India (Pischel, § 7, and passim). In this position of the Prakrits we also see their importance in the linguistic history of India. Comparative philology has been contented to use the Vedic languages, Sanskrit and Pali, as representatives of the Indian branch of the Indo-European family. Only exceptionally, as in works by Wackernagel and Johansson, the Prakrits have been used for comparison. Now that Pischel's grammar has been published, that must be otherwise. The phonetical features of the Prakrits (e.g., *cch* and *kkh*, Pischel, § 318 ff.; aspirates instead of non-aspirates, § 206; traces of old accent, and so forth), their various inflections and their vocabulary, show so many peculiarities of their own that they certainly will throw new light on many obscure points of comparative philology. And, at all events, knowledge of the Prakrits is necessary for a thorough understanding of Sanskrit. It is a well-known fact that that language contains many words which have been borrowed from the Prakrits. And especially is this so with regard to the Dhātupāṭhas, which contain many roots never occurring in Sanskrit but living in the Prakrits, and partly only to be explained by the phonetical laws prevailing in them.

On the other hand, the Prakrits are related to the modern vernaculars of India. Many phonetical laws and a large portion of the vocabulary are common to both. The Indians themselves often mention Prakrit as something different from the spoken vernaculars, the Apabhraṁśas or Deśībhāṣās, and nobody now doubts that the Prakrits, like Sanskrit, are literary languages; but it is also quite certain that their bases have been old vernaculars. Many of them have taken their names from some locality, thus, for instance, Māhārāṣṭrī, Māgadhī, Śaurasenī, Ḍhakkī, and it would be quite natural to look for their origin in these localities; but as yet it is not possible to decide all these questions. With regard to the chief Prakrit, the Māhārāṣṭrī, Garrez tried to prove that it is in fact derived from the old vernacular of the Marāṭhas,

but Pischel only remarks that there is some connection between the two, and it is impossible to go further. The linguistic arguments adduced by Garrez are not sufficient to prove his thesis, and the same must be said with regard to the proof which he thinks to have found in the fact that Hāla, the compiler of the first Prakrit anthology, is reported to have been a king of Mahārāṣṭra. Prakrit lyrics must have flourished long before his time, and most probably in various parts of India. Jacobi, who has largely contributed to our knowledge of Prakrit, was of opinion that Hāla may be identical with the king Sātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna mentioned in Jaina sources. The Ardhamāgadhī, the language of the old Jaina Sūtras, differs from Māhārāṣṭrī in so many points that the two dialects cannot be identified, but they are still so closely connected that it is difficult to think that they originated in countries very distant from each other. The Māhārāṣṭrī, as we know it, seems to have been influenced by different dialects, and this fact points to the conclusion that it had been developed as a literary language before Hāla's time, and its name may be accounted for quite as well by the fact that the first collection of Māhārāṣṭrī verses was made in the Marāṭha country, which was also, in later times, renowned for its literature (Bālarāmāyaṇa, x, 74). Pischel remarks (§ 12) that some of the principal phonetical characteristics of this language are due to the fact that it was especially used in songs, that is to say, to reasons which have nothing at all to do with any locality, and the influence which Sanskrit has always exerted on this, as on the other Prakrits, has largely contributed to make the question of locality very difficult.

Still greater is the influence which Sanskrit has exerted on the chief prose dialect of the plays, the Śaurasenī. The accentuation seems to be the same, while Pischel is of opinion that the Māhārāṣṭrī has retained the old Vedic accent, a question which I am not qualified to enter upon. The use of Deśī words is very limited in the Śaurasenī, and we often almost have an impression that passages in this dialect are simply translated from Sanskrit.

With regard to some other Prakrits mentioned by the grammarians, they seem to denote not one, but different dialects. I think this to be the case with Paiśācī. Hemacandra knows two kinds of Paiśācī, and other grammarians still more. But the question is here almost impossible to solve, because we do not possess any Paiśācī texts.

With regard to the Apabhraṁśas, it is quite certain that very different languages are described under this name. Apabhraṁśa means vernacular. But some Indian writers tell us that the Apabhraṁśas become Prakrits when used in literary works. I do not think that they mean to say that there was any essential difference between the spoken vernaculars and the literary Apabhraṁśas. Sanskrit and the Prakrits have naturally exerted their influence on poets writing in vernacular, in old times as nowadays. But that does not authorize us to state that the poet's language has ceased to be a vernacular. As an Apabhraṁśa we must also consider the Ḍhakkī. The use of vernaculars in the plays is expressly allowed by Bharata (cf. Pischel, § 5, though he explains the passage differently), and the occurrence of such a dialect in the Mṛcchakaṭikā has therefore nothing extraordinary about it.

The real Prakrits, on the other hand, were no more vernaculars, but literary languages, to a great extent remodelled on grammatical schemes. The Indian derivation of the word is not very probable. Pischel (§ 30) thinks that Prākṛt means "plain, ordinary language," as opposed to Sanskrit, and this derivation seems to be the only natural one. But the fact remains that the Prakrits were literary languages, and not really spoken vernaculars; in other words, they must be learnt partly from books. And this is perhaps the principal reason that we have so many Prakrit grammarians. From later times we have, I think, a direct proof that the authors used the grammars. I am unable to explain the relation between Hemacandra's grammar and Somadeva's Lalitavigraharājanāṭaka otherwise. That Somadeva, who was certainly no very good philologist, sins against Hemacandra's rules, cannot, I think, make the supposition improbable.

In most published texts we now find a great discordance between the Prakrit and the rules of the grammarians, and this fact has very early been taken notice of. Thirty years ago Professor Pischel himself used the fact that only the Bengali recension of the Śakuntalā has a consistent Prakrit, mainly in accordance with the rules of Vararuci, as his chief argument for the authenticity of this recension. Since that time he has made very minute investigations into the matter, and the results are now collected in his grammar. He has collated numerous editions and manuscripts, and shown that, in spite of the great confusion prevailing in most of them, there are still numerous traces to show that, in many cases, the original readings have been in accordance with the rules of the grammarians. His conclusion is, then, that we very often have to correct the manuscripts so as to agree with the grammar. He has collected a vast material in his grammar, and every future editor will be able to overlook all facts regarding the different critical questions connected with Prakrit. It seems to me that he has proved his thesis, and that, when good authors seem to sin against grammar, it is the fault of the manuscripts.

But a difficult question will remain: how many Indian authors were really able to write a consistent Prakrit? The chronological history of Prakrit literature still remains to be written. We are now able to fix approximately the date of many of the plays. But only in three of them do we find a consistent Prakrit—in the Mṛcchakaṭikā, the Urvaśī, and the Bengali recension of the Śakuntalā. With regard to Śrīharṣa we cannot judge from Cappeller's edition, because he does not give the various readings, and seems to have corrected in a rather arbitrary way. And most other editions are not at all critical. We only know that Rājaśekhara, in the tenth century, confounded the two Prakrit dialects which he used, though he himself boasts of his knowledge of the various languages. But a large portion of the Prakrit literature has not been found as yet. Many poets are mentioned in different sources, but we do not know more than their names. Pischel gives a list

of such names (§ 13), and tries to give more details about some of them. But a wide field seems here to be open for future research. Some dialects, e.g. that used by the Digambara Jains, are still very little known, and especially we may hope that more Apabhraṁśa texts will be found. In these languages we will probably find the connecting link between the modern vernaculars and the languages of the inscriptions, which latter were, I regret to say, excluded from the Prakrit grammar in the plan of the *Grundriss*. Else I think almost every question connected with Prakrit philology has been discussed in Pischel's grammar.

The first chapters contain a summary of the known Prakrit literature, a short description of the different Prakrits, and states the position of these languages in the linguistic history of India (§§ 1–30). Then follows an account of the Prakrit grammarians (§§ 31–44), phonology (§§ 45–354), etymology (§§ 355–594), and at the end some remarks on the formation of words and on compounds (§§ 595–603).

It is impossible to go into details—their number is too immense. I have only been able to mention some of the problems discussed in the grammar. As Professor Pischel has not only related facts, but very often given his explanation, and also criticized, sometimes very strongly, the views of others, his work is likely to raise discussion, and future research will certainly modify many of his results. But he has laid a solid foundation, and inaugurated a truly scientific Prakrit philology.

STEN KONOW.

Camberley, December 19, 1900.

CATALOGUE DE LA COLLECTION DE MANUSCRITS ORIENTAUX (Arabes, Persans, et Turcs) formée par M. CHARLES SCHEFER et acquise par l'Etat, publié par E. BLOCHET, Sous-Bibliothécaire au Département des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale. (Paris: Leroux, 1900.)

To students of Muḥammadan literature this volume affords a rare intellectual pleasure. That the collection of

manuscripts formed by the late M: Schefer was of extraordinary interest and value has long been a matter of notoriety amongst all persons interested in these matters; and now at last, thanks to M. Blochet, we are able to see that its reputation, great as it was, is transcended by the reality. With rare opportunities M. Schefer combined an equally rare taste and judgement, and it may be doubted whether so fine a collection of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts has ever been formed by a private individual. Of the 789 MSS. (275 *ar.*, 276 *pers.*, 238 *turk.*) which it comprises hardly one is uninteresting or even mediocre, while many are of priceless value. The fate of the collection was long in doubt, and it will be a matter of deep satisfaction to all that it has at length been acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale, which has earned the deep gratitude of all students by its praiseworthy liberality in placing its treasures at their disposal.

In the limits of this review it will only be possible to call attention to some of the gems of this superb collection, which will be arranged in the following classes: (1) old dated MSS.; (2) old undated MSS.; (3) MSS. which, though not very old, are remarkable for their rarity. In the two first classes an asterisk is prefixed to those MSS. which have a special interest apart from their age. The new class-marks assigned to the MSS. by the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Fonds arabe*, Nos. 5816–6090; *Suppl. persan*, Nos. 1303–1578; *Suppl. turc*, Nos. 957–1194) are in all cases those to which reference is made.

I. Old dated MSS.

*No. 5902 (A.H. 325). The *Madkhal*, or Introduction to Astronomy, of Ja'far b. Muḥ. al-Balkhí († A.H. 272).

*No. 5908 (A.H. 415). Vol. ii of the great Biographical Dictionary of al-Bukhárí, the celebrated traditionist († A.H. 256). See *H. Kh.*, 2174.

No. 6041 (A.H. 505). Fragment of Qur'án, copied in Sístán.

No. 5883 (A.H. 528). Al-Maydání's († A.H. 518) *Kitábu's-sámí fi'l-asámi*, with Persian glosses, followed by the *Diwán* of an-Nábigha.

*No. 5938 (A.H. 547). Another of al-Maydání's works, entitled *Nuzhatu't-ṭarf fí 'ilmi's-ṣarf*, copied from the autograph.

*No. 6080 (A.H. 554). A work on India by Abú Rayḥán al-Bírúní († A.H. 440). It is not clear whether or no this is the well-known *History of India* edited and translated by Sachau.

*No. 5913 (A.H. 559). The *Diwán* of Ibnu'l-Ḥajjáj al-Baghdádí († A.H. 391).

*No. 6018 (A.H. 563). The *Ḥamása* of Ḍiyá'u'd-Dín Hibatu'lláh al-'Alawí († A.H. 542). See *H. Kh.*, 4639.

*No. 6042 (A.H. 567). A treatise on Prosody, called *al-Iqná'*, by the Ṣáḥib Isma'íl b. 'Abbád († A.H. 385).

*No. 5923 (A.H. 575). A work on Medicine by Abu'l-Ḥasan Sa'íd († 495).

*No. 5956 (A.H. 579). Vol. ix of the *Ḥulyatu'l-awliyá* of Abú Nu'aym al-Iṣfaháni († A.H. 430).

*No. 5914 (A.H. 583). The *Ḥulyatu'l-muḥádara* of Abú Manṣúr ath-Tha'álibí († A.H. 429).

*No. 5976 (A.H. 589). *Gharíbu'l-Qur'án wa'l-Ḥadíth*, by Abú 'Ubayd Aḥmad al-Hirawí († A.H. 401).

No. 5847 (A.H. 634). A very fine copy of the *Maqámát* of al-Ḥaríri, containing 99 miniatures. (A facsimile is given.)

*No. 1314 (A.H. 635). A unique history of the Seljúqs entitled *Ráḥatu's-Sudúr*, by Najmu'd-Dín ar-Ráwandí. Apart from its historical importance this MS. is remarkable for the numerous dialect-verses (فهلويّات) which it contains. (See *J.R.A.S.* for Jan., 1900, p. 147.)

No. 1571 (A.H. 649). The *Siyásat-náma* of the Nidhámu'l-Mulk († A.H. 485). This MS. formed the basis of M. Schefer's edition of that excellent work.

No. 1368 (A.H. 662). Persian translation of the *Tanbihu'l-Ghafilin* of Abu'l-Layth Naṣr as-Samarqandí († A.H. 375). Fac-simile given.

No. 5911 (A.H. 662). Vol. iv of Ibnu'l-Athír's great history.

No. 1562 (A.H. 663). The *Bakhtiyár-náma*.

No. 1405 (A.H. 644–668). Four tracts, including the *Ḥadá'iqu's-siḥr* of Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwáṭ, and another treatise on the poetic art by Qawámí of Ganja.

*No. 1482 (A.H. 668). The *Tafhim* (or Astronomy) of al-Bírúní († A.H. 440). Another MS. of the same work transcribed a few years later (A.H. 685) is preserved in the British Museum (ADD. 7697).

*No. 1442 (A.H. 676). Explanation of the Arabic verses occurring in Naṣru'lláh's version of *Kalila and Dimna*. Of this also a slightly older MS. (A.H. 626) is preserved in the British Museum (ADD. 5965).

No. 5961 (A.H. 684). Some moral sentences in the handwriting of the celebrated calligraphist Yáqútu'l-Musta'ṣimí. There is also (No. 6082) an entire Qur'án transcribed by the same expert penman.

No. 1491 (A.H. 686). The *Muṣibat-náma* of Shaykh Farídu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár.

No. 5856 (A.H. 689). The first two vols. of Ibnu'l-Athír's great history.

*No. 5939 (A.H. 690). A copy of Ibn Abí Uṣaybi'a's († A.H. 668) well-known *Biographies of Eminent Physicians*.

No. 5855 (A.H. 691). The *Kitábu'l-Akhbár bi-fawá'idi'l-Akhyár* of Abú Bakr Muḥ. b. Ibráhím b. Ya'qúb. See *H. Kh.*, 245.

*No. 1434 (A.H. 696). The *Khusraw-náma* of Shaykh Farídu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár.

No. 5975 (A.H. 697). The *Kitábu'z-Ziyárát*, or "Pilgrim's Guide," of Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. Abí Bakr al-Hirawí († A.H. 611).

The eighth century of the *hijra* is represented by the following dated MSS.:—A.H. 704 (No. 5947); A.H. 720 (No. 1372), two astronomical and arithmetical treatises in Persian by Gúshyár; A.H. 721 (No. 5866), the *Mirátu'z-Zamán* of Ibn Sibṭi'l-Jawzí; A.H. 724 (No. 5937), a copy from the autograph of the *'Uqúdu'l-jumán* of al-Ja'barí; A.H. 729 (No. 1433), a Persian treatise on Ṣúfí theology, entitled *Miṣbáḥu'l-Hidáya*; A.H. 739 (No. 1306), a Persian treatise on celestial mechanics entitled *Jahán-i-Dánish*, from the Arabic of al-Mas'údí; A.H. 768 (No. 1387), Rashíd-i-Waṭwáṭ's Sayings of the Four Orthodox Caliphs; A.H. 768 (No. 6040), Chinese calendars, with marginal notes in Chinese, by Abú Muḥ. 'Aṭá; A.H. 770 (No. 5894); A.H. 776 (No. 5915); A.H. 783 (No. 5874), the *Ansáb* of as-Sam'áni; A.H. 795 (No. 5827), aṣ-Ṣafadí's *Tuḥfatu Dhawi'l-albáb*; A.H. 797 (No. 5953), Abu'l-Fidá's history; A.H. 799 (No. 5877).

The following dated Persian MSS. of the ninth century of the *hijra* also deserve notice:—A.H. 826 (No. 1443), a history of the Mongols, in verse, by Shamsu'd-Dín Káshí,[1] with 24 miniatures, composed by order of Gházán Khán; A.H. 831 (No. 1415), the *Ḍhafar-náma*, containing the Aphorisms of Buzurjmihr; A.H. 845 (No. 1465), the *Díwán* of Kamál of Khujand; A.H. 861 (No. 1398), eight tracts, including Náṣir-i-Khusraw's *Rawshaná'i-náma* and *Sa'ádat-náma*; A.H. 872 (No. 1438), the *Tárikh-i-Guzída*; A.H. 879 (No. 1417), the *Rawshaná'i-náma* of Náṣir-i-Khusraw, and the Quatrains of 'Umar Khayyám.

II. Old undated MSS.

Ninth century of the Christian era.

No. 6087. Fragment of a Kúfic Qur'án.

[1] See *J.R.A.S.* for Oct., 1900, p. 760.

Tenth century.

Nos. 5935 and 6002. Fragments of the Qur'án.

*No. 5983. The *Kitábu'l-Jarḥ wa't-Ta'díl* of Abú Muḥ. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán ar-Rází († A.H. 327).

Eleventh century.

*No. 6017. The *Kitábu'l-Kuná wa'l-Asmá* of Abú Bishr Muḥ. al-Dawlabí († A.H. 320).

*No. 6090. A Refutation of Heretics (Shí'ites, Khárijites, and Mu'tazilites) by Abú Bakr Muḥ. al-Ashkarí al-Baqqalání (A.H. 472).

Twelfth century.

No. 6019. Abú Manṣúr ath-Tha'álibí's *Kitábu't-Tamaththul wa'l-Muḥádarát.*

Nos. 983, 984, and 986. Fragments of Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian manuscripts.

Thirteenth century.

Nos. 5898 (*Ansáb* of as-Sam'ání); 5903 (*Mirátu'z-Zamán* of Ibn Sibṭi'l-Jawzí); 5909 (Ibnu'l-Jawzí's *Muntaḍham*); 5910 (Ibnu'l-Athír); 5921–5922 (Ibnu'd-Dubaythí's suppl. to Ibnu'l-Khaṭíb's great History of Baghdad); 5951 (vol. xii of Ibn Sa'd al-Baṣrí's *Ṭabaqát*); 5966 (two treatises of Avicenna); 5985 (az-Zamakhsharí's *Rabí'u'l-Abrár*); 6030 (the *Kitábu'l-Kharáj* of Yaḥyá b. Ádam); 6082 (Qur'án, transcribed by Yáqútu'l-Musta'ṣimí).

Fourteenth-century Persian MSS.

No. 1429. The *Muṣibat-náma* and *Asrár-náma* of Farídu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár, and some of Saná'í's poems.

No. 1556. The *Jahán-Kushá* of Juvayní, and a history of the Seljúqs of Rúm entitled *Tabṣiratu'l-Khazin* (?).

No. 1561. The *Túzuk* (Institutions) of Gházán Khán the Mongol.

III. MSS. REMARKABLE FOR THEIR RARITY, BUT NOT FOR THEIR AGE.

1. *Arabic Works.*

No. 6013. The treatise of al-Jáḥidh († A.H. 255) on the *Virtues of the Turks.*

No. 6006. Ibn Qutayba's († A.H. 271) *Kitábu's-Siyásat wa'l-Imámat.*

No. 6068. Al-Baládhurí's († A.H. 279) *Ansábu'l-Ashráf.*

Nos. 6056, 6057. Vols. viii and x of Ibn Ḥá'ik's († A.H. 334) *Iklíl fí ansábi Ḥimyar wa Mulúki-há.*

No. 5838. Vol. iii (A.H. 250–315) of Ibn Miskawayh's († A.H. 421) *Tajáribu'l-Umam.*

No. 6039. Abú 'Umar b. Yúsuf al-Qurtubí's († A.H. 463) *Ansábu'l-'Arab wa'l-'Ajam.*

No. 5926. Al-Bákharzí's († A.H. 476) *Dumyatu'l-Qaṣr.*

No. 5982. Vol. iv of the History of Muslim al-Laḥjí, to A.H. 627.

No. 5889. The *History of Philosophers* of Jamálu'd-Dín al-Qifṭí († A.H. 646).

No. 5964. Another *History of Philosophers,* composed in the seventh century of the *hijra.*

2. *Persian Works.*

No. 1529. A modern copy of the very rare *Díwán* of Rúdagí.

No. 1436. A modern copy of Ibn Isfandiyár's *History of Ṭabaristán.*

Nos. 1536 and 1553. Two rare histories of the Seljúqs of Rúm, the former of the fourteenth and the latter of the fifteenth century of our era.

Nos. 1435[2] and 1542. Two modern copies of quatrains (in W. Persian dialect) of Bábá Ṭáhir 'Uryán "the Lur."

No. 1318. The *Zádu'l-Musáfirín* of Náṣir-i-Khusraw.

Nos. 1544–1545. Two modern MSS. of the *Safar-náma* of the same (used by M. Schefer in his ed. and transl. published in 1881).

No. 1578. Notes on the biography of the same, prepared for M. Schefer in Persia.

No. 1502. A modern copy of the rare *Díwán* of Qaṭrán.

No. 1371. The *Marzubán-náma*, of which M. Schefer published a portion in vol. ii of his *Chrestomathie Persane* (pp. ١٧١–١٩٩); see also pp. 194–211 of that volume.

No. 1485[1]. The *Bi-sar-náma* of Farídu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár.

Nos. 1375, 1563, and 1556. Three copies of the *Jahán-Kushá* of Juwayní, of which also M. Schefer published a portion in the volume just referred to (pp. ١٠٥–١٩٩; 134–193).

No. 1419. A history of the Mongol sovereign Uljaytú Khar-banda, by Abu'l-Qásim 'Abdu'lláh al-Káshání, one of the scribes who collaborated with Rashídu'd-Dín in the compilation of his great *Jámi'u't-Tawárikh*.

Nos. 1424 and 1559. The *Majálisu'l-'Ushsháq* of Abu'l-Ghází Sulṭán Ḥusayn b. Manṣúr b. Bayqara (A.H. 908).

Nos. 1385 and 1483. Two copies (the first modern, the second of the seventeenth century) of the *Táríkh-i-Rashídí* of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlát.

Nos. 1400 and 1546. Two Bábí MSS., the first described as a fragment of the [?Persian] *Bayán*, the second a poem.

These are only some of the gems of the collection; but, apart from several interesting Turkish MSS. (including a large number in Eastern Turkí or Chaghatáy) which we have not space to enumerate, there are many others which would make the fortune of any ordinary collection. For fuller information we refer the reader to M. Blochet's excellent *Catalogue*, which ought to be in the hands of every lover of Muḥammadan literature.

While heartily congratulating the Bibliothèque Nationale on this noble acquisition, and M. Blochet on the successful accomplishment of his most valuable and scholarly work (which contains, besides the necessary indexes of titles and names, twelve fine fac-similes of pages from some of the most interesting MSS.), may we be permitted to express the hope that ere long the publication of complete catalogues of the Persian and Turkish MSS. by the Administration of that great and liberal Library will lay us under a still deeper obligation?

E. G. B.

DIE ALTE LANDSCHAFT BABYLONIEN NACH DEN ARABISCHEN GEOGRAPHEN. Von Dr. M. STRECK. (Leiden: Brill, 1900.)

This, when finished, will be a most valuable work, for, in the convenient form of a summary (the authorities being indicated in the footnotes), Dr. Streck here translates all the information contained in the numerous texts of the Arab geographers concerning Babylonia or 'Irāḳ, the capital province of the Moslem Empire during Abbasid times. The prior third of the work is now issued, and Dr. Streck may be congratulated for his industry in thus expanding into a volume his prize essay, to which had been awarded the first place on the list for 1896–1897 by the Faculty of Philosophy in the Leipsic University.

In chapter i Dr. Streck starts with an enumeration of the frontiers of 'Irāḳ, and then passes on to describe the system of canals running between the Euphrates and Tigris. Next follows (pp. 47–171, namely, to the close of the present instalment) a careful summary of what the earlier Arab geographers have written on the subject of the topography of Baghdad. The basis of all the above—alike of the canal system and of the Baghdad topography — rests primarily on the authority of Ibn Serapion, for without his minute description of the watercourses no map of Lower Mesopotamia or plan of Baghdad could be drawn up, based merely on what has come down to us in the writings of Ya'ḳūbi, Khaṭīb, and

Yāḳūt. It would be easy for anyone who has worked over the same ground as is now so studiously examined by Dr. Streck to criticize minor details in his summary, but to do so would be hardly fair, and, indeed, could serve no useful purpose. It is, however, to be regretted that Dr. Streck did not work out his own plan of mediæval Baghdad. He has had the misfortune to reproduce the one published with the text of Ibn Serapion in the April number of this Journal for 1895, then admittedly given only as *a sketch*, and which in the number for October, 1899, was cancelled in favour of plans drawn up from fuller knowledge. Now, though his preface is dated September, 1900, Dr. Streck states that he had not yet seen our Journal for the previous year (he writes that in the Munich Library it "noch nicht eingelaufen war"); to which we may be permitted the observation that it is surely curious how Dr. Streck, with later authorities under his eyes, should not have seen occasion to make some change for the better in a sketch-plan published five years ago, which a further reference to Yāḳūt and other authorities dealing with the remaining parts of 'Irāḳ ought to have shown him to have been inexact.

It is greatly to be hoped that the two thirds remaining to be published of this work will soon be given to the public, and with a complete index. The foreign plan of publishing a volume piecemeal, or in sections, is certainly not one that recommends itself to readers; though doubtless to a writer who is anxious to lay his work before fellow scholars without delay, it presents some advantages. Too often, however, we are left with a *Theil I* for all comfort, as, for example, in a work referred to by Dr. Streck, namely, *Irān in Mittelalter* by Paul Schwartz, of which the first part—and this appeared in 1896—has to the present day remained an unfinished morsel.

G. Le Strange.

DER MUSTERSTAAT DES ALFĀRĀBĪ AUS DEM ARABISCHEN ÜBERTRAGEN, von Dr. F. DIETERICI, Professor an der Universität Berlin. (Leiden: E. T. Brill, 1900.)

The study of Arabian Philosophy, fraught as it is with particular difficulties, has never counted many followers either in the ranks of Oriental scholars or in those of classical students and philosophers. To grasp its complicated problems, one not only requires a thorough knowledge of the Arabic language, with all its wealth of stereotyped technical terms, but also an intimate acquaintance with Greek Philosophy in general, with the systems of Aristotle and Plato and their later ramifications, the Neo-Platonism in particular. The lack of originality which characterizes the whole system of Arabian science is scarcely in any of its branches more marked than in the philosophy. It is, in fact, an eclecticism, a *mixtum compositum*, the different elements of which are derived from Peripatecism, Platonism, Stoicism, and Neo-Platonism, the last undoubtedly being the foremost of these ingredients. Neo-Platonism, though it borrowed something from all the earlier philosophical systems, was mainly the outgrowth of Plato's doctrine of the ἰδέα, and is the backbone of the whole system of Arabian Philosophy, which is very fitly characterized by that incomparable Arabic scholar, William Wright, as a system of Greek thought, expressed in Semitic tongue and modified by Oriental influences.

The complicated character of the system of Arabian Philosophy accounts also in the main for the fact that the works treating of it, and particularly of its relationship to Greek Philosophy, are exceedingly scanty and limited. In order to be able to do justice to the work that has been done in this branch of science by Professor Dieterici, the editor and translator of the book we are about to review, we think it appropriate to give a short survey of the most noteworthy works on this subject which have appeared during the last seventy years.

About seventy years ago Schmölders, in his two works, "Documenta philosophiae Arabum" and "Essai sur les écoles philosophiques chez les Arabes," endeavoured, not without success, to infuse fresh life into the study of the complex doctrines of Greek-Arabian Philosophy, and was followed by Munk, who wrote "Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe." Greater light was thrown upon this subject by Ernest Renan, who elucidated the origin and substance of the systems of Greek Philosophy as represented by the Syrians and Arabs, in two books, which are to be counted among his best and most scientific works, viz. "De Philosophia Peripatetica apud Syros" and "Averroës et l'Averroïsme." A very able pendant to this last-named work has only recently appeared from the pen of another well-known French scholar, Baron Carra de Vaux, who, under the title "Avicenne," published a very scholarly work on the writings and teachings of the great Arabic philosopher.

Fresh ground has been broken by Professor Dieterici. Since the days of Schmölders, Munk, and Renan, he has undoubtedly done the most important and systematic work in the province of Arabian Philosophy. After having made his mark as an Arabic scholar by his edition of the well-known poetical treatise on Arabic grammar, the Alfīya, and of the Dīwān of the famous poet al-Mutanabbī, he devoted his whole time and energy to the exposition and elucidation of Arabian Philosophy, and in an imposing series of works (compare his books, "Mikrokosmos," "Makrokosmos," "Logic," "Psychology," "Propaedeutics," "Anthropology," "Darwinism in the Tenth and Nineteenth Centuries," "Natural Philosophy," etc.) most ably represented the science of the Arabs in the ninth and tenth centuries. The works are based in the first place on the doctrine of that semi-religious and semi-philosophical society, the *Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*, Brothers of Sincerity, who, in a series of fifty-one treatises, presented an encyclopaedia of the whole range of the existing scientific knowledge of that age. Another eminently useful work, tending towards the same

object, was the editing and translating by Dieterici of the so-called "Theology of Aristotle," which played such an important rôle in philosophy throughout the Middle Ages. This book was for more than a thousand years looked upon as a genuine work of Aristotle, but only after the translation by Dieterici had appeared it was found out with certainty by Valentin Rose, the great authority on the later Greek literature, though already so surmised by Munk and Dieterici, that the book was in fact but an Arabic translation, or rather paraphrase, of the "Enneads of Plotin," the main work of the Neo-Platonic system.

During the last ten years Dieterici turned his special attention to the great Arabic philosopher and scientist, al-Fārābī, who is followed to a very great extent in the doctrines and scientific speculations of almost all the later writers. Al-Fārābī, the author of the "Musterstaat," was, like most of these philosophers, a physician. He was born at Fārāb, in Turkestān, whence his nisba al-Fārābī, made his studies at Baghdād, became physician to the Emīr Saif ad-Daula, and died at Damaskus in 950. He was a prolific writer in all branches of science. Steinschneider has written an interesting essay on him in the "Mémoires de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg," série III, tome xiii, and enumerates therein not less than 103 works of al-Fārābī, of which, however, only a small portion has come down to us. Two of his works were published in 1638, in Paris, under the title, which certainly is misleading, "Alpharabii opera omnia"! Two hundred years later, in 1836, two others were published by Schmölders in his work "Documenta philosophiae Arabum," and eight of his smaller essays were edited and translated by Dieterici, 1890–92, under the title "Philosophische Abhandlungen." Two years later, in 1894, the same scholar published an edition of another important work of al-Fārābī, the "Musterstaat," and what we now have under review is his translation of this work.

"Der Musterstaat," the perfect, ideal state, المدينه الفاضله, is an exposition of al-Fārābī's ethico-political theories, of

his views on the genesis and development of the community. The subject underlying his work is one that has engrossed the attention of many of the great philosophers. We need scarcely mention the πολιτεία of Aristotle and Plato, which of course were taken into due consideration by al-Fārābī, though it must be borne in mind that Plato's political theories have, in the course of time, undergone considerable alterations, as shown in the "Republic" and in the "Politicus." Many of al-Fārābī's ideas on this subject we meet again in Lord Bacon's "Philosophia Civitatis." As to the relationship of the ethico-political systems of Plato and Bacon, it were well to refer to the famous essay of Lord Macaulay on Lord Baçon, where he draws in a masterly fashion a parallel between them. Al-Fārābī differs from their views chiefly in respect of the theory of the organization of the community.

It should, however, be pointed out that the "Musterstaat" does not deal with politics alone. The first part of the book, in a short survey, covers a wide area of philosophy, comprising almost the whole range of the knowledge of those times, and only in the second part does the author expound his ethico-political views. Within the small compass of such a short review it is not possible to give an adequate idea of the whole political system, so we must content ourselves with giving a short outline of its *leading ideas.*

According to al-Fārābī, the State emanates from the consciousness of the individual that it is in need of its fellow-creatures, in order to attain to the highest good, the true happiness and perfect beatitude. In its organization the State is akin to the human body. As in the body the heart is the centre, from which the whole body is vivified and directed, so the imām, the princeps or chieftain (Plato calls him the herdsman), is the spiritus rector of the community. As the "normal man," he has, by his mastery of the intelligibilia, actually become intellect. His characteristic qualities, of which twelve in particular are enumerated, are innate and cannot be acquired. From

the ruler of the state the author proceeds to delineate its organization. Each class within the state subsists as a community for itself. The souls of the single individuals are connected by a common knowledge. It is also possible that the ideal nations and the ideal states are divided into sects, whilst they all aim at the same end, the perfect beatitude. In striking contrast to the characteristics of the true state are those of the false state, whose basis lacks soundness and is doomed to failure and ruin. Whereas in the perfect state the chieftain has only the interests and welfare of his fellow-citizens at heart, the chieftain of the false state uses his position merely to satisfy his own unruly appetites and his mercenary aims.

These are some of al-Fārābī's leading ideas on a well-regulated community and its reverse. To grasp the full meaning and importance of his politico-philosophical thoughts, it is indispensable to go thoroughly through the book, which, though now and then somewhat unsystematic, is as a whole an excellent piece of work, and has been the source from which many of the later writers on this subject have largely drawn.

The translation of the Arabic text by Dieterici is, like all translations by Dieterici, very able and reads smoothly and elegantly. Its value is greatly enhanced by the preceding Introduction, in which the Professor, at greater length, deals with the leading Arabian philosophers, Avicenna, al-Ghazzālī, and those of the Spanish school, particularly Averroës (Ibn Rushd). It is interesting to follow the Professor's theories on the evolution of the Greek-Arabian philosophy, the close connection of which he most convincingly shows. Though there will always remain some riddles to be solved, one cannot fail to admit that this literary Introduction goes a long way towards elucidating and clearing up the complex problems of the relationship of Greek and Arabian Philosophy.

The labour which Professor Dieterici has bestowed on his lifelong work on Arabian Philosophy has been a labour of love. In the face of the somewhat discouraging attitude

of critics, and amid the cold indifference of fellow-students, it certainly required strong moral nerve, great interest in his subject, and unselfish devotion to it, to go on, as Dieterici has done, editing and translating Arabic texts fraught with extraordinary difficulties, the printing of which, moreover, involved him in considerable financial sacrifices. At present the veteran Arabic scholar, who is 76 years of age, is engaged upon another work by al-Fārābī of the same ethico-political character, viz. the Siyāsa (السياسة) government, which forms a very appropriate supplement to the "Musterstaat," and is about to be published according to the MSS. of Leiden and of the British Museum.

In conclusion, we only beg to express the hope that this meritorious scholar, whose name is indissolubly bound up with the study of Arabian Philosophy, may be enabled to bring out the work which remains the prime desideratum for students of the relationship between Greek and Arabian Philosophy, viz., a *dictionary of the technical philosophical terms* in Arabic, with their equivalents in Latin and Greek and one or another of modern languages. This might perhaps prove the means of arousing a livelier interest in this little cultivated, though very interesting field of Arabian science.

P. Brönnle.

The Tiruvāçagam. By Dr. G. U. Pope. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1900.)

Māṇikka-Vāśagar is said to have been born at a little town near Madura, in Southern India, during the reign of the Pāṇḍiyan king Arimarttanar. In the Pauranic lists this king is placed tenth before the celebrated Kūna (or Sundara) Pāṇḍiyan, in whose time Sambhandar flourished; and if Kūna reigned, as is possible, in the eleventh century of our era, Arimarttanar may be placed in the eighth or ninth. This date would, as is shown by Dr. Pope, synchronize well with the fact that the poet's writings

were evidently composed during the period when Buddhism in the South was decaying, and the Brahmans increasing in power and influence. While still a youth, he so successfully ingratiated himself with the King as to be made Prime Minister of the State, honours and titles being lavished upon him. In a world of religious change and conflicting systems, Buddhism and Jainism struggling with the recreated Aryan theology and the still more universal demonolatry of the people, Māṇikka-Vāśagar clung passionately to the worship of the One great Lord of created Nature, the Ruler of all things in Heaven and Earth, Śiva; and one day the crisis came. He suddenly quitted the life of the world, abandoned his king and the society of men, and became a penniless recluse. The story of this conversion is open to several renderings. It would be easy to argue that in the final act he was guilty of shameful breach of trust, for he made over to a Śaiva *Guru*, or saintly teacher, a large sum of money belonging to his sovereign. It would be natural to conclude that he had deceived the king, failed in his duty, misappropriated funds, and fled the Court in fear of capture and punishment. The real truth can never be known; and therefore it is open to us to suppose that his actions were guided by a blind sacrifice of worldly duty to an overpowering religious call; that in his mental condition of frenzied exaltation he carried out to the letter the spirit of the command "Leave *all*, and follow me." It is a curious proof of how far religious fanaticism may carry men that at no time have the Brahmans of the South cared to absolve the minister-poet from his apparent guilt in the matter of the money entrusted to him. Being taken from a worldly monarch and bestowed upon a cleric, the goods were *ipso facto* properly dealt with. In their eyes the difficulties created in the administration of affairs by his quitting his post by the king's side, and without the slightest warning adopting the life of the forest, need never be thought of. To leave all, even to leave everybody in the lurch, was the only true principle to adopt, and in our hero's case he went even beyond this, to the

universal joy of the Brahmans. They have, of course, absolved him, but it is only by the invention of a series of pretty fables.

Whatever opinion, however, men may hold of his actions, there can be no doubt that Māṇikka-Vāśagar was sincere in his adhesion to the Śaiva faith, and in his desire for the similar conversion of all his countrymen. His poems breathe the true religious spirit. They are alive with the human cry for the Divine, and many of them might be almost bodily transferred to our modern Christian hymnbooks. "Versions," writes Dr. Pope, "can, of course, give nothing but the very faintest idea of the earnestness and grace of the Sage's hymns," and alas! there are few living Europeans who can enjoy them in the original. But the author has carried out his very difficult task in most praiseworthy fashion, and we are now able for the first time to understand the lofty sentiments which imbued this great writer of sacred poetry, whose works have grown to be of such influence in the daily lives of the Tamils. He was the Keble of his age; and his morning and evening hymns are recited in all the temples and in many homes of the Hindus at the present day.

Dr. Pope has appended to his sketch of the life of Māṇikka-Vāśagar a series of notes on the philosophy and religious ideas of Southern India, such as the emancipation of the soul, the workings of divine grace, the future of the disembodied spirit, the steps which lead to attainment of mental peace and happiness, as well as on the Śaiva Siddhānta system of religion, and many others; while at the end he has printed a most valuable lexicon of old Tamil, which alone occupies 80 pages of the book.

As a specimen of the poems, one that would appeal to the religious feelings of most worshippers, East or West, may be specially pointed out the "Morning Hymn in the Temple" (pp. 207 ff.), beginning—

"Hail! Being, Source to me of all life's joys! 'T is dawn;
Upon thy flower-like feet twin wreaths of blooms we lay,
And worship . . . ."

There can be no doubt but that the time will come when this collection of poems will be recognized as one of the most important historical documents which South India has preserved for us.

ROBERT SEWELL.

BAGHDAD DURING THE 'ABBÁSID CALIPHATE, FROM CONTEMPORARY ARABIC AND PERSIAN SOURCES. By GUY LE STRANGE. (Oxford, 1900.)

Not only to every educated European, but to every properly brought up English child, Baghdad is not merely one of the most familiar, but one of the most cherished of names; a magic word whereby we transport ourselves from the common workaday world into the Realm of Faerie, or which, at the least, arouses

"an echo of something
Read with a boy's delight,
Viziers nodding together
In some Arabian night."

Yet is it doubtful if any city of equal celebrity or historical importance is in reality so little known, even amongst Orientalists. For one who has seen Baghdad, thousands have seen Rome, hundreds Athens, dozens Constantinople. Even the Turk, to whom it now belongs, regards it as we regard John o'Groat's House, or as the Persian regards Tún and Ṭabas, and says "*'Áshigha Baghdád úzáq digil-dir*," "To the lover even Baghdad is not far." Even those few who have seen Baghdad have, it would appear, relatively but a slight advantage over others less fortunate in this respect than themselves in reconstructing the once glorious metropolis of Islám in the palmy days of the 'Abbasid Caliphs. Rome, Athens, Damascus, Jerusalem, Persepolis are rich in monuments of the past, which, even to eyes unable to behold therein aught save—

صُمًّا خَوَالِدَ مَا يَبِينُ كَلَامُهَا

"Rugged ruins, whose speech is not clear,"

mark the ancient sites of transactions which have stirred our imaginations; while the general *mise-en-scène* remains essentially the same. But this is not the case with Baghdad. "Of the Round City of Manṣúr," says Mr. le Strange (p. 350), "apparently nothing remains—unless it be the Kûfic inscription bearing the date A.H. 333 (A.D. 945), which Sir H. Rawlinson describes as existing in this Quarter in the Convent of the Bektáshí dervishes." The genuineness of "the so-called tomb of Zubaydah" is, we learn, open to the gravest doubts. "The ancient vestiges that still remain to mark the sites of buildings mentioned during the times of the Caliphs" are very few in number, not more, indeed, than some half-dozen—the old wall of the Eastern City, with its four gateways; the ruins of the Mustanṣiriyya College, and the ancient minaret of the Mosque of the Caliph; and the shrines of Abú Ḥanífa, the Káḍhimayn, and Ma'rúf-i-Karkhí. Over and above this, the whole topography of the site has been changed by the shifting of the river-bed and the watercourses and canals which constituted its essential features, so that, as will readily be understood, the task which Mr. le Strange set himself of reconstructing accurately and in detail the topography of 'Abbásid Baghdad was one of extraordinary difficulty.

Of this task the author has acquitted himself with consummate skill and erudition. His reconstruction rests primarily on three bases: the few ancient vestiges mentioned above; Ibn Serapion's description of the canals of Baghdad, written about A.D. 900 (see *J.R.A.S.* for 1895, pp. 1–76 and 255–315), and preserved to us in the unique MS. of the British Museum (ADD. 23,379, dated A.H. 709); and al-Ya'qúbí's description of the radiating system of high-roads, compiled about the same time. Starting from these fundamental bases, and completing and controlling them with the most admirable skill, patience, and critical judgment (which can hardly be adequately praised without an appearance of exaggeration) by comparison with the statements of a whole series of historians and geographers, both Arab, Persian, and Western, some of which are accessible, and that with

difficulty, only in manuscript, Mr. le Strange has achieved a task which must at the outset have appeared almost impossible; he has reconstructed for us the City of the Caliphs at its different periods, has traced its topography in detail, has located its palaces, its markets, its walls, its gardens, its shrines, and other places of interest, and has plotted it out, street by street and quarter by quarter, in a series of excellent maps by the help of which we shall now be able to follow the historian's narrative with an understanding and appreciation incomparably greater than heretofore.

In the best work of scholarship even there are degrees: the judicious collector of manuscripts supplies the raw materials; the cataloguer shows us where to lay our hands on the materials we need; the editor of unpublished texts casts them into shape, and supplies us, as it were, with the bricks for our building; the translator prepares them for the synthetic historian, who will finally produce therewith a harmonious and well-proportioned edifice for the pleasure and profit of those who little realize the long labours of the "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Only now and then is it given to one individual to carry the work through from the earliest to the latest stage, and to raise with the bricks which he himself has fashioned the edifice wherein all may delight, the monument which the scholar and the ordinary reader alike may recognize as marking a fresh conquest in the domains of science. Of these master-craftsmen Mr. le Strange is one, and as such it is fitting that we should offer him not only our congratulations, but our homage.

E. G. B.

THE ORIGIN OF BOMBAY. By J. GERSON DA CUNHA. (Bombay, 1900.)

This is the last book of one who for more than twenty-five years had been collecting and noting information about Bombay, who by his extensive knowledge of the place and

all sorts of people living in it—their habits, traditions, and languages—and by his wide reading, was better able to write it than probably anyone else.

Dr. da Cunha was born at Goa, a descendant of one of the old Portuguese nobles who came to India in the early times of the settlement, married Brahmin women and founded families which observed a caste feeling and did not mix much with the families springing from less high-born sources, their Brahmin ancestry being as much regarded as their Portuguese. After education at Goa and Bombay, he proceeded to England, completed his medical studies there, qualified at the Colleges of Physicians and of Surgeons, and then returned to Bombay and began his medical work there; his practice soon became considerable, and before long a very large one, so much so that it left him not much time for other work. But it was not many years before Da Cunha began to show the bent of his mind to archaeological research and to the history of the Portuguese in India and of the parts of Western India in which he found himself. As he says, "Twenty-five years ago I began to collect, with the enthusiasm and vivacity of youth, documents, legends, and traditions relative to the past of Bombay and its neighbourhood." His first paper was one in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1874 on "Words and Places in and about Bombay." From that time until last year his contributions were numerous, appearing chiefly in the *Indian Antiquary* and the Journals of the Bombay Asiatic and Anthropological Societies. He read a paper on "Oriental Studies amongst the Portuguese" at the Oriental Congress at Florence in 1881, and another on a numismatic subject at the last one at Rome. The best of these were "History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein," 1876, a valuable addition to our knowledge about the Portuguese settlements in those places which are now but interesting ruins of once fine cities. For some outspoken truths in this book the author was attacked by a section of his co-religionists, for, though a good and consistent Catholic, he had no sympathy with many cruelties and wrongs done by the Portuguese

under the guise of Religion and Propagation of the Faith. "Indo-Portuguese Numismatics," 1880, a work giving for the first time in English an account of the Coinage and Currency of Portuguese India from the earliest times. "Memoir of the Tooth Relic of Buddha," 1875, a work not acceptable to the Buddhists and their friends, but containing some gleanings from Portuguese sources which, even if erroneous, were of value.

The "Origin of Bombay" was compiled, as the author tells us, during many years; it had not passed through the press at the time of his death last year, and therefore had not the final revision the author would have given it. The subject is divided into four periods.

The *Hindu Period* begins with a certain King Krisnarāja, whose coins have been found in various parts of Bombay. He is believed to have lived towards the end of the fourth century, but to what dynasty he belonged is not known. Then after the lapse of some two centuries it appears that a dynasty of the Mauriyas were the local rulers, having as their capital a town called Puri, in the island now called Elephanta, where some remains of it exist, at Moreh, on the north-west of the island. In the ninth century Puri was the capital of a branch of the Silāhāra family, which then ruled the northern Konkan, and continued so for about 200 years, until they were gradually superseded by a new dynasty, the first ruler of which in this district was Bhima, a Chalūkya prince from Guzerat, who made his seat of government on Bombay Island, founded Mahim, on the north-west of it, colonized it with Prabhūs and other settlers from Guzerat, made the cocoanut groves, gardens, and plantations, and thus may be considered to be the originator of Bombay by beginning to change it from an island occupied only by Kōli fishermen, located in two or three villages, to the cultivated and populous one known as the "Island of Good Life" in the early Portuguese Period.

An interesting account of the primitive tribe, the Kōlis, and of the Prabhūs, the Bhandāris, the Palshis, and the Pāchkalshis, who were the immigrants, is given, followed by

descriptions of the Hindu temples and shrines of old times, especially those of Walkesvar and Mumbadevi, the latter of which was the name whence 'Bombay' was evolved in the next period, being first shortened to Mumbai, from which the transition to Mombai, Mombay, Bombai, Bombay was easy.

The *Muhammadan Period*, beginning about A.D. 1318, was uneventful and unimportant. There is no evidence of any influence being exercised in the island by the Moslem conquerors of the country but that of overlords, and as the author says, "Although this period embraces more than two centuries it has left no durable monument to attest Moslem sway over the island save a few sanctuaries of their Pīrs, or Saints, at Māhim and one or two in Bombay."

The *Portuguese Period*, from A.D. 1534 to 1661, is, as might be expected, the one most fully dealt with in the book; the author's knowledge of the history of that nation's conquests and doings in the country, derived in part from sources not familiar to Englishmen, enabling him to make his account of it one of great interest throughout; his good heart leading him to write it fairly, with feelings of just pride in the brave deeds of noble leaders such as his namesakes, Tristram and Nuno da Cunha, and with admiration of the lives and works of such men as Xavier, Antonio do Porto, and Gonçalo Rodrigues, the missionaries, and Garcia da Orta, the learned and wise physician, and with sadness at the deterioration in the characters and conduct of their successors.

The *English Period*, dating from A.D. 1661, when by treaty Bombay passed to England on the marriage of Charles II to Catherine of Portugal, has been written about a good deal during the last thirty years or so, by Philip Anderson, F. C. Danvers, Sir James M. Campbell, James Douglas, and many others, but there is much of interest in the 160 pages devoted to this period in the book, more particularly the part relating to the events of the earliest times when the disputes and troubles arose regarding the cession of the territory to England, and like other parts of the book the story is well told.

One cannot put down the book without feeling renewed regret that it is the last we shall see from the pen of its author, and that he had not been able to finish it with last revision and prepare the plates and map which he had intended should illustrate it. Those of us who knew J. Gerson da Cunha personally, and had learnt to appreciate his kindly friendship as well as his extensive knowledge and abilities, will long think of him with the affectionate regard we had for him, and large numbers of persons in the East and in the West will miss his pleasant help and friendliness in their several ways.

O. C.

Philip's Map and Gazetteer of India.

Some good Maps of India have appeared during the last few years, e.g., Constable's Hand Atlas of India, by J. G. Bartholomew, a small 8vo, a series of sixty maps with an index showing the position of places on the several maps; W. and A. K. Johnston's Atlas of India, small folio, a series of sixteen maps, with introduction by Sir W. W. Hunter and a full index of places with reference to the maps. Lately this work, by Mr. E. G. Ravenstein, has been published by Philip. The map is a large folded sheet showing the whole of India from 60° N. and from 65° to 107° E., including therefore a good part of Thibet and Turkistan on the north and Siam and the Malay Peninsula on the east. The Gazetteer is a very full 120 pages of small print, giving the place-name and, in a very concise form, the district in which the place is, the population, whether town or village, or mountain, etc., and whether there is a railway station there; the latitude and longitude is given in degrees and tenths of a degree, a somewhat unusual way, but convenient for brevity's sake and sufficiently exact for ordinary purposes: for example, "Multan, dist. Pun., 6,079 sq. m., pop. 631,434; rainfall 7 in. Chief tn. *Multan* (figure of a railway engine indicating railway station), Cant. pop. 74,563 (Moh. 53 p.c.), 30·2 N., 71·5 E." "Jako,

Simla, Pun. mtn., 31·1 N., 77·2 E." The spelling of place-names is, as a rule, that of Hunter's Imperial Gazetteer. The whole forms a handy and useful book of reference. The printing is good and information accurate.

O. C.

KALHAṆA'S RĀJATARAṄGIṆĪ. Edited by M. A. STEIN: Sanskrit Text with Critical Notes. (Bombay, 1892.)

KALHAṆA'S RĀJATARAṄGIṆĪ. A Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr, translated with an Introduction, Commentary, and Appendices by M. A. STEIN. 2 vols. (Westminster: Constable & Co., 1900.)

The main lines on which future investigation of the Rājataraṅgiṇī should proceed, both as to the construction of the text and its interpretation, were laid down broadly and clearly by Bühler in his masterly "Report of a tour in search of Sanskrit MSS. made in Kaśmīr, etc." (extra number of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R.A.S.*, 1877). To work out this plan has been the object which Dr. M. A. Stein has pursued with great singleness of purpose for the last twelve years. The two large volumes of translation and commentary, which have recently appeared, mark the completion of this task, and are very fittingly dedicated to Bühler's memory. No better monument could have been erected to the great master mind of Indian studies.

Dr. Stein's edition of the Sanskrit text, based on the old Śāradā MS. which Bühler had recognized as the *codex archetypus* of all existing MSS., appeared in 1892. Since that date one MS. of importance has been found—the Lahore MS., copied, like all the others, from the *codex archetypus*, but revised with the aid of some independent MS., the existence of which is no longer known; and one important edition, based, however, on the modern incorrect copies of the *codex archetypus*, has appeared—that of Paṇḍit Durgāprasāda (Bombay, 1894). The value of this edition consists chiefly in its conjectural emendations. For his translation and commentary Dr. Stein has been able to use both the Lahore MS. and Paṇḍit Durgāprasāda's edition.

In the Introduction, which deals chiefly with the author, Kalhaṇa, and his claims both as a poet and an historian, Dr. Stein brings to light some new and interesting facts. He shows, for instance, that Kalhaṇa appears, somewhat disguised under the Sanskrit form of his name, Kalyāṇa, in a list of literary celebrities mentioned in the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* of his contemporary Maṅkha. There are interesting evidences, too, of his intimate acquaintance with Sanskrit *kāvya* literature, and, in particular, of the influence exercised by Bāṇa's *Śrīharṣacarita* in the formation of his literary style.

The Rājataraṅgiṇī professes to be a chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir from the earliest times down to the date of its composition (A.D. 1148–9); but, if we judge it from this point of view, a distinction must be drawn between its earlier and later portions. Kalhaṇa himself, no doubt, implicitly followed his authorities, but we can well imagine that these authorities would become less and less trustworthy as the times which they described receded into the mists of antiquity. As a matter of fact, in, roughly speaking, the first three and a half books of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, history and legend are so mixed up together that it is vain with our present materials to attempt to separate them. The dates as they stand in this portion can be proved to be absurd wherever other tests can be applied, as, for instance, in the case of Aśoka, Kaniṣka, and some of the Hūṇa kings; and Dr. Stein quite rightly insists on the futility of the attempts, which have been made by Wilson, Troyer, Cunningham, and Lassen, to evolve some settled order out of this chaos. On the other hand, the dates and the lengths of the different reigns, as given in exact figures in the latter portion of the fourth book and in books v–viii, i.e. from the death of King Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa, A.D. 813, onwards, are, in all probability, strictly correct. They are supported by an almost complete series of coins and by whatever other evidence there is available.

The conflict between the statements contained in the earlier portion of the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the evidence of the coins, especially those of the Hūṇa period, is most striking,

and affords an excellent example of the value of numismatics as a check on literary records. Now that the Rājataraṅgiṇī has been critically edited, translated, and annotated, a further examination of the Hūṇa coins may be expected to yield some useful—even if, to a great extent, negative—results. Dr. Stein, in his note on book iii, 383, makes an interesting suggestion with regard to the Hūṇa king whose name was read on coins by Cunningham (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1894, pp. 265, 279) as *Raja Lakhana* (?) *Udayāditya*. Dr. Stein reads the second word of the coin-legend as *Laḫkhana*, with the *jihvāmūliya*, and notes that this identical form occurs in the MSS. of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, where, however, the king thus called bears the second name, *Narendrāditya*. One would naturally suppose that, in spite of this difference, these two documents must refer to one and the same king; but, on re-examining the actual coins, I do not feel so certain of this. In the first place, I do not think that Dr. Stein's reading *Laḫkhana* is substantiated by either of the two legible specimens of this king in the British Museum. Both of these seem to me to read quite clearly *Lakhāna*; and this form at once suggests the question, May we not have here simply some modification of the ordinary Tatar title *Khān*, which, according to Chinese authorities, was very commonly borne by the Hūṇa kings?[1] If so, instead of a distinctive name, as has been assumed, we have simply an ordinary title.

The actual annotated translation in Dr. Stein's work is followed by a number of Appendices on special points of interest raised by the subject-matter of the poem. To notice these even in a general way would require more space than can be allotted to this review, but the excursus on "The term *dīnnāra* and the monetary system of Kaśmīr" may, perhaps, be singled out because of its special interest for the history of ancient and mediaeval currency. In this essay Dr. Stein has collected together and commented on

[1] See the Table given by Cunningham, *Num. Chron.*, 1895, p. 246, taken from d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

all the passages from the Rājataraṅgiṇī in which the prices of commodities are mentioned, and from an examination of these he has arrived at certain definite results, and has helped to solve for Kashmir that most difficult of problems —the estimate of the comparative purchasing power of money at different periods.

Nothing would be more conducive to a better appreciation of the economic state of ancient and mediaeval India than a similar examination applied to the various branches of its literature, its law-books, and its inscriptions. The task would be long and complicated, and would require the co-operation of several scholars. One is glad to know that Professor Rhys Davids has the intention of examining the Pālī literature with the object of ascertaining the economic condition of India at the time of Buddha—probably the very remotest period to which the use of coinage in India may be traced.

It is certainly most curious to find the Latin *denarius*, on the one hand, under the form *dīnāra*, represented by gold coins of about the weight of our sovereign, under the Gupta dynasty in the fourth century A.D., and, on the other hand, in Kashmir some seven centuries later, under the form *dīnnāra*, degraded to a money of account so infinitesimal that some 3,500 went to make up one rupee. A complete account of the ancestors and relations of the *d.* of our money-columns would be a romance full of strange vicissitudes.

Dr. Stein's Memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kaśmīr discusses the subject most thoroughly with all the evidence that can be obtained from Greek, Chinese, Hindu, and Muhammadan sources, in addition to the inestimable advantage of a complete acquaintance with local tradition. It is a most valuable contribution to geographical science, and one which could only have been written by a scholar like Dr. Stein, who was able to pursue his researches, to a great extent, in Kashmir itself. We shall look forward to the appearance of a similar Memoir on the Geography of the still less known districts of Chinese Turkestan, which he is exploring at the present time.

It only remains to say that these two volumes of the Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr have been published and printed, by Messrs. Constable & Co. and Messrs. Gilbert & Rivington respectively, in a way which reflects credit on English enterprise and workmanship; and that the student will not fail to be especially grateful for the very complete Index, by the aid of which he will be enabled to ransack the stores of the great treasure-house which Dr. Stein has created for his benefit.

E. J. Rapson.

Monte Singar. Storia di un popolo ignoto. Samuele Giamil. (Rome, 1900.)

This small contribution to the religion of the Yezds of the Singar district consists of the Syriac text (from a MS. in the convent of R. Hormizd at Alkosh) and an Italian translation. Braun, who has given a comprehensive account of the book in the *Orientalische Litteratur-zeitung* (March, 1901), holds that the MS. in question and that translated by Chabot in the *Journal Asiatique* (1896), t. vii, pp. 106 sqq., go back to a common source. The version, translated by E. G. Browne, in Parry's "Six Months in a Syrian Monastery," is quite different.

To those who are interested in the cult and customs of the Yezds this book provides a number of new and important details. The translation is, on the whole, satisfactory; it is to be regretted, on the other hand, that the Syriac type was not more carefully revised—the frequent confusion of the *ḥeths* and *yods* is lamentable.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(January, February, March, 1901.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

January 15, 1901.—Dr. Grierson, C.I.E., in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mrs. Ole Bull,
Mr. F. A. H. Elliot, C.I.E.,
Dr. J. Stroud Hosford,
Mr. Ernest Bowden, and
Mr. F. Amedroz

were elected members of the Society.

Mrs. Rhys Davids read a paper, "Notes on Economic Conditions in Ancient India." A discussion followed, in which Mr. Irvine, Mr. Sewell, and Dr. Hoey took part.

February 12.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Dr. Berthold Laufer,
Professor J. W. Neill,
Mr. J. Fergusson,
Mr. B. Mirunilal, and
Mr. Hari Nath De

were elected members of the Society.

On the proposal of the President the following address to His Majesty the King was unanimously adopted:—

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—

We, your Majesty's most loyal and devoted subjects, the Council and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society, beg leave to tender to your Majesty with our humble duty our deep sympathy in the great personal and national sorrow caused by the lamented death of our beloved Queen, Empress of India, who gave such striking evidence of her interest in those studies which this Society represents by acquiring the knowledge of one of the languages spoken by a large number of her Majesty's Indian subjects, in whose hearts her exalted memory will ever live.

We desire also to offer our sincere condolences to her Majesty the Queen Consort, and to the Royal Family.

To your gracious Majesty we beg leave to tender the respectful expression of our loyalty and devotion to your Royal Person and Imperial Throne, and we trust that the work of our Society may commend itself to your Majesty, and that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to take the Society under your august patronage, confirming thereby the link which this Society forms between the learning of the East and of the West, and between your Majesty's European and Asiatic subjects.

Professor Cecil Bendall exhibited and described lantern slides of Buddhist caves at Aurangabad and elsewhere. A discussion followed, in which Dr. Hoey, Professor Macdonell, and others took part.

March 12.—Sir Charles Lyall in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mrs. Cecil Bendall,
Miss Julia Smith,
Mr. Sri Kanti Jyar,
Mr. P. Ramanatha, and
Mr. A. R. Rajaraja Varma

were elected members of the Society.

Mr. James Kennedy read a paper on "The Early Communications of India with the West." A discussion followed, in which Dr. Gaster, Mr. Sewell, Mr. Boscawen, and Mr. Dames took part.

II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

I. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Band liv, Heft 4.

Schmidt (R.). Der Textus simplicior der Sukasaptati in der Recension der Handschrift A.

Fischer (A.). Muzhir oder Mizhar.

Zetterstеen (K.V.). Über die jüdisch-persische Übersetzung der Sprüche von Benjamin Ben Jochanan aus Buchara.

Fraenkel (S.). Syrische Miscellen.

Grierson (G. A.). On Pashai, Laghmānī, or Dēhgānī.

Oldenberg (H.). Vedische Untersuchungen.

Böhtlingk (O. von). Nachtrag zum Artikel, RV. 5, 1. 1, auf S. 513.

——— Über zwei verwandte vedische Sprüche.

Aufrecht (Th.). Nachahmungen des Meghadūta.

Kampffmeyer (G.). Südarabisches.

Littmann (Enno). Ein arabisches Karagöz-Spiel.

II. Vienna Oriental Journal. Vol. xiv, No. 4.

Foy (W.). Die Neuelamische Inschrift Art. Sus. a.

Chanchanof (A.). Grusisches Bruchstück der Kalilag und Dimnag.

Zachariae (Th.). Ein textus ornatior des Anekārtha dhvanimañjarī.

Hillebrandt (A.). Vi vo māde.

III. Journal Asiatique. Tome xvi, No. 2.

Mercier (G.). Cinq textes berbères en dialecte chaouia.

Chabot (J. B.). Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie orientale.

Rappeport (M.). Deux hymnes samaritaines.

Marçais (M.). Le Taqrib de En-Nawari.

Rouvier (J.). Baal-Arvad d'après la numismatique des rois phéniciens d'Arvad, durant la période pré-alexandrine.

No. 3.

Chavannes (E.). Une inscription du royaume de Nan-Tchao.

Grenard (F.). Note sur les monuments seldjoukides de Siwās.

Huart (C.). Note sur trois ouvrages en turc d'Angora imprimés en caractères grecs.

Marçais (M.). Le Taqrib de En-Nawari.

III. Obituary Notices.

The Right Honourable Professor F. Max Müller.

By the death of Professor Max Müller on October 28, 1900, this Society has lost an honorary member who was one of the most eminent scholars of the nineteenth century. The only son of Wilhelm Müller, the distinguished poet, and of Adelheid, eldest daughter of Präsident von Basedow, prime minister of the small Duchy of Anhalt-Dessau, he was born at Dessau in 1823, losing his father when only four years of age. He attended the grammar school of his native town till 1836, when he went to Leipzig, continuing his education there at the *Nicolaischule*. He entered the University of Leipzig in 1841 with the intention of going on with the study of Latin and Greek; but he was soon persuaded by Professor Hermann Brockhaus, the first occupant of the recently founded Chair of Sanskrit, to devote himself chiefly to learning the classical language of ancient India. But his University lecture-book (*Collegien-Buch*) shows that during five academical terms (*Semester*) he attended no fewer than forty-nine courses of lectures on

the most diverse philological and philosophical subjects. Besides numerous lectures on the Latin and Greek classics under Professors Becker, Stallbaum, and Hermann, he attended Haupt for Old German; Fleischer for Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian; Weisse for Aesthetics, Metaphysics, and the Philosophy of Hegel; Heinroth for Psychology; Lotze for Anthropology; Wachsmuth for the History of Civilization; as well as eight courses under Brockhaus. The first result of his Sanskrit studies was his translation of the *Hitopadeśa*, which he published when only twenty years of age. Having taken his Ph.D. degree on September 1, 1843, he migrated in the Spring of 1844 to the University of Berlin, where he attended the lectures of Franz Bopp, the celebrated founder of the science of Comparative Philology, and those of Schelling, the eminent philosopher. To the early influence of the former may be traced his studies in the subject which he represented in the University of Oxford for thirty-two years; to the teachings of the latter was probably in large part due that interest in philosophy which he maintained to the end of his life.

Early in 1845 he went to Paris, where he came under the influence of Eugène Burnouf, eminent not only as a Sanskritist, but also as the first Zend scholar of his day. One of his fellow-students at Paris was Theodore Goldstücker, the well-known Sanskrit scholar, and another, Rudolf Roth, the founder of Vedic philology. It was at Burnouf's suggestion that young Max Müller set about collecting materials for an *editio princeps* of the *Rigveda* with the commentary of Sāyaṇa. All this time he was entirely dependent on his own exertions for a living, being obliged to maintain himself by assisting other scholars in various ways.

In order to continue his work of copying and collating MSS., he came over to England in 1846, provided with an introduction to the Prussian Minister in London, Baron Bunsen, who subsequently became his intimate friend. Receiving a recommendation to the East India Company from him and from Horace Hayman Wilson, the first Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford and Chief Librarian at the

India House, he was commissioned by the Board of Directors to bring out, at their expense, a complete edition of the *Rigveda* with Sāyaṇa's commentary. In June, 1847, he visited Oxford to attend the meeting of the British Association, at which he delivered an address on Bengali and its relation to the Aryan languages. Early in 1848 he went back to Paris for the purpose of collating MSS. Suddenly the revolution broke out, when the young Orientalist, fearing for the safety of the precious MSS. in his keeping, hurriedly returned to London, where he was the first to report to Lord Palmerston the news that Louis Philippe had fled from the French capital.

As his *Rigveda* was being printed at the University Press, he now found it necessary to migrate to Oxford. Here he settled in 1848 and spent the rest of his life. The first volume of his great work appeared in the following year. In 1850 he was appointed Deputy Taylorian Professor of Modern European Languages, and was, in the following year, made an honorary M.A., as well as a member of Christ Church. In 1854 he succeeded to the full professorship, and received the full degree of M.A. by decree of Convocation. In 1856 he was made a Curator of the Bodleian Library, and in 1858 was elected to a life fellowship at All Souls College.

In 1859 he published his important "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," which, dealing with the Vedic period only, contains much valuable research on works at that time accessible in manuscript only.

Professor H. H. Wilson died in the following year, and Max Müller, whose claims were very strong on the score both of ability and achievement, became a candidate for the vacant chair. He was opposed by Monier Williams, who had been Professor of Sanskrit at the East India College at Haileybury till it was closed in 1858. The election, being in the hands of Convocation, came to turn on the political and religious opinions of the candidates rather than on their merits as Sanskrit scholars. His broad theological views, as well as the fact of his being a foreigner, told

against Max Müller, especially in the eyes of the country clergy who came up to Oxford in large numbers to record their votes. The election took place on December 7, 1860, when Monier Williams won the day with a majority of 223, the votes recorded in his favour being 833 against 610.

There can be little doubt that this defeat was a bitter disappointment to Max Müller, and exercised a very decided influence on his subsequent career as a scholar. Sanskrit studies had formed the main interest of his intellectual life for almost twenty years. Had he been successful in the contest, his activity would probably have been almost entirely limited to his favourite subject, and, though he would in that case have been less famous, he would in the latter half of his life have produced works of more permanent value in the domain of research.

His marvellous industry was now largely deflected into other channels. He began to pay considerable attention to comparative philology, delivering two series of lectures on the science of Language at the Royal Institution in 1861 and 1863. These lectures, afterwards republished in an extended form, passed through a large number of editions, and soon raised their author to the rank of the standard authority on philology in the estimation of the English public. Though much of what is contained in these lectures is now out of date, there can be no doubt that they not only for the first time aroused general interest in the subject of comparative philology in England, but in their day also exercised a valuable stimulating influence on the work of scholars. Here Max Müller first displayed that power of lucid popular exposition, and of investing a dry subject with abundant interest, which has more than anything else contributed to make his name at least as famous as that of any other scholar of the past century.

In 1865 he was appointed Oriental Sub-Librarian at the Bodleian, but finding the work uncongenial resigned the post after two years. In 1868 he was nominated to the Professorship of Comparative Philology, which was founded on his behalf in that year. This chair he held down to the

time of his death, retiring, however, from its active duties in 1875.

Four years after his appointment he was invited to accept a Professorship of Sanskrit in the newly-founded University of Strasburg. Though he declined this offer, he consented to deliver a course of lectures at Strasburg during the Summer term of 1872. The honorarium which he received for this work he handed back to the University authorities, who founded with it a triennial prize called the "Max Müller Stipendium" for the encouragement of Sanskrit scholarship.

Max Müller was not only the introducer of Comparative Philology into England. He also became a pioneer in this country of the science of Comparative Mythology, founded by Adalbert Kuhn with his epoch-making work, "Die Herabkunft des Feuers," published in 1849. Beginning with his essay on "Comparative Mythology," which appeared in 1856, he wrote a number of other papers on mythological subjects, concluding his labours in this domain with a large work in two volumes entitled "Contributions to the Science of Comparative Mythology," and published in 1897. His mythological method, based on linguistic equations, has but few adherents at the present day. For most of his identifications, as that of the Greek *Erinys* with the Sanskrit *Saraṇyūs*, have been rejected owing to the more stringent application of phonetic laws which now prevails in Comparative Philology. Nor does his theory of myth being a "disease of language" any longer find much support among scholars. Nevertheless, his writings have proved valuable in this field also by stimulating mythological investigations even beyond the range of the Aryan-speaking nations.

Allied to his mythological researches was his work on the comparative study of religions. Here, too, he was a pioneer; and the literary activity of the last thirty years of his life was largely devoted to this subject. This work was inaugurated with four lectures on the "Science of Religion" at the Royal Institution in 1870. These were followed by a lecture on the "Religions of the World" delivered in

Westminster Abbey at the invitation of Dean Stanley in December, 1873; and in 1878 the annual series of Hibbert lectures was begun by Max Müller with a course on the "Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the Religions of India," delivered in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey. Subsequently he discussed various aspects of religion as Gifford Lecturer before the University of Glasgow during the years 1888 to 1892, under the titles of "Natural Religion," "Physical Religion," "Anthropological Religion," and "Psychological Religion." Of even more far-reaching influence than these lectures, was the great enterprise which Max Müller initiated in 1875, when he retired from the active duties of the Chair of Comparative Philology. This was the publication by the Oxford University Press, under his editorship, of the "Sacred Books of the East," a series of English translations, by leading scholars, of important non-Christian Oriental works of a religious character. This undertaking has done more than anything else to place the historical and comparative study of religions on a sound basis. Of the fifty-one volumes of the series all but one and the concluding two index volumes had appeared before the death of the editor. Max Müller himself contributed three complete volumes and part of two others to the series.

Though debarred by his defeat in 1860 from officially representing Sanskrit in the University, Max Müller continued to promote Sanskrit studies in many ways. Besides finishing in 1873 his *Rigveda*, a second edition of which was completed in 1892, he published several Sanskrit texts. Thus he initiated the Sanskrit series in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* with four publications (1881–85), partly in collaboration with pupils; and the other contributions which have since appeared were all undertaken at his instigation. He had previously brought out an edition of the *Ṛgveda-prātiśākhya* with German translation at Leipzig in 1869. He also published some Sanskrit books of an educational character, besides several translations of Sanskrit works. He further delivered a series of lectures at Cambridge (in

1882) on the value of Sanskrit literature. These were in the following year published in book form under the title of "India, what can it teach us?" The main importance of this book lies in the "Renaissance Theory" which he here propounded. He endeavoured to prove that for several hundred years there was a cessation of literary activity in India owing to the incursions of foreigners, but that there was a great revival in the sixth century A.D. This theory, though now disproved by the evidence of inscriptions, exercised a decidedly stimulating influence on Indian chronological research. Max Müller was, moreover, always ready to help students of Sanskrit informally. Thus he gave up much of his valuable time to directing the studies of three young Japanese who came over to Oxford on purpose to learn Sanskrit, and all of whom published valuable work connected with ancient India under his guidance. One of them, Nanjio, translated at his instance, in 1882, the Chinese Catalogue of the many hundreds of Buddhist Sanskrit books which were rendered into Chinese from the first century A.D. onwards. Another, Kasawara, contributed a list of Buddhist technical terms to the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*; and the third, Takakusu, at his instigation, translated from the Chinese, in 1896, the travels of the pilgrim I-tsing, who visited India during the years 671–695 A.D. The three first Sanskrit books published by the present writer were undertaken under his influence. It was to him also that most of the European Sanskrit scholars who went to India in the sixties and seventies owed their appointments. He constantly stirred up scholars to search for rare and important Sanskrit MSS. It was this insistence that led to the discovery in Japan of a Sanskrit MS. dating from the sixth century A.D. This was the oldest Sanskrit MS. known to exist at that time (1880). He himself acquired in connection with his *Rigveda* a valuable collection of Vedic MSS. from India to the number of about eighty.

Max Müller had a great literary gift, doubtless inherited from his father. A foreigner by birth and education, he obtained command of a lucid English style excelled by few

native writers. This he displayed in numerous essays and contributions to English periodicals. Many of these have appeared in a collected form in his "Chips from a German Workshop," the most recent edition of which appeared in the course of the last two years. The first volume contains "Recent Essays and Addresses," the second "Biographical Essays," the third "Essays on Language and Literature," and the fourth "Essays on Mythology and Folklore." His personal reminiscences were also republished only a year or two ago in two volumes under the title of "Auld Lang Syne." Since his death has appeared "My Autobiography: A Fragment," which unfortunately brings the story of his life down only to the early years of his residence in Oxford. Max Müller's literary activity was so enormous that I have contented myself with mentioning his most important works only, leaving the reader to look for a complete bibliography elsewhere. A few words should, however, be added with regard to his writings of a philosophical nature. In 1881 he published an English translation of Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason." Two other works dealt with Indian philosophy, "Three Lectures on the Vedānta" (1894) and "The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy" (1899). He also brought out in 1887 a work of a more generally philosophic character, "The Science of Thought." The main thesis of this book is the inseparability of thought and language, being therefore opposed to the theory of evolution. This, as well as his other works, contain many clever, ingenious, and original ideas, but he can hardly be said to appear in any of them as a systematic thinker. His cast of mind was rather that of the poet than the philosopher.

Scholar and voluminous writer though he was, Max Müller was at the same time quite a man of the world. He was personally acquainted with many of the crowned heads of Europe, besides our own Royal Family. He knew most of the leading men of the day, and entertained many of them at Oxford. His house was a place of pilgrimage to all Indians who visited this country, for no European scholar has ever been so well known in India as he.

Probably no other scholar ever obtained more of the honours that are bestowed on learning. Besides having received several orders from European sovereigns, he was a knight of the Prussian Order "Pour le Mérite," of the French Legion of Honour, and a Privy Councillor in this country. He was a foreign member of the French Institute, as well as an ordinary or an honorary member of almost numberless learned societies in different parts of the world. He was also an Honorary Doctor of Edinburgh, Cambridge, Bologna, Dublin, Buda-Pesth, and Berlin.

Max Müller's worldwide fame was largely due to his literary gifts and the wide range of his writings, as well as to his great industry, talent, and ambition. But it was undoubtedly enhanced by a combination of opportunities such as can rarely fall to the lot of any scholar. When he began his career Vedic studies were in their infancy, and he had the good fortune to become the first editor of the *Rigveda*, the most important product of ancient Indian literature. Again, nothing was known about Comparative Philology in England when he came to this country. Being the first in the field, he introduced and popularized the new science, and soon came to be regarded as its chief exponent. He was, moreover, the first to inaugurate the study of Comparative Mythology in this country. Lastly, it was not till the latter half of the nineteenth century that the necessary conditions were at hand for founding a science of religion. Max Müller was there to apply the needful stimulus with his Hibbert lectures, and to collect the requisite materials in the "Sacred Books of the East." Thus there was a great opening in four highly important branches of learning; but no one man could have taken adequate advantage of them all had he not been, like Max Müller, one of the most talented and versatile scholars of the nineteenth century. Though much in his works and methods may already be superseded, the far-reaching and stimulating influence which his writings have exercised in the domain of research, will give him a strong claim to the gratitude of posterity.

A. A. Macdonell.

Thomas Watters, 1840–1901.

WITH very much regret for the loss of an old friend, I have to notice the death of Mr. Watters, at Ealing, on January 10th. He was a member of the Council of the Society from 1897 to 1900, and a valued contributor to the Journal. The loss of a scholar who had such a wide knowledge of the vast literature of Chinese Buddhism will be deeply felt by those interested in the subject, as was amply acknowledged by Professor Rhys Davids in a few well-chosen, appreciative words addressed to the last meeting of the Society.

He was born on the 9th of February, 1840, the eldest son of the Rev. Thomas Watters, Presbyterian Minister of Newtownards, co. Down. His father died some ten years ago, after having ministered to the same congregation for fifty-six years; his mother is still living at Newtownards. It was from his father that he inherited his great love of books, and he was educated by him at home until he entered Queen's College, Belfast, in 1857. His college career was most distinguished, and he gained many prizes and scholarships during the three years. In 1861 he graduated B.A. in the Queen's University of Ireland, with first-class honours in Logic, English Literature, and Metaphysics; and in 1862 took his M.A. degree, with first-class honours, again, in the same subjects and second-class in Classics.

In 1863 he was appointed to a post in the Consular Service of China, after a competitive examination, with an honorary certificate, proceeded at once to Peking, and subsequently served in rotation at many responsible posts in all parts of the Chinese empire. He was Acting Consul General in Corea 1887–88, in Canton 1891–93, and afterwards Consul in Foochow until April, 1895, when impaired health compelled him to retire finally from the Far East, after over thirty-two years' service.

But this is hardly the place to refer to Mr. Watters' official work, or to the blue-books in which it is bound up. In his private life he was always courteous, unselfish, and

unassuming, a special favourite with his friends, to whose service he would devote infinite pains, whether in small matters or grave.

His early philosophical training fitted him for the study of Oriental religions and metaphysics, which always remained his chief attraction. The character of his work may be summarized in the words of an eminent French critic, who says of Mr. Watters: "À ses moindres notices sur n'importe quoi, on sentait si bien qu'elles étaient puisées en pleine source; et, sur chaque chose, il disait si bien juste ce qu'il voulait et ce qu'il fallait dire."

Much of his best work is, unfortunately, buried in the columns of periodicals of the Far East, such as the *China Review* and the *Chinese Recorder*, his first published book being a reprint of articles in the *Chinese Recorder*. The list of his books is—

"Lao-tzŭ. A Study in Chinese Philosophy." Hongkong, London, 1870.
"A Guide to the Tablets in the Temple of Confucius." Shanghai, 1879.
"Essays on the Chinese Language." Shanghai, 1889.
"Stories of Everyday Life in Modern China. Told in Chinese and done into English by T. Watters." London, 1896.

In our own Journal two interesting articles were contributed by him in 1898, on "The Eighteen Lohan of Chinese Buddhist Temples" and on "Kapilavastu in the Buddhist Books."

A far more important and extensive work remains in manuscript, being a collection of critical notes on the well-known travels throughout India, in the seventh century of our era, of the celebrated Buddhist pilgrim Yuan-Chuang (Hiouen-Thsang). In this Mr. Watters discusses and identifies all the Sanskrit names of places, etc., transliterated in the original Chinese text, and adds an elaborate index of the persons mentioned in the course of the travels. The work appears to be quite ready for publication. Should means be forthcoming, its appearance in print will be eagerly looked for by all interested in Buddhist lore and in the ancient geography of India.

Mr. Watters has given his library of Chinese books, I am informed, to his friend Mr. E. H. Fraser, C.M.G., a Sinologue of light and learning and a Member of our Society, who may be trusted, I am sure, to make good use of the valuable bequest.

S. W. B.

IV. Notes and News.

The Pratāp Singh Museum.—The Preliminary Note on the Pratāp Singh Museum of the Jammu and Kashmir State, by Captain S. H. Godfrey, gives a brief account of the foundation in Sirinagar of an institution designed to preserve the archæological relics—Buddhist, Hindu, and Muhammadan—with which the Kashmir State abounds, and to make scientific collections of its flora, fauna, and indigenous products. Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the father of the present Prince, collected during his lifetime a remarkable library of Sanskrit works. Maharaja Pratāp Singh and his brother, Raja Amar Singh, are to be congratulated on extending their father's work and on their desire to investigate the interesting fields for scientific study which lie almost unexplored in many little known portions of their wide territories. The country can still produce many Sanskrit MSS. on paper and birch bark. The Pandit class have a wealth of tradition. Buddhism and polyandry flourish side by side with Islam and polygamy under the jurisdiction of this Hindu State, where relics of snake-worship and *sati* are easily traced. In almost every branch of Oriental enquiry and natural science there will be opportunities for a local museum in Sirinagar to add to our knowledge of the East. We trust that the Pratāp Singh Museum will do for Jammu and Kashmir what the Jeypore Museum has done for Rajputana.

THE SCHOOL FOR ORIENTAL STUDIES AT SAIGON.—M. Finot has obtained leave of absence for one year, and M. A. Foucher is acting in his stead as principal at Saigon of the École d'Extrême Orient.

LADY ORIENTALISTS.—We are pleased to announce that the University of St. Andrews has decided to confer the degree of Doctor of Laws on Mrs. Margaret Dunlop Gibson and Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis, members of the Society, in recognition of their valuable labours in Oriental research.

V. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Presented by the Ministère de l'Instruction publique.

Zotenberg (H.). Histoire des rois des Perses par Aboû Mansoûr 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muhammad ibn Ismâ'il al-Tha'âlibî, texte arabe publié et traduit.
4to. *Paris*, 1900.

Presented by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.

Le Strange (G.). Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate, from contemporary Arabic and Persian sources.
8vo. *Oxford*, 1900.

Presented by the Bombay Asiatic Society.

Da Cunha (J. Gerson). The Origin of Bombay.
8vo. *Bombay*, 1900.

Presented by the Vienna Academy of Sciences.

Reinisch (L.). Süd-arabische Expedition. Band i: Somali-Sprache. 4to. *Wien*, 1900.

Presented by the St. Petersburg Imperial Academy of Sciences.

Patkanov (S.). Die Irtysch-Ostjaken und ihre Volkspoesie. Teil ii. 4to. *St. Petersburg*, 1900.

Presented by L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

Répertoire d'Épigraphie semitique publié par la Commission du Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum sous la direction de Ch. Clermont-Ganneau et J. B. Chabot. Tome i, liv. 1. 8vo. *Paris*, 1900.

Presented by the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.

Rouse (W. H. D.). The Jataka. Vol. iv. 8vo. *Cambridge*, 1901.

Presented by the Chief Commissioner of Assam.

Hemchandra (Barua). Hema Kosha, or an Etymological Dictionary of the Assamese Language. 8vo. *Calcutta*, 1900.

Presented by the Author.

Brönnle (Dr. Paul). Kitāb-al-Maḳṣūr Wa'l-Mahmūd, by Ibn Wallād, being a Treatise Lexicographical and Grammatical. Edited with Text, critical Notes, Introduction, Commentary, and Indices. Pt. i of Contributions towards Arabic Philology. 8vo. *London* and *Leiden*, 1900.

Pingle (B. A.). Indian Music. 8vo. *Bombay*, 1898.

Kielhorn (F.). Epigraphic Notes. 8vo. *Göttingen*, 1900.

Laufer (Dr. B.). Zwei Legenden des Milaraspa. Pamphlet. 8vo. *Tübingen* and *Leipzig*, 1901.

Ostrorog, Count Leon. El-Ahkam es-Soulthaniya. Fasc. i, ii. 8vo. *Paris*, 1900.

Suter (Dr. H.). Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke. 8vo. *Leipzig*, 1900.

Senart (E.). Bouddhisme et Yoga. 8vo. *Paris*, 1900.

Laufer (Dr. B.). Ein Sühngedicht der Bonpo aus einer HS. der Oxforder Bodleiana. 4to. *Wien*, 1900.

Weir (T. H.). A short History of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament. 8vo. *London*, 1899.

Presented by the Publishers.

Jukes (A.). Dictionary of the Jalki or Western Panjabi Language. 8vo. *London*, 1900.

Budge (E. Wallis). Translation of Bar Hebraeus' Laughable Stories. 8vo. *London*, 1899.

Ravenstein (E. G.). Philip's Map and Gazetteer of India. Sm. 4to. *London*, 1900.

Grünert (Max). Ibn Kutaiba's Adab-al-Kātib. 8vo. *Leiden*, 1901.

Giles (H. A.). History of Chinese Literature. 8vo. *London*, 1901.

Purchased.

Crooke (W.). Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India. 2 vols. 8vo. *London*, 1896.

Nicolas (J. B.). Les Quatrains de Khéyam. 8vo. *Paris*, 1867.

Mahler (Dr. E.). Fortsetzung der Wüstenfelds'chen Vergleichungs-Tabellen 1300–1500 der Hedschra. 4to. *Leipzig*, 1887.

[*Draft Revised Rules to be submitted for approval at the Anniversary Meeting on May* 14, 1901.]

THE CHARTER AND RULES

OF THE

Royal Asiatic Society.

THE CHARTER.

The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland was established in March, 1823, and obtained a Royal Charter on 11 August, 1824, "for the investigation of subjects connected with and for the encouragement of Science, Literature, and the Arts in relation to Asia."

Under the terms of the same Charter (of which a copy is appended) it is to consist of (1) Members existing at the date of Incorporation or thereafter appointed under such rules or byelaws as may be formed; (2) a Council of Management composed of a President and not more than twenty-four and not less than five Members, to be elected by the Members of the Society.

And the latter have power at General Meetings, to be held once a year or oftener, to make rules or byelaws and pass resolutions, not inconsistent with the scope of the Charter, respecting the affairs of the Society. All questions at General Meetings or Meetings of Council to be decided by majority of votes, the Chairman having a casting vote.

RULES.

Members.

1. There shall be three classes of Members, viz.: I, Ordinary; II, Extraordinary; and III, Honorary.

Ordinary Members.

2. Ordinary Members shall be divided into four classes—

(1) Resident Members, who usually reside or have a place of business within fifty miles of Charing Cross;

(2) Non-resident Members, who usually reside beyond the above-mentioned radius;

(3) Library Members, who have all the privileges of Ordinary Members save that they are not entitled to receive the Society's Journal; and

(4) Members engaged in teaching and research.

3. Any person desirous of becoming an Ordinary Member of the Society must be nominated by one or more Members, who shall give the candidate's name, address, and occupation, and shall state to which of the aforementioned four classes the latter desires to be admitted. The nomination must be received by the Secretary at least fourteen clear days before the next Meeting of Council, and must be seconded by a Member before it can be taken into consideration by the Council.

4. The nomination shall remain in a conspicuous position in the Library until the next Meeting of the Council of the Society, and any objection to the election of the candidate named therein must reach the Secretary one clear week before the next General Meeting.

5. Provided such persons have been duly seconded, the Council shall in each case investigate the claims of candidates and determine the class to which they shall be assigned in case of election; the names of proposed candidates as recommended by the Council for election shall be submitted for approval at the next ensuing General Meeting after their nomination.

6. In all cases of doubt the decision of the Council shall be final.

Extraordinary Members.

7. Foreign potentates or distinguished officials of an Oriental Government are eligible for election by the Council as Extraordinary Members.

8. The ordinary nomination as specified in Rule 3 is not needed in such cases. The names of persons so elected shall be announced at the next General Meeting of the Society.

9. Extraordinary Members shall be entitled, without payment, to all the privileges of Ordinary Members.

Honorary Members.

10. Any person who has rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society shall be eligible for election as an Honorary Member. The ordinary nomination as specified in Rule 3 is not needed in such cases.

11. Honorary Members shall be elected only at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, on the nomination of the Council.

12. There shall not be more than thirty Honorary Members of the Society.

13. Honorary Members shall be entitled, without payment, to all the privileges of Ordinary Members.

Elected Members.

14. The Secretary shall in all cases inform Members of their election.

Subscriptions.

15. The Annual Subscriptions of Ordinary Members shall be as follows :—

Resident Members	£3 3 0
Non-resident Members	£1 10 0
Library Members	£1 10 0
Members engaged in teaching and research	£1 10 0

16. The Council shall have power to reduce or remit subscriptions in special cases in which such reduction shall appear necessary or expedient.

Compositions.

17. Ordinary Members may compound for their subscriptions at the following rates:—

Resident Members for life	45 guineas
„ „ for 4 years in advance ...	10 „
Non-resident or Library Members for life ...	£22 10 0
„ „ „ „ for 4 years in advance	£5 0 0

18. Sums received in 'composition' shall be considered as Capital; but subject to the deduction of an amount equivalent to one year's subscription, which shall be treated as Revenue.

19. All Subscriptions are due on election and thereafter annually, but if the election take place in November or December, the second annual payment will not become due till the expiration of the succeeding year.

20. Every person elected a Resident Member of the Society shall make the payment due thereon within two calendar months after the date of election; or, if elected a Non-resident Member, within six calendar months after election; otherwise, the election shall be void, unless the Council in any particular case shall extend the period within which such payments are to be made.

21. Annual Subscriptions shall be due on the first day of January in each year; and in case the same shall not be paid by the end of that month, the Treasurer or Secretary shall be authorized to demand the same. If any subscriptions remain unpaid at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the Secretary shall apply, by letter, to those Members who are in arrear. If the arrears be not discharged by the first of January following such application, the Member's name, as a defaulter, shall be suspended in the Meeting-room, and due notice be given to the Member in question of the same. The name shall remain suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing; when, if the Subscription be not paid, the defaulter will cease to be a Member of the Society.

22. The Publications of the Society shall not be forwarded to any Member whose Subscription for the current year remains unpaid.

23. A Member may at any time resign his Membership by notice in writing; but such notice of resignation must reach the Secretary before 1st January, otherwise the subscription for the current year will be payable.

24. A Member's resignation shall not be valid, save by a resolution of Council, until he has paid up all his arrears of Subscription; failing this, he will be considered as a defaulter, and dealt with in accordance with Rule 21.

25. Any person elected as a Resident Member of the Society who shall, by change of residence, become a Non-resident Member, shall, from the expiry of the current year and afterwards, so long as he continues to be non-resident, contribute an Annual Subscription of Thirty Shillings.

26. A Non-resident Member becoming a Resident Member shall pay the Annual Subscription of Three Guineas, or the regulated composition in lieu thereof, as a Resident Member. But should he have compounded for his Annual Subscription as a Non-resident Member, he shall, on becoming a Resident Member, pay an Annual Subscription of Thirty-three Shillings, or an additional life composition of Twenty-five Pounds.

Officers.

27. The Officers of the Society shall be (1) the President, (2) the Director,* (3) Vice-Presidents, (4) the Honorary Treasurer, (5) the Honorary Secretary, and (6) the Honorary Librarian, all of whom must be Members of the Society. In addition to these there shall be (7) the Secretary, who shall also discharge the duties of Librarian, and (8) an Assistant Secretary.

28. The President, Director, and Vice-Presidents shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting on the nomination of the Council in the manner provided in Rule 42, and shall hold office for three years from the date of their election. They shall be eligible for re-election on the expiration of their tenure of office. The number of Vice-Presidents shall be within the discretion of the Council, but shall not, save in exceptional circumstances, exceed five, which number may be increased to six so long as the office of Director is in abeyance.

29. The Honorary Treasurer, the Honorary Secretary, and the Honorary Librarian shall in like manner be elected annually at the Anniversary Meeting, on the nomination of the Council, for one year.

30. The Secretary and Assistant Secretary shall be elected by, and hold office during the pleasure of, the Council.

31. The Council may appoint an Honorary Solicitor.

* At present in abeyance.

President.

32. The President as Head of the Society shall have the general supervision of its affairs. He will preside at Meetings of the Society, or of the Council; conduct the proceedings; give effect to Resolutions passed; and cause the Rules of the Society to be put in force. He shall *ex officio* be a Member of Council and of all Committees, and may at any time summon a Meeting of the Council.

Director.

33. The Director shall have all the powers of the President to be exercised in subordination to him.

Vice-Presidents.

34. The Vice-Presidents, who shall be *ex officio* Members of Council, shall preside at the Meetings of the Society or of the Council in the absence of the President or of the Director, with power to act for either of them in cases of emergency.

Honorary Treasurer.

35. The Honorary Treasurer shall receive all monies and account for the same. He shall not make any payments (other than current and petty cash expenses) without the previous order of Council. He shall *ex officio* be a Member of Council and of all Committees. He shall keep the property of the Society insured for such sums and in such office as the Council shall direct. He shall exercise a general supervision over the expenditure of the Society, and shall prepare and submit to the Auditors at the expiration of each year a statement showing the receipts and expenditure of the Society for the period in question. All cheques must be signed by him (or in his absence by any Member of Council acting for him), and countersigned by the Secretary or Assistant Secretary.

Honorary Secretary.

36. The Honorary Secretary shall, in the absence of the President, the Director, and the Vice-Presidents, exercise a general control over the affairs of the Society, and shall *ex officio* be a Member of Council and of all Committees.

Honorary Librarian.

37. The Honorary Librarian shall exercise a general control over the Library, especially as regards the purchase of books, and shall *ex officio* be a Member of Council and of all Committees.

The Secretary.

38. The Secretary shall attend the Meetings of the Society and of the Council, and record their proceedings. He shall conduct the correspondence and attend to the general business of the Society, and shall attend at the rooms of the Society at such times as the Council may direct. He shall superintend the persons employed by the Society, subject to the general control of the Council. He shall, under the direction and control of the Council, report upon the expenditure of the Society. He shall be competent on his own responsibility to discharge small bills, but any account exceeding the amount of Five Pounds shall, except in cases of great urgency, be submitted for approval to the Council before payment. He shall have the charge, under the general direction of the Council, of printing and publishing the Transactions of the Society.

The Assistant Secretary.

39. The Assistant Secretary shall act generally under the orders of the Secretary, and if at any time the latter is prevented by illness or any other cause from attending to the duties of his office, the Assistant Secretary shall act in his absence; but in cases of prolonged absence the Council shall have power to make such special arrangements as may at the time be considered expedient.

The Council.

40. There shall be a Council consisting of twenty-four Members of the Society, exclusive of the President, but inclusive of (*a*) the Director, (*b*) the Vice-Presidents, and (*c*) the Honorary Officers of the Society.

41. The Members of Council as aforesaid shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting on the nomination of the President in Council, subject to any amendment of which due notice has been given as provided in Rule 42.

42. There shall be prepared and forwarded to every Member in Great Britain, together with the notice as to the Anniversary Meeting, a list containing the names of persons so nominated to serve on the Council for the ensuing year, together with any other names should they be proposed and seconded by other Members, a week's notice being given to the Secretary. The list of Members nominated as aforesaid shall be first put to the Meeting, and if carried the amendments, if any, shall not be put.

43. Of the Members of Council other than those referred to in paragraphs 28 and 29, five shall retire annually, two by seniority and three by reason of least attendance. Of the five retiring members, two shall be eligible for immediate re-election and three for re-election after the lapse of one year.

44. Should any vacancy occur among the Honorary Officers or other Members of Council during the interval between two Anniversary Meetings, such vacancy may be filled up by the Council.

45. The Ordinary Meetings of Council shall be held not less than once a month from November to June inclusive.

46. Special Meetings of Council may be summoned, under the sanction of the President or Director, or (in their absence) of one of the Vice-Presidents, by a circular letter from the Secretary.

47. Five Members of Council shall constitute a quorum.

48. At Meetings of the Council the Chair shall be taken by the President, or in his absence by the Director, or in the absence of both of them by the senior Vice-President present; failing these, the senior Member present shall take the chair. The decision of any matter shall rest with the majority, and in case of an equality of votes the Chairman shall have a casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote.

49. Committees may be appointed by the Council to report on specific questions, and, unless otherwise stated, three shall form a quorum. Such Committees shall be authorized to consult persons not Members of the Society.

General Meetings.

50. Meetings of the Society to which all the Members have admission shall be termed General Meetings.

51. For convenience of description they are divisible into three kinds:—

(1) Ordinary General Meetings, for (*a*) election of new members, (*b*) general business, (*c*) hearing and discussing papers or addresses; but no resolutions, other than votes of thanks for papers read, shall be passed at such meetings, except by permission of the Chairman.

(2) Special General Meetings, for considering and dealing with matters of importance, such as the disposition of real property of the Society, the making or amendment of its Rules, or questions seriously affecting its management and constitution. No business shall be transacted at such meetings except that for which they are summoned, and of which notice has been given.

(3) The Anniversary Meeting, for receiving and considering the Annual Report of the Council and Auditors and dealing with the recommendations therein contained for the appointment of Members of Council and Officers for the ensuing year; the election of Ordinary and Honorary Members of the Society; and for hearing the President's Address (if any), and deliberating generally on the affairs of the Society. But no resolution seriously affecting the management or position of the Society, or altering its Rules, shall be passed, unless due notice shall have been given in the manner hereinafter prescribed for Special General Meetings.

Ordinary General Meetings.

52. Ordinary General Meetings shall be convened by Notice issued to accessible Members, and as a general rule they shall be held on the second Tuesday in each month from November to June, both inclusive; the Tuesdays of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas weeks being excepted.

53. At such Meetings and also at the Anniversary Meeting, but not at Special General Meetings, each Member of the Society shall have the privilege of introducing, either personally or by card, visitors, whose names shall be notified to the Chairman or Secretary.

54. Ten Members shall form a quorum.

55. The Chair will be taken by the President, or, in his absence, by the Director or senior Vice-President present, or by

some other Member of the Council. The decision of any matter shall rest with the majority, and in case of an equality of votes the Chairman shall have a casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote.

56. The course of business shall be as follows :—

(1) The Minutes of the preceding Meeting shall be read by the Secretary, and, on being accepted as correct, shall be signed by the Chairman.

(2) A list of new Members recommended by the Council for election shall be read for approval, and the name announced of any Extraordinary Member who may have been appointed since the date of the last General Meeting.

(3) Donations or books presented to the Society shall be announced and the latter, if possible, laid before the Meeting.

(4) Papers and communications shall be read.

Special General Meetings.

57. Special General Meetings may be convened at any time by the President or Council by special notice issued to accessible Members at least 14 days previously to the Meeting, and containing a clear statement of the object of the Meeting and the nature of the proposals to be made; and such Meetings *shall* be convened, in like manner, on the written requisition of five members of the Society, provided that the subject is, in the opinion of the President or Council, within the scope of the powers of a General Meeting and not open to grave objection.

58. Proceedings will be commenced by reading the notice convening the Meeting, and its subject will be thereupon discussed and dealt with, but no other business transacted.

59. In other respects the procedure of Ordinary General Meetings shall be applicable to Special General Meetings.

60. Save by special sanction of the Chairman, nothing relative to the regulations, management, or pecuniary affairs of the Society shall be discussed at any but Special General Meetings; but the President shall have power to suspend all or any of the Rules regulating Meetings on grounds of urgency or for other sufficient cause.

61. And it shall be lawful for the President or Council to summon a Meeting of selected Members, whether Members of Council or not, for the consideration of special matters; but such Meeting shall be consultative only.

Anniversary Meeting.

62. In the case of the Anniversary Meeting, which shall be considered a Special General Meeting, the proceedings of the last Anniversary Meeting shall be read and signed; the Report of the Council and Auditors read, and its acceptance moved and seconded, and the recommendations considered and dealt with. The President's Address, if any, may be delivered before or after the Report, as he may prefer.

Audit.

63. The Accounts shall be audited annually by three Auditors, one of whom shall be nominated by the Council and two at a General Meeting. If possible, one Auditor shall be selected in each year from gentlemen who have discharged the duties on a former occasion. The employment of a professional Auditor shall be permissible.

64. The Report presented by the Auditors shall be read at the next ensuing Anniversary Meeting.

Papers and Publications.

65. The Society shall publish a Quarterly Journal, containing Papers, Illustrations, Notes, or Letters on Oriental Research, and a Summary of the principal news of the quarter relating to the objects of the Society.

66. The Secretary shall be the Editor of the Journal.

67. The Council shall decide what papers shall be accepted for publication in the Journal, and may determine at what date they shall appear.

68. The Journal shall be sent post-free to each Member of the Society entitled to receive it whose subscription is not in arrear, and whose address is known. Such Members not receiving their Journal can obtain it on application to the Secretary at any time within six months of the date of publication.

69. The Council may present copies of the Journal to learned Societies and distinguished persons.

70. Every Original Communication read before the Society or published in its Journal becomes its property. The Author may, however, republish it after an interval of not less than three months after its publication by the Society, or earlier by permission of the Council.

71. Any number of copies not exceeding twelve of each Paper published in the Journal may be presented to the Author, but if

application be made when the MS. is forwarded to the Secretary, the Author may be provided with additional copies provided that the total number shall not exceed fifty; full discretionary power, however, is reserved to the Council in regard to such presentations.

72. Non-members can subscribe to the Journal at the rate of thirty shillings a year, if paid in advance to the Secretary.

The Library.

73. The Library shall be open daily from November to June for the use of Members of the Society, between the hours of Eleven and Four, except on Saturdays, when it shall close at Two. The Library shall not be open on Sundays or Bank Holidays. The Council shall have the power to close the rooms on special occasions for purposes of cleaning or otherwise.

74. Every Resident Member shall be at liberty to borrow any books from the Library, except such works as may have been reserved for use in the Library itself.

75. For every book so borrowed a receipt shall be signed, by the Member borrowing it, on one of the printed forms provided for that purpose.

76. The Librarian may pay from the funds of the Society for the carriage of books borrowed or returned by Resident Members.

77. No member shall borrow at the same time more than five volumes.

78. No book borrowed shall be retained for a longer period than one month if the same be applied for in the meantime by any other member; nor in any case shall a book be retained for a longer period than six months.

79. The Council may, by special vote, grant on such terms as it thinks fit, the loan of MSS., or of the works reserved for use in the Library; and may authorize the Secretary to suspend, under special circumstances, the operation of Rules 77 and 78.

80. In every case of loss or damage to any volume, or other property of the Society, the borrower shall make good the same; and all or any property shall be considered as lost, and recovery of its value be capable of being enforced, which is not returned within four months after application for it.

Common Seal.

81. The Common Seal of the Society shall be an elephant surmounted by a howdah, with an inscription below—"Soc. Reg. As. Britt."

82. The Charter, the Common Seal, and the Deeds of the Society shall be kept in an iron box having two different locks; the keys of which shall be kept respectively by the Honorary Treasurer and the Secretary.

83. The Common Seal shall not be affixed to any Deed or Writing, except at a meeting of the Council, and by their authority; and such Deed or Writing shall then be signed by the President or Chairman, and by the Secretary, the particulars of the same being entered in the Minute-Book.

Medal.

84. At a Meeting of the Council of the Society held on the ninth day of March, 1897, it was resolved to commemorate the sixtieth year of Her Majesty Queen Victoria's reign by founding a gold medal to be awarded every third year in recognition of distinguished services in Oriental research, such services being the publication of a book or books in English on Oriental subjects, or of an edition of an Oriental text with introduction and notes in English, calculated to promote the objects of the Society. The general conditions governing the grant of the medal are given in the Trust Deed dated 6th November, 1900, the draft of which was approved at a General Meeting dated 8th May, 1900.

Branch and Associate Societies.

85. Societies established in Asia for objects similar to those of the Society may be admitted by the Council as Branch Societies of the Royal Asiatic Society.

86. The following are declared to be such Branch Societies:—

The Asiatic Society of Japan.
The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Shanghai).
The Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Pekin Oriental Society.
The Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

87. Societies established elsewhere than in Asia for objects similar to those of the Society may be admitted by the Council as Associate Societies of the Royal Asiatic Society.

88. Members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and of Branch and Associate Societies, are entitled to the use of the Library under Rules 73 to 80, and to attend meetings of the Society; and (if they so desire) to become Members, in which case the formalities prescribed by Rule 3 are not required.

89. The Royal Asiatic Society having been established exclusively for the promotion of science, arts, and literature, no division or bonus in money shall be made unto or between any of its Members.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
22, *Albemarle Street.*
April, 1901.

CHARTER OF INCORPORATION

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

DATED 11 AUGUST, 1824.

George the Fourth by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King Defender of the Faith To all to whom these presents shall come Greeting.

Whereas our Right Trusty and Wellbeloved Councillor Charles Watkin Williams Wynn and others of our loving subjects have under our Royal Patronage formed themselves into a Society for the investigation of subjects connected with and for the encouragement of science literature and the arts in relation to Asia called "The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland" and we have been besought to grant to them and to those who shall hereafter become Members of the same Society our Royal Charter of Incorporation for the purposes aforesaid Now know ye that we being desirous of encouraging a design so laudable and salutary have of our especial grace certain knowledge and mere motion willed granted and declared And we do by these presents for us our heirs and successors will grant and declare that our said Right Trusty and Wellbeloved Councillor Charles Watkin Williams Wynn and such others of our loving subjects as have formed themselves into and are now Members of the said Society and all such other persons as shall hereafter become Members of the said Society according to such regulations or bye-laws as shall be hereafter formed or enacted shall by virtue of these presents be the Members of and form one body

politic and corporate by the name of "The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland" by which name they shall have perpetual succession and a common seal with full power and authority to alter vary break and renew the same at their discretion and by the same name to sue and be sued implead and be impleaded and answer and be answered unto in every Court of us our heirs and successors and be for ever able and capable in the law to purchase receive possess and enjoy to them and their successors any goods and chattels whatsoever and also be able and capable in the law (notwithstanding the statutes of mortmain) to take purchase possess hold and enjoy to them and their successors a Hall or College and any messuages lands tenements or hereditaments whatsoever the yearly value of which including the site of the said Hall or College shall not exceed in the whole the sum of one thousand pounds computing the same respectively at the rack rent which might have been had or gotten for the same respectively at the time of the purchase or acquisition thereof and to act in all the concerns of the said body politic and corporate for the purposes aforesaid as fully and effectually to all intents effects constructions and purposes whatsoever as any other of our liege subjects or any other body politic or corporate in our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland not being under any disability might do in their respective concerns And we do hereby grant our especial licence and authority unto all and every person and persons bodies politic and corporate (otherwise competent) to grant sell alien and convey in mortmain unto and to the use of the said Society and their successors any messuages lands tenements or hereditaments not exceeding such value as aforesaid And our will and pleasure is that our first Commissioner for the time being for the affairs of India shall be a Vice Patron of the said body politic and corporate And we further will grant and declare that there shall be a general meeting of the members of the said body politic and corporate to be held from time to time as hereinafter is mentioned and that there shall always be a council to direct and manage the concerns of the said body politic and corporate and that the general meetings and the council shall have the entire direction and management of the same in the manner

and subject to the regulations hereinafter mentioned But our will and pleasure is that at all general meetings and meetings of the council the majority of the members present and having a right to vote thereat respectively shall decide upon the matters propounded at such meetings the person presiding therein having in case of an equality of numbers a second or casting vote And we do hereby also will grant and declare That the council shall consist of a President and not more than twenty-four nor less than five other members to be elected out of the members of the said body politic and corporate and that the first members of the council exclusive of the President shall be elected within six calendar months after the date of this our Charter And that the said Charles Watkin Williams Wynn shall be the first President of the said body politic and corporate And we do hereby further will grant and declare that it shall be lawful for the members of the said body politic and corporate hereby established to hold general meetings once in the year or oft'ner for the purposes hereinafter mentioned (that is to say) That the general meetings shall choose the President and other members of the council That the general meetings shall make and establish such bye-laws as they shall deem to be useful and necessary for the regulation of the said body politic and corporate for the election and admission of members for the management of the estates goods and business of the said body politic and corporate and for fixing and determining the manner of electing the President and other members of the council as also of electing and appointing such officers attendants and servants as shall be deemed necessary or useful for the said body politic and corporate and such bye-laws from time to time shall or may alter vary or revoke and shall or may make such new and other bye-laws as they shall think most useful and expedient so that the same be not repugnant to these presents or to the laws or statutes of this our Realm and shall or may also enter into any resolution and make any regulation respecting any of the affairs and concerns of the said body politic and corporate that shall be thought necessary or proper And we further will grant and declare that the council shall have the sole management of the income and funds of the said body politic and corporate and also the entire management and superintendance of all the other affairs and

concerns thereof and shall or may but not inconsistently with or contrary to the provisions of this our Charter or any existing bye-law or the laws or statutes of this our Realm do all such acts and deeds as shall appear to them necessary or essential to be done for the purpose of carrying into effect the objects and views of the said body politic and corporate And we further will grant and declare that the whole property of the said body politic and corporate shall be vested And we do hereby vest the same solely and absolutely in the Members thereof and that they shall have full power and authority to sell alienate charge or otherwise dispose of the same as they shall think proper but that no sale mortgage incumbrance or other disposition of any messuages lands tenements or hereditaments belonging to the said body politic and corporate shall be made except with the approbation and concurrence of a general meeting And we lastly declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that no resolution or bye-law shall on any account or pretence whatsoever be made by the said body politic and corporate in opposition to the general scope true intent and meaning of this our Charter or the laws or statutes of our Realm and that if any such rule or bye-law shall be made the same shall be absolutely null and void to all intents effects constructions and purposes whatsoever In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent Witness ourself at our palace at Westminster this eleventh day of August in the fifth year of our reign.

By Writ of Privy Seal.

SCOTT.

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XIV.—*Asoka and the Buddha-relics.* By Professor T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

OUR oldest authority, the Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta, which can be dated approximately in the fifth century B.C.,[1] states that after the cremation of the Buddha's body at Kusinārā, the fragments that remained were divided into eight portions. These eight portions were allotted as follows :—

1. To Ajātasattu, king of Magadha.
2. To the Licchavis of Vesālī.
3. To the Sakyas of Kapilavastu.
4. To the Bulis of Allakappa.
5. To the Koliyas of Rāmagāma.
6. To the brahmin of Veṭhadīpa.
7. To the Mallas of Pāvā.
8. To the Mallas of Kusinārā.

[1] That is substantially, as to not only ideas, but words. There was dotting of *i*'s and crossing of *t*'s afterwards. It was naturally when they came to write these documents that the regulation of orthography and dialect arose. At the time when the Suttanta was first put together out of older material, it was arranged for recitation, not for reading, and writing was used only for notes. See the Introduction to my "Dialogues of the Buddha," vol. i.

Droṇa, the brahmin who made the division, received the vessel in which the body had been cremated. And the Moriyas of Pipphalivana, whose embassy claiming a share of the relics only arrived after the division had been made, received the ashes of the funeral pyre.

Of the above, all except the Sakyas and the two brahmins based their claim to a share on the fact that they also, like the deceased teacher, were Kshatriyas. The brahmin of Veṭhadīpa claimed his because he was a brahmin; and the Sakyas claimed theirs on the ground of their relationship. All ten promised to put up a cairn over their portion, and to establish a festival in its honour.

Of these ten cairns, or stūpas, only one has been discovered—that of the Sakyas. The careful excavation of Mr. Peppé makes it certain that this stūpa had never been opened until he opened it. The inscription on the casket states that "This deposit of the remains of the Exalted One is that of the Sakyas, the brethren of the Illustrious One." It behoves those who would maintain that it is not, to advance some explanation of the facts showing how they are consistent with any other theory. We are bound in these matters to accept, as a working hypothesis, the most reasonable of various possibilities. The hypothesis of forgery is in this case simply unthinkable. And we are fairly entitled to ask: "If this stūpa and these remains are not what they purport to be, then what are they?" As it stands the inscription, short as it is, is worded in just the manner most consistent with the details given in the Suttanta. And it advances the very same claim (to relationship) which the Sakyas alone are stated in the Suttanta to have advanced. It does not throw much light on the question to attribute these coincidences to mere chance, and so far no one has ventured to put forward any explanation except the simple one that the stūpa is the Sakya tope.

Though the sceptics — only sceptics, no doubt, because they think it is too good to be true—have not been able to advance any other explanation, they might have brought

forward an objection which has so far escaped notice. It is alleged, namely, in quite a number of Indian books, that Asoka broke open all the eight stūpas except one, and took the relics away. This is a remarkable statement. That the great Buddhist emperor should have done this is just as unlikely as that his counterpart, Constantine the Great, should have rifled, even with the best intentions, the tombs most sacred in the eyes of Christians. The legend deserves, therefore, investigation, quite apart from its reference to the Sakya tope. And in looking further into the matter I have come across some curious points which will probably be interesting to the readers of this Journal.

The legend might be given in my own words, filling out the older versions of it by details drawn from the later ones. We might thus obtain an easy narrative, with literary unity and logical sequence. But we should at the same time lose all historical accuracy. We should only have a new version—one that had not been current anywhere, at any time, among Buddhists in India. The only right method is to adhere strictly to the historical sequence, taking each account in order of time, and letting it speak for itself.

Now it is curious that there is no mention of the breaking open of stūpas in any one of the twenty-nine canonical Buddhist writings, though they include documents of all ages from the time of the Buddha down to the time of Asoka. Nor, with one doubtful exception, is such an act referred to in any book which is good evidence for the time before Asoka. But in the canonical books there is frequent reference to the man who breaks up the Order, the schismatic, the *sangha-bhedako*. And in the passages in later books, which enlarge on this thesis, we find an addition—side by side with the *sangha-bhedako* is mentioned the *stūpa-bhedako*, the man who breaks open the stūpas. The oldest of the passages is the exception referred to. It is in the Mahāvastu, certainly the oldest Buddhist Sanskrit text as yet edited, and most probably in its oldest portions older than Asoka. Whether this isolated verse

belongs to the oldest portions of the work is doubtful. It says (i, 101):

> Saṅghañ ca te na bhindanti na ca te stūpa-bhedakā
> Na te Tathāgate cittaṃ dūṣayanti kathañcana.

We find these gentlemen, therefore—the violators of tombs, tomb-riflers—first mentioned in a way that may or may not, and probably does not, refer to Asoka. In the same connection, that is with the schismatics, they are also mentioned in the Netti Pakaraṇa, p. 93. The editor of this work, Professor Edmond Hardy, dates it about, or shortly after, the beginning of our era. And he was the first to call attention to the mention in these passages of the 'tomb-violators' as a test of age.

The next passage will seem more to the point, inasmuch as it mentions both Asoka and the Eight Topes. It is in the Aśokāvadāna, a long legend, or historical romance, about Asoka and his doings, included in the collection of stories called the Divyāvadāna. These stories are by different authors, and of different dates. The particular one in question mentions kings of the Sunga dynasty, and cannot therefore be much older than the Christian era.[1] The passage is printed at p. 380 of Professor Cowell and Mr. Neil's edition. The paragraph is unfortunately very corrupt and obscure; but the sense of those clauses most important for our present purpose is clear enough. It begins, in strange fashion, to say, *à propos* of nothing:—

"Then the King [Asoka], saying, 'I will distribute the relics of the Exalted One,' marched with an armed force in fourfold array, opened the Droṇa Stūpa put up by Ajātasattu, and took the relics."

There must be something wrong here. Ajātasattu's stūpa was at Rājagaha, a few miles from Asoka's capital. The Droṇa Stūpa, the one put up over the vessel, was also quite

[1] See J.P.T.S., 1899, p. 89.

close by.[1] Whichever is the one referred to, it was easily accessible, and the time given was one of profound peace. Asoka's object in distributing the relics, in the countless stūpas he himself was about to build, is represented as being highly approved of by the leaders of the Buddhist order. What, then, was the mighty force to do?

Then the expression Droṇa Stūpa is remarkable. What is probably meant is a stūpa over the bushel (*droṇa*) of fragments (from the pyre) supposed to have been Ajātasattu's share. But it is extremely forced to call this a Droṇa Stūpa; and Ajātasattu's stūpa is nowhere else so called. Burnouf thinks[2] this is probably a confusion between the name of the measure and the name of the brahmin, Droṇa, who made the division. The story goes on:

"Having given back the relics, putting them distributively in the place [or the places] whence they had been taken, he restored the stūpa. He did the same to the second, and so on till he had taken the seventh bushel [*droṇa*];[3] and restoring the stūpas, he then went on to Rāmagāma."

Here again the story-teller must have misunderstood some phrase in the tradition (probably in some Prakrit or other) which he is reproducing. Asoka did not want to get these relics in order to put them back into the place, or places, they had come from. He wanted, according to the Divyāvadāna itself, to put them in his own stūpas. We shall see below a possible explanation. The story goes on:—

"Then the king was led down by the Nāgas into their abode, and was given to understand that they would pay worship [*pūjā*] to it [that is, to the stūpa or the portion of relics] there. As soon as that had been grasped by the king, then the king was led up again by the Nāgas from their abode."

[1] See Yuan Thsang, chap. vii; Beal, ii, 65.

[2] Introduction, etc., p. 372.

[3] *Bhaktimato* is omitted. The discussion of its meaning, irrelevant to the question in hand, is here unnecessary. It is of value for the very important history of *bhakti* in India.

Their abode, of course, was under the sacred pool at Rāmagāma, the stūpa being on the land above. After stating how Asoka then built 84,000 stūpas (in one day!) and distributed the relics among them, the episode closes with the statement that this was the reason why his name was changed from Caṇḍāsoka to Dharmāsoka. Burnouf adds to the confusion with which this part of the story is told through translating (throughout) *dharmarājikā* by 'edicts of the law.' It evidently is an epithet of the stūpas. Can we gather from this any hint as to a possible origin of this extraordinary legend?

There is namely a very ancient traditional statistical statement—so ancient that it is already found in the Thera Gāthā (verse 1022) among the verses attributed to Ānanda—that the number of the sections of the Dhamma (here meaning apparently the Four Nikāyas) was 84,000, of which 82,000 were attributed to the master and 2,000 to a disciple.

Dvāsīti Buddhato gaṇhiṃ dve sahassāni bhikkhuto
Caturāsīti sahassāni ye 'me dhammā pavattino.[1]

Could it have happened that after the knowledge of the real contents of the Asoka Edicts had passed away, and only the memory of such edicts having been published remained alive, they were supposed to contain or to record the 84,000 traditional sections of the Dhamma? And then that by some confusion, such as that made by Burnouf, between epithets applicable equally to stūpas and 'edicts of the law,' the edicts grew into stūpas? We cannot tell without other and earlier documents. But this we know, that the funniest mistakes have occurred through the telling in one dialect of traditions received in another; and that the oldest form of the legend of Asoka's stūpas is in so late a work that such a transformation had had ample time in which to be brought gradually about.

Such a solution of the mystery how this amazing proposition could have become matter of belief is confirmed

[1] Quoted Sumangala, i, 24.

by our next authority, the Dīpavaṃsa (vi, 94–vii, 18), which says distinctly that the number of Asoka's buildings was determined by the number of the sections of the Dhamma. But the legend here is quite different. There is no mention of breaking open the eight old stūpas. The 84,000 vihāras —they are no longer stūpas—are not built in one day; they take three years to build. It is the dedication festival of each of them that takes place on the same day, and on that day Asoka sees them all at once, and the festivals being celebrated at each. This was the form of the story as believed at Anurādhapura in the early part of the fourth century A.D.

The next book, in point of date, which mentions Asoka in connection with the eight original stūpas is Fa Hian (ch. xxiii). The passage runs, in Legge's translation, as follows:—

"When King Asoka came forth into the world he wished to destroy the Eight Topes, and to build instead of them 84,000 topes. After he had thrown down the seven others he wished next to destroy this tope (at Rāmagāma). But then the dragon[1] showed itself, and took the king into his palace. And when he had seen all the things provided for offerings, it said to him: 'If you are able with your offerings to exceed these, you can destroy the tope, and take it[2] all away. I will not contend with you.' The king, knowing that such offerings were not to be had anywhere in the world, thereupon returned.

"Afterwards the ground all about became overgrown with vegetation; and there was nobody to sweep and sprinkle about the tope. But a herd of elephants came regularly, which brought water with their trunks to water the ground, and various kinds of flowers and incense which they presented at the tope."

[1] Chinese-English for Nāga.

[2] "It" must be wrong. What he wanted to take away was the relics. Beal translates, "Let me take *you* out," a more likely rendering, and one that would harmonize with the Divyāvadāna legend as given above.

A group of elephants behaving precisely in this way is sculptured on one of the bas-reliefs in the Bharhut Tope (plates xv and xxx in Cunningham).

The pilgrim goes on to say that in recent times a devotee, seeing this, had taken possession of the deserted site.

This will probably represent the tradition at the place itself about 400 A.D., or a few years earlier. For Fa Hian left China in 399 A.D., and when he heard this tale at Rāmagāma it was no doubt already current there. It is good evidence of Rāmagāma having been very early deserted. Incidentally, its distance east of the Lumbinī pillar is given as five yojanas, say thirty-eight miles.

Only twenty or thirty years later is Buddhaghosa's version of the story in the introduction to the Samanta Pāsādikā, his commentary on the Vinaya, in the portion edited for us by Professor Oldenberg.[1] The story is well told, but we need not repeat it, as it reproduces the Dīpavaṃsa version. In both versions the story is used merely as an explanation of the way in which Asoka's son, Mahinda, came to enter the Order. For it is on seeing the glory of the 84,000 festivals that Asoka boasts of his gift. But he is told that the real benefactor is one who gives his son to the Order; and then he, too, has both his son and his daughter initiated. All this is said to have happened after the ninth year of Asoka's reign had expired. We see there is nothing at all in this version about the original eight stūpas, or rather seven of them, having been broken open.

But Buddhaghosa has another account in the Sumangala Vilāsinī, a little later than the last, and in that he introduces an entirely new factor. Here it is not Asoka, but Ajātasattu who gets the relics out of all the eight stūpas (except that at Rāmagāma, which is protected by the Nāgas). This he does (twenty years after the Buddha's death, according to Bigandet, ii, 97) on the advice of Mahā-kassapa, who was afraid—it is not stated why—for their safety. The king agrees to build a shrine for them, but says it is not his

[1] Oldenberg's Vinaya, iii, 304 foll.

business to get relics. The thera then brings them all, and the king buries them in a wonderful subterranean chamber. In the construction of this underground shrine Sakka, the king of the gods, or rather Vissakamma, on his order, assists. And it is there that Asoka, after breaking into all the seven stūpas in vain (the Nāgas protecting the eighth), finds the relics.[1] These he takes, and restoring the place where he had found them, establishes them in his own 84,000, not stūpas, but vihāras. It is incidentally mentioned that Rājagaha is 25 yojanas, say 190 miles, from Kusinārā.[2]

The text of this part of the Sumangala has not yet been published. It will appear in the forthcoming edition for the Pali Text Society; and meanwhile an English version of a very late Burmese adaptation of the Pali can be consulted in Bigandet, ii, 131 foll. The legend is here very well and clearly told, and suggests possible explanations of several of the obscurities and inconsistencies in the oldest version in the Divyāvadāna.

The Mahāvaṃsa (chap. v), which is again a very little later, gives the episode of the 84,000 vihāras on the same lines as the Dīpavaṃsa, omitting all reference to the breaking open of the stūpas. But it agrees with the Divyāvadāna in stating (p. 35 of Turnour's edition) that this building of the 84,000 vihāras was the reason why the king's name was changed from Asoka[3] to Dhammasoka.

The form of the legend, as thus given in almost identical terms by the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa, is no doubt derived by both from the older Mahāvaṃsa, in Simhalese, then handed down in the Mahā Vihāra at Anurādhapura, and now lost.

About the same age (412–454 A.D.) is the Chinese work

[1] Is it possible that this idea can lie behind the enigmatic expressions given above, p. 401, from the Divyāvadāna?

[2] This harmonizes with the distances given in the Jātaka. See my "Buddhist Birth Stories," p. 87.

[3] So the text. We ought perhaps to read Caṇḍāsoka.

which Mr. Beal translated in vol. xix of the "Sacred Books of the East," and which he calls a translation of Aśvaghoṣa's Buddha-Carita. Were this so, it would be of the first importance for our point. But it is nothing of the kind. There are resemblances, just as there would be if two Christian poets had, in different times and countries, turned the Gospels into rhyme with poetical embellishments. There are still closer resemblances, as if a later poet had borrowed phrases and figures from a previous writer. But there are greater differences. Taking the first chapter as a specimen, the Chinese has 126, the Sanskrit 94 verses. Of these, only about 40 express the same thought, and this is often merely a thought similar because derived from the same old tradition. More than half the verses in the Sanskrit have no corresponding verse in the Chinese. More than two-thirds of the verses in the Chinese have no corresponding verse in the Sanskrit. And even when the verses do, in the main, correspond, there are constant differences in the details and in the wording. It is uncritical, even absurd, to call this a translation.

The blunder of dating the Lalita Vistara in the first century on the ground of a 'translation' into Chinese of that date, rests on a similar misleading use of the word. We know of no such translation in the exact and critical sense. Twenty years ago (Hibbert Lectures, 198 foll.) I called attention to this. But Foucaux's conclusion is still sometimes repeated as though it were valid. We must seek for the date of the Lalita Vistara on other and better grounds. Beal's so-called Dhammapada is also a quite different and much later work than the canonical book of which he calls it a version. See the detailed comparative tables *ibid.*, p. 202. Mr. Rockhill, "Life of Buddha," p. 222, says that Beal's Chinese text "could not have been made from the same original" as the Tibetan version of the Buddha-Carita.

It was necessary to point this out as the Chinese book has two verses, of interest in the present discussion, which are not in the Sanskrit. If Beal were right we should have

to ascribe them to Aśvaghoṣa.[1] As it is we are in complete ignorance of the real name and author and date of the original of Beal's Chinese book. We must, therefore, take the opinions expressed in the verses referred to as being good evidence only for the date of the Chinese book itself, only noting the fact that they are taken from some Sanskrit work of unknown date. The verses run, in Beal's words:—

"Opening the dāgabas raised by those seven kings to take the Śarīras thence, he spread them everywhere, and raised in one day 84,000 towers. (2,297.)

"Only with regard to the eighth pagoda in Rāmagrāma, which the Nāga spirit protected, the king was unable to obtain those relics." (2,298.)

We see from Yuan Thsang's Travels, Book vi (Beal, ii, 26), that this curious story still survived in the seventh century of our era. It is interesting to notice how the legend had, by that time, become rounded off and filled in. Thsang naturally has nothing of the second Ajātasattu episode. He was never in Ceylon, and we have no evidence that this part of the legend was ever current in North India. But he also drops the absurd detail of the 84,000 stūpas built in one day; and he fills out the Nāga episode, making a very pretty story of it, turning the Nāga, when he comes out to talk to the king, into a brahmin, and giving much fuller details of the conversation. He mentions also the interesting fact that in his time there was an inscription at the spot "to the above effect."

Finally, when we come to the Tibetan texts, which are considerably later,[2] we find an altogether unexpected state of things. We have long abstracts of the account, in the Dulva, of the death and cremation of the Buddha and of the distribution of his relics, from two scholars whose work can be thoroughly relied on, Csoma Körösi[3] and

[1] There are six Aśvaghoṣas mentioned in Chinese works quoted by Mr. Suzuki in his translation of the "Awakening of Faith," p. 7.

[2] About 850 A.D.: see Rockhill, pp. 218 and 223.

[3] "Asiatic Researches," xx, 309–317.

W. W. Rockhill.[1] According to both these authorities the Tibetan works follow very closely, not any Sanskrit work known to us, but the Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta. Where they deviate from it, it is usually by way of addition; and of addition, oddly enough, again not from any Sanskrit work, but on the lines of the Sumangala Vilāsinī.

However we try to explain this it is equally puzzling. Could they possibly, in Tibet, and at that time (in the ninth century A.D.), have had Pali books, and have understood them? In discussing another point, Mr. Rockhill (p. ix) thinks that the Tibetan author had access to Pali documents. M. Léon Feer has a similar remark ("Annales," vol. v, pp. xi, 133), and talks at pp. 133, 139, 143, 221, 224, 229, 408, 414 of a Tibetan text as though it were a translation from a Pali one. And the translations he gives, in support of his proposition, certainly, for the most part, show that the texts are the same.[2] Strange as it may seem, therefore, it is by no means impossible that in our case also the Tibetan depends on a Pali original, or originals. We have at least good authority for a similar conclusion as to other Tibetan writings. And we now know, thanks to Professor Bendall, that a similar conclusion would be possible in Nepal.[3]

If, on the other hand, our Tibetan texts are based on Sanskrit originals, the difficulty arises whence, at that date, could the Tibetans have procured Sanskrit books adhering so closely to the ancient standpoint.

Rockhill has not even a word about Asoka; Csoma Körösi has only a line, added like a note, at the end of the whole narrative, and saying:—

[1] "Life of Buddha," pp. 122–148, and especially 141–148.

[2] M. Léon Feer has not been able always to give volume and page of the originals of these Tibetan texts, often because they had not been edited. It may be useful, therefore, to point out that his

page 145 = Anguttara, 5. 108.
,, 222 = Ang. 5. 342, Jat. 6. 14.
,, 231 = Ang. 4. 55 (which gives better readings), comp. 2. 61.
,, 293 = Divy. 193, Itiv. 76.

[3] J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 422.

"The King Myā-nān-met (Asoka), residing at Pātaliputta, has much increased the number of Chaityas of the seven kinds." [1]

What, then, are the conclusions to be drawn from our little enquiry?

1. That the breaking open of stūpas is not mentioned at all in the most ancient Buddhist literature.

2. That Asoka's doing so is first mentioned in a passage long after his time. This passage is also so curt, self-contradictory, and enigmatic, that we probably have to suppose a confusion arising from difference of dialect. It is of little or no value as evidence that Asoka did actually break open seven of the eight ancient topes.

3. The number of the stūpas he is supposed to have built —84,000—is derived from the traditional number (which is about correct) of the number of sections in the Four Nikāyas, that is, in Buddhist phraseology, in the Dhamma. This suggests a possible origin of the whole of the legend.

4. In any case the eighth, that at Rāmagāma, was untouched. The site of it can be determined within a few miles, as we know, from the passages quoted above, its distance from Rājagaha on the one hand and the Lumbinī pillar on the other; and we have, besides, the details as to distance given by the Chinese pilgrims. There was an inscription there, presumably put up by Asoka's orders. It will be most interesting to see if it lends support to, or could have given rise to, the legend.

5. The greatest circumspection must be used in dating any Indian work by the date of an alleged translation into Chinese. Even when a Chinese book is said to have the same title, and even similar chapter-titles, as a Sanskrit or Pali one, it does not follow it is really the same.

6. The Indian pandits who assisted in the ninth century in the translation of Indian books into Tibetan knew not only classical Sanskrit as well as Buddhist Sanskrit, but also Pali. It would be a great service if Tibetan scholars would

[1] "Asiatic Researches," xx, 317.

ascertain exactly which Pali MSS. they had. They certainly had the Paritta; and certain Suttantas from, if not the whole of, the Dīgha; and certain Suttas from, if not the whole of, the Anguttara and the Saṃyutta. These books must have been handed down all the time in India; for we know enough of the journey of the emissaries from Tibet to be certain they did not go to Ceylon.

But we must stop. We are here brought face to face with some of the most debated of those larger questions on the solution of which the solution of the problem of the history of Indian thought and literature must ultimately depend. We can only hope in an enquiry like the present to lay one or two very unpolished stones on the foundation of the Dhamma Pāsāda of history, in which the scholars of a future generation will, we hope, have the good fortune to dwell.

ART. XV.—*Account of a rare manuscript History of Iṣfahán, presented to the Royal Asiatic Society on May* 19, 1827, *by Sir John Malcolm, and now described by* EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

AMONGST the Persian manuscripts belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society is one, now numbered 180 (not described in Morley's *Catalogue*), which contains a very interesting monograph on the city of Iṣfahán. As these local histories are often of very great importance in supplementing the large general histories, with the contents of which we are gradually becoming acquainted, I was desirous of reading it through, which, thanks to the laudable generosity of our Society in lending its manuscripts to private individuals, I was enabled to do. Of the notes which I made during its perusal this article is the outcome.

The manuscript in question comprises 83 written leaves (165 pages)[1] of 25·5 × 18·5 centimetres, each containing 17 lines of clear, good *nasta'líq*, with rubrications. On the fly-leaf at the beginning the title is given in Persian as تاریخ احوال اصفهان, but the word احوال has been crossed out. In an English pencil-note on the same page it is correctly described as "*Ta'ríkh-i-Iṣfahán*, by Ḥusayn b. Muhammad al-'Alawí." It was presented to the Society by Sir John Malcolm on May 19, 1827. The colophon at the end gives the scribe's name as Aḥmad of Ardistán, and states that the transcription was finished in the Mosque of Amír Ibráhím Sháh in Iṣfahán, on Rajab 5, A.H. 884 (September 22, A.D. 1479).

[1] In the numbering of the leaves one leaf has been accidentally omitted after f. 9. This, to avoid altering all the subsequent numbers, is now marked f. 9*.

The work is based on an Arabic original composed in A.H. 421 (A.D. 1030; cf. f. 11*b*, l. 8) by Mufaḍḍal b. Sa'd b. al-Ḥusayn al-Máfarrúkhí, and entitled *Risálatu Maḥásini Iṣfahán*. Our Persian version (which is evidently much more than a mere translation, since it contains a good deal of matter which, for chronological reasons, cannot have existed in the Arabic original) was made by Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abu'r-Riḍá al-Ḥusayní al-'Alawí about the year A.H. 729 (= A.D. 1329; see f. 27*a*, l. 5, and cf. f. 16*b*, l. 4, where a *qaṣída* composed in A.H. 724 by Sa'du'd-Dín Sa'íd of Herát is cited), and seems to have no special title, being simply called (f. 75*b*, l. 14, and f. 82*a*, l. 10) "Translation of 'the Beauties of Iṣfahán,'" or, in the fuller form occurring in the former passage:—

ترجمهٔ محاسن اصفهان و شمّهٔ از ذکر صفات و شرح ذات شهر و نواحیٔ آن

It is dedicated (f. 4*a*) to the Wazír Amír Muḥammad, son of the great Minister Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh (author of the *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh*), who is described as:—

الوزیر بن الوزیر غیاث الخافقین و ملاذ المشرقین امیر محمّد . . . . ابن الصاحب السعید و الوزیر الرّشید خواجه رشید الدّین فضل اللّه اعلی اللّه کلمته و ادام علی رؤوس العباد رحمته

It is divided into eight chapters (called ذکر, *dhikr*), which are preceded by a Preface and followed by an Appendix (ذیل, *dhayl*). Although the book contains a great deal of interesting and valuable information, its arrangement leaves much to be desired, and practically defies analysis. I shall therefore simply give an abstract of its contents, page by page and chapter by chapter, citing more fully passages which appear to me of any special interest, and indicating throughout, in parentheses, the pages of the manuscript on which each topic of importance is mentioned. The fact that I am dealing with a single manuscript will oblige me to give obscure words, names, and phrases as I find them, save when I possess some special means of controlling them.

ABSTRACT.

Doxology (ff. 1*b*–2*a*), in which are cited, without acknowledgement, two well-known verses of Sa'dí. The translator, Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abu'r-Riḍá al-Ḥusayní, then proceeds to speak of himself and the circumstances which led him to undertake this work. [*At this point occurs one of several serious dislocations which already existed in the original from which this manuscript was copied, and for the continuation of the preface we have to pass from the penultimate line of f. 2a to f. 10b, l. 10.*] In brief, the translator relates how, seeing no hope of being happy or successful in his own home, he resolved to go elsewhere, being incited to take this step by the *Hátifu'l-Ghayb* ("Voice from the Unseen World"), which is the usual *deus ex machinâ* of Persian authors, and which, in orthodox fashion, overwhelms him with poetical quotations, such as:—

سعدیا حب وطن گرچه حدیثست صحیح ‘
نتوان مرد بسختی که من اینجا زادم ‘

and—

نه که بیرون پارس منزل نیست ‘ شام و مصرست و بصره و بغداد ‘

Accordingly (f. 11*a*), on the morrow at dawn he gathered together the humble possessions of the poor student and set out on his travels, and some days later reached Iṣfahán, by way of Káshán:—

پس عزیمت از آن بخطهٔ کاشان ‘
مرا نوائب گیتی باصفهان انداخت ‘

Friendless and poor, he took up his abode in one of the colleges of that city:—

نه مرا یار و مونسی ندیم ‘ نه مرا شمع و شاهدی و شراب ‘
نه مرا نُقل و مطربی و حریف ‘ نه مرا نان و سبزی و کباب ‘
دل ز جور سپهر پر آتش ‘ وز جفای زمانه دیده پر آب ‘

After resting for a while, he sets out to explore the town, which he finds incomparably superior to all that he has heard or read of it (f. 11*b*), as it is written in the Qur'án: بلدةٌ طيّبة و ربٌّ غفورٌ. Then by chance he picks up a copy of the *Risálatu Maḥásini Iṣfahán* composed by Mufaḍḍal b. Sa'd b. al-Ḥusayn al-Máfarrúkhí in A.H. 421 (A.D. 1030). Struck by the interest of its matter and the charm of its style, he translates it into Persian, adding to it notices of his own contemporaries and other fresh matter, dividing it into eight chapters (called ذكر), according to the number of the bearers of God's Throne and of the Gates of Paradise, and dedicating his work [*another dislocation: continuation on ff. 3b–5a*] to the Wazír Amír Muḥammad, son of the great Minister Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, in whose honour he inserts a *qaṣída* of some two dozen *bayts*, beginning:—

کای بمیراث از پدر ملک سلیمان یافته ٭
تخت بخت نُه فلک در تحت فرمان یافته ٭

To this are prefixed four *bayts* in a different rhyme, beginning:—

آن فلک قدری که اندر بَدْوِ فطرت رأفتش ٭
شامل حال خداوندان حاجات آمده ٭

The Preface concludes with apologies on the part of the translator for any imperfections and errors which may be detected in his work.

Chapter I (ff. 5*a*–9*a*).

سلامُ اللّهِ ما تلی المثانی ٭ وما اَعْطی المثالثُ والمثانی ٭
علی اکنافِ جیّ و ساکنیها ٭ و وادی زَنْدَرُود و اصفهانِ ٭

After a florid and high-flown eulogy of Iṣfahán, which is described as a veritable earthly paradise, situated in the very centre of the Fourth Clime (which is the noblest of

the seven), and, thanks to its equable and charming climate, free from the defects of other Persian districts and towns—the moisture of Ṭabaristán, the dryness of Quhistán, the cold of Khwárazm, and the heat of Makrán,—the translator praises it in these verses (f. 6*a*):—

یا رب کدام روز مبارک بنا نهاد ‘
معمار آفرینش و بانئ کُنْ فَکان ‘
شهری که عقل خیره شود کز رهِ قیاس ‘
جان جهان لقب نهدش یا جهان جان ‘

and cites the following verses by Fakhru'd-Dín 'Iráqí (d. A.H. 686 or 688):—

در هوای درستِ او نبود ‘ هیچ بیمار جز نسیم شمال ‘
در درون ریاضِ او نروند ‘ هیچ تر دامنی جز آب زلال ‘

Another page of florid but ingenious eulogy, interspersed with verses, ensues, till (f. 7*a*) we reach this couplet:—

ز رشکِ سلسلِ زرّینه رود و صلصلِ جیّ ‘
سرشکِ دجله روانست بر رخِ بغداد ‘

which is followed by an extract from Khágání's *Tuḥfatu'l-'Iráqayn*, beginning:—

شهری روشن چو فکرِ دانا ‘ در وی همه کاینات پیدا ‘

and by the subjoined verses:—

ای آفریدگارت بر ملک برگزیده ‘
تا ملک آفریذه چون تو نیافریذه ‘
مانندِ زندرودت از آب تا بآمو ‘
نه چشم خلق دیده نه گوش کس شنیده ‘

A saying of 'Alí's is next cited (f. 7*b*), on the authority of Ḥasan b. Khwánsár, to the effect that "in the water of

Zinda-rúd is a remedy for every ailment." When 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla (the Buwayhid, A.D. 949–982) went to Iṣfahán to visit his father Ruknu'd-Dawla, he came in great pomp, provided with every conceivable luxury and delicacy. One day while encamped there he called for a cup of water, and was offered water from the Euphrates, which had been brought expressly for his use, but he poured it away, saying, "It is not right to drink the water of Euphrates when the water of Zinda-rúd is available." When, on the other hand, Muwaffaq was recalled from Iṣfahán to Baghdad he supplied himself for the journey with water from the Zinda-rúd, which he would drink, reciting the following verses :—

سلامٌ على زرّيسنه رودٍ و شعشعيهِ ‘ سلامَ مُحِبٍّ لا سلامَ مودّعِ ‘
و لا بَرِحَتْ تلكَ ٱلمدودُ كواسياً ‘ مناكِبَهُ ٱلعُلْيا مصندل مدرَعِ ‘
اذا ٱبتدرت امواجه خِلْتَ صوته[1] ‘ سوآئم نوق فى مهابط اجرعِ ‘
تليح بنات المآء فى جنباتها[2] ‘ الاحة اقوامٍ نيامٍ بادرُعِ ‘
معاهد فى جنّ ممسّكة الثّرى ‘ معنبرة المصطافِ و المترّبعِ ‘
مسارحُ غِزْلانٍ هَجَرْنَ ظلالها[3] ‘ بما سكنته من قلوبٍ و اضلعِ ‘

After another piece of ornate description come the following verses (f. 8*b*) :—

لبِ زندرود و نسيمِ بهار ‘ رخِ دلستان و مَیِ خوشگوار ‘
چنان بیخِ اندُه ز دل برکند ‘ کـه بیخِ ستم خنجر شهریار ‘

and five couplets from Kháqání's *Tuḥfatu'l-'Iráqayn*, beginning :—

رودیست که کوثرش عدیل است ‘ آبش سلسال و سلسبیل است ‘

These are followed by Arabic verses in praise of the Zinda-rúd by al-Mutaṭabbib al-Iṣfahání, Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥusayn 'Alí al-Ḥusayní, and Abu'l-Qásim b. al-'Alá.

[1] MS. صوتت.
[2] MS. جيناتها.
[3] MS. طلالها.

Chapters II and III (ff. 9*a*–18*b*).[1]

The second chapter professes to contain the detailed description of Iṣfahán and its suburbs, gardens, and pleasure grounds, amongst which the preference is accorded to Jayy, which the poet Abú 'Ámir al-Jarwá'ání praises in the following Arabic verses:—

سقى اللّه جَيًّا انّ جَيًا لذيذةٌ ' من الغيث ما يَسْرِى لِيا ثمّ يَبْكُرُ '
فلا بَقّةٌ باللّيل يوذيكَ لَسْعُهَا ' لِيَوْم و لا برغوثةٌ حين تَسْهَرُ '
ومآء ركاياها زلالٌ كاتّها ' اذا ما جرى فى الحَلْقِ ثلجٌ وسُكّرُ '

Jayy was chosen, in pre-Muḥammadan days, on account of its dry soil and pure air, as the site of a great library, wherein were stored up the ancient books of the Persians, written on birch-bark (پوست توز), which is less liable to decay than any other similar substance (f. 9*b*).[2] According to Ḥamza of Iṣfahán, this city was built for Alexander the Great by an architect from Jayy, after whom it was called. According to other accounts it was built before the time of Jamshíd, destroyed by Afrásiyáb the Turk, partly restored by Queen Khumání (Humáy), the daughter of Bahman, son of Isfandiyár, and left untouched by Alexander (f. 9**a*). Thus it remained until Pírúz, the son of Yazdigird the Sásánian (A.D. 459–484), ordered Ádhar-Sháphúr, the son of Ádhar-mánán, the *pahlaván* of the village of Muristán in the district of Márbín to repair the walls of Jayy, which was done by Farrúkh, son of Bakhtiyár, an ancestor of the author of the *Risálatu Maḥásini Iṣfahán*, 170 years before the time of Islám. One of its gates, opposite the market-square (برابر میدان بازار), was named the *Gate of Júr*; another, the *Gate of the Moon* (or perhaps "of Media," *Máh*), otherwise called the *Gate of Isfish*; a third, the *Gate of Tír* ("the Arrow," or "Mercury");

[1] The heading of chap. iii is omitted, and I am not certain where the division between it and chap. ii should come.

[2] Cf. Sachau's translation of al-Bírúní's *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 28.

and a fourth, the *Gate of Júsh*, commonly called "the Jews' Gate" (دروازهٔ جهودان). Hard by this last he built a village called Ádhar-sháhúrán, wherein he constructed a palace with a garden and fire-temple, to which last he bequeathed the revenues of the village. One of the peculiarities of this city was that when the sun reached the first degree of Capricorn it shone as it rose straight through the Gate of Júr, and as it set through the Jews' Gate, while on entering the first degree of Cancer it shone as it rose through the Gate [of Máh or Isfísh], and as it set through the Gate of Tír. The width of the foundations and walls was sixty large bricks, and over one of the gates (f. 9* *b*) was an inscription stating that the sum expended on feeding the artisans and labourers engaged in the construction of the wall amounted, ere it was completed, to six hundred thousand *dirhams*. This passage, which may be of some interest because of the alleged (? Pahlaví) inscription, runs thus :—

متقدّمان آورده اند که بر دری از درها نوشته (f. 9* *b*) بود برین سیاق اِشتا دوِیر موکل بر کلیکران و قیّاسان گوید که بهای نان خورش عمله و کارگنان این باروی مدّة عمارة بمبلغ ششصد هزار درم برسید .

Hard by the Gate of Júr was a market called *Bázár-i-Júrín*, whither, at the season of the New Year (i.e. the Vernal Equinox), the people of Isfahán, rich and poor, high and low, men, women, and children, used to repair, remaining encamped there for two or three months for the great fair and general festivities which were held at the *Naw-rúz*. Fanná-Khusraw 'Imádu'd-Dawla the Buwayhid, who was familiar with this *Bázár-i-Júrín* from his childhood, instituted a similar fair at Shíráz in a place called (f. 10*a*) *Aswáqu'l-Amír*, which, as admitted by one of the notables of Isfahán named Malik Qúz, eclipsed its prototype.

The descendants of Nawshaján b. Isḥáq b. 'Abdu'l-Masíḥ relate of their ancestor that he migrated from Asia Minor

(*Rúm*) to Iṣfahán (f. 10*b*); and Ḥamza of Iṣfahán relates in his history of that city (كتاب اصفهان) that Pírúz, son of Yazdigird the Sásánian (A.D. 459–484), wrote to one of the Kings of Rúm requesting him to send him a skilful Greek physician, whom, on his arrival in Persia, Pírúz consulted as to which of the cities of that country was the most suitable for the royal residence. [*Another dislocation: continuation on f. 2b, l. 2.*] The physician, after due investigation, reported in favour of Iṣfahán, whereof the climate "would give life to the Messiah, duration to life, and eternity to duration," and Pírúz accordingly ordered Sháphúrán the son of Ádharmánán (f. 3*a*), *pahlaván* of Iṣfahán, and Farrúkh the son of Bakhtiyár, an ancestor of the author (not of the translator; cf. f. 9**a*, ll. 4, 5), to repair the walls of the suburb of Jayy, intending to migrate thither; an intention which was frustrated by his captivity and death in the land of the *Hayáṭila* or Huns. His son Qubád (A.D. 488–531) addressed a similar enquiry to a Greek physician, who also recommended Iṣfahán as the healthiest and most charming city in Persia. Al-Manṣúr, the second 'Abbásid Caliph, likewise consulted his physicians in A.H. 150 (A.D. 767) as to the site of his new capital, and they too advised (f. 3*b*) a site on the banks of the Zinda-rúd, though Iṣfahán, through which this fine river still flows, was at that time reduced to a group of ruined and scattered villages. The governor of Iṣfahán, Ayyúb b. Ziyád, was accordingly ordered to repair and fortify the city, but ere it was finished the Caliph abandoned his intention of making it his capital.

Abú Muslim Muḥammad b. Baḥr, a notable of Iṣfahán, was once at the Caliph's court in Baghdad, when a discussion arose as to who possessed the most delectable residence. [*Here comes another dislocation in the MS., and we return to f. 12a, l. 1.*] To the astonishment of all the courtiers he claimed for his own house at Iṣfahán this distinction, maintaining that the Fourth Clime was the noblest of the Seven Climes; that Iṣfahán was the centre of this Clime, and superior in its natural attractions to any other city;

that in Iṣfahán the quarter of Garwá'án (گروآن; cf. the *nisba* الجروآنی on f. 9*a*, l. 13) was the most charming; and that in this quarter his house was the best. In this quarter, says the author (and some former reader of the MS. has added his testimony by writing in the margin انّ ما قال فيه حقّ), the earth is so good, firm, and tenacious, that a well for drinking-water, an ice-house, and a cess-pool may be dug in close juxtaposition without any fear of danger from contamination, while (f. 12*b*) the palaces built of this clay combined with bricks and mortar have hardly suffered at all from the depredations of time, even when no one has exerted himself to repair them.

Al-Buḥturí relates that 'Abdu'l-'Azíz al-'Ijlí was once in one of the villages of Iṣfahán, when his eyes fell on a mound of earth like a tumulus. Thinking that it might mark the site of a treasure, he ordered Aḥmad Bundár al-Azdí to excavate it. When, by the help of some labourers, this was done, a deep, square subterranean chamber was disclosed, which, the others being afraid, was entered by Aḥmad b. Salm. When he emerged, he told 'Abdu'l-'Azíz that he had seen a most wonderful thing, to wit, the corpse of a man with a glossy black beard, clad in his night-dress and covered with a quilt, lying on a bed, on the pillow of which were placed a sheathed sword and a pair of slippers. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz entered the tomb and found the body lying there as described (f. 13*a*), but when he touched it with his stick it fell into dust, as did the objects surrounding it. In the tumulus they found a hoard of gold, which, when refined and coined in the mint, produced a thousand *dínárs*. Above the corpse's head was a stone tablet bearing an inscription which indicated that the body had lain thus for over 200 years, "which," as 'Abdu'l-'Azíz remarked, "was a proof of the extraordinary virtues of the soil."

"But what need," exclaims the author, "of histories and narratives of the Past, when in our own times its virtues are so manifest?" According to him, sick and ailing people from all parts of the country are cured by the

health-giving climate of Iṣfahán, till their "bodies show through their skins fresh and delicate as the kernel of an almond, especially in these days," when their wants are cared for by "the greatest of the Sayyids of 'Iráq . . . , the Glory of Wazírs (f. 13*b*) . . . . Táju'd-Dín Nidhámu'l-Islám wa'l-Muslimín Maḥmúd b. Aḥmad," to the description of whose charming garden (attached, apparently, to some hospital or alms-house for the entertainment of strangers and the poor) nearly a page of florid writing is devoted.

Quite abruptly (f. 13*b*, l. 15), possibly after another dislocation in the original text, the author now passes to the description of the following localities:—

Gúdkart and *Naqáda* (گودکرت و نقاده), each of which is described as "a paradise open to Iṣfahán," and as incomparable in beauty.

Kúshk-i-Mughíra (f. 14*a*), the gardens of which are described in another burst of rhetoric.

Gunbadh-i-Mihrárat (گنبد مهرارت), similarly described.

Bághát-i-Chahárgána ("The Fourfold Gardens"), situated near the city gates at a distance of about 1,000 *jaríbs*, similarly described.

Bágh-i-Faláṣán (f. 14*b*, باغ فلاسان), in praise of which are cited the following pretty Arabic verses by aṣ-Ṣinawbarí:—

وَرْدٌ غدا يَحْكِي ٱلْخُدُودَ وَ نَرْجِسٌ ‘ يَحْكِي ٱلْعُيُونَ إِذَا رَأَتْ أَحْبَابَهَا ‘

وَ ٱلسَّرْوُ تَحْسِبُهُ ٱلْعُيُونُ غَوَانِيًا ‘ قَدْ شَمَّرَتْ عَنْ سوقها اثْوَابَهَا[1] ‘

Bágh-i-Aḥmad Siyáh, the praises of which are illustrated by some verses from Kháqání.

Bágh-i-Bakr (f. 15*a*), concerning which some more Arabic verses of aṣ-Ṣinawbarí are cited. Cursory mention is also made (f. 15*b*) of various castles near the city, the *Qaṣr-i-*

[1] MS. اثرابها.

Farqad, near the gate; the *Qaṣr-i-Hárún*, at Dímartiyán[1]-i-Haft Dar; the *Qaṣr-i-Khuḍayb*, hard by the Bridge of Husayn; the *Qaṣr-i-'Adawayh* (عدویه), on the banks of the Zinda-rúd; the *Qaṣr-i-Kúhán*, in Márbín; and the *Qaṣr-i-Sankhar* (?صنخر, صخر, or صخز) in Ṭihrán (بطهران). Some Arabic verses (author not named) are quoted, and then the following fine *qaṣída* by Sa'du'd-Dín Sa'íd-i-Hiraví :—

نسخهٔ فردوس اعلی اصفهانست اصفهان ،
نیست شهری مثل آن از قیروان تا قیروان ،
عرصهٔ میدان مردان روضهٔ ارباب فضل ،
بیشهٔ شیران جنگی جای شاهان جهان ،
هر رئیسی خسروی هر کدخدائی بهمنی ،
هر جوانی رستمی افگنده در بازو کمان ،
نزد ایشان وقت هیجا پشّه باشد پیل مست ،
پیش ایشان روز کین روبه بُوَد شیر ژیان ،
خواجه فردوسی که در فردوس اعلی قصرها ،
داد اورا بهر بیتی کردگار غیب دان[2] ،
آن همه تعظیم گیو و بیژن و رستم که کرد ،
گر دلیران سپاهان را بدیدی این زمان ،
بر طریق شاهنامه از برای افتخار ،
بهر هر مفرد بگفتی هر شبی صد داستان ،

[1] Or perhaps *Dímútiyán*. Here the word is written (without points) as دیمرتیان, but lower (f. 18*a*, l. 9), in some Arabic verses, as دیمرت and دیموت. See note on p. 425 *infra*.

[2] The anecdote to which allusion is here made is given in Ouseley's *Notices of the Persian Poets* (London, 1846), pp. 90–91 and 93–95. See also my edition of *Dawlatsháh*, p. 54.

ور رهی خواهد که گوید مدح ایشان بایدش ‘
صد ورق در دست چون گل خود چو سوسن ده زبان ‘
زآنکه پیش این سر افرازان همه افسانه شد ‘
آنچه کردند از دلیری صفدران با سنان ‘
مردمست آنجا که او در طرفة العینی کند ‘
آنچه چندین سال رستم کرد در مازندران ‘
هر کرا بینی همه لطفست و احسان و کرم ‘
هر کجا باشی همه آبست و باغ و بوستان ‘
آب حیوانست گویی پیش بستان اِرَم ‘
زندرود او که دارد باغ کاران در کران ‘
خشخشه آوازِ یخ با حور در سقراق نو ‘
خوشتر از بغداد و ما فیها و قد سبق البیان ‘
چشمهٔ حیوان که میگویند یکجا بیش نیست ‘
هست در هر خانه اورا چشمهٔ حیوان عیان ‘
آبگینش‌را که همتا نیست الّا در بهشت ‘
جان شیرین خوان اگر ارزان بر آید در کران ‘
میوها دارد که در لطف لطافت مثل آن ‘
کس نداد از جمله سیّاحان بحر و بر نشان ‘
عقل می افزاید از لطف گلابی در دماغ ‘
وین سخن‌را بیش ازین بسیار کردند امتحان ‘
سیب آزایش چو ایمان قوّت دل میدهد ‘
من نکو دانسته‌ام گر تو نمی دانی بدان ‘

معددرا بس نیک باشد از خشونت کآرزوست ‘
هرکه از بویش صبا طعنه زند باد خزان ‘
وصف حسن هریکی‌را از نعیم او جدا ‘
گر بگویم سالها مشغول باید شد بدان ‘
ملک ایران‌را که از اطراف عالم خوشترست ‘
همچو شخصی دان که باشد از هنر اورا روان ‘
اصفهان اورا سر و کرمان و شیرازش دو پای ‘
ری یکی دستست و دیگر دستش آذربایجان ‘

This *qaṣída*, adds the author (f. 16*b*), was composed in A.H. 724 (A.D. 1324), at a time when there was war between the Kings of Fárs, Malik Shamsu'd-Dín and Malik 'Izzu'd-Dín, the sons of Shaykhu'l-'Arab wa'l-'Ajam Jamálu'd-Dín Ibráhím Maliku'l-Islám, on the one hand, and that "Flower of the Family of Ṣá'id" (خلاصهٔ آل صاعد), Nidhámu'd-Dín Qiwámu'l-Islám. Here follow two Arabic *qaṣídas* in praise of this family and of Iṣfahán (ff. 16*b*–17*b*), the first anonymous, the second by Mufaḍḍal b. Sa'd al-Máfarrúkhí, the author of the Arabic original on which this book is based. Then follow two more Arabic *qaṣídas* by Abu Dulaf [b.] 'Isá b. Ma'qil,[1] the first, composed when the Caliph al-Ma'mún recalled him in anger from Iṣfahán and sent him to Syria and Egypt, beginning :—

ابا دلفٍ اصبحتَ بالشام مُدْنِفًا ‘ رهينًا بها للحادثات الشواعب ‘
حَنَنْتُ الى ارض اصفهان و اهلها ‘ غداة رأيتُ النَّخْلَ فى كَفْر عاقب[2] ‘
و ذكرى بها ارض اصفهان و طيبها ‘ حنينٌ الى برد المياهِ الاطايب ‘

[1] See de Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikán, vol. ii, pp. 502–507.
[2] *Kafr-u 'Áqibín* is a place situated on the sea of Tiberias. See *Yáqút*, iv, p. 290.

Then follow (f. 18*a*) four rather fine Arabic verses, composed by that great patron of learning and poetry the Ṣáḥib Káfí'l-Kufát Abu'l-Qásim Isma'íl b. 'Abbád on the occasion of his conquest of Jurján and invasion of Ṭabaristán, which run as follows :—

يا اصفهان سُقيتِ الغيث من كشب ‘
فانتِ مجمع اوطاري و اوطاني ‘
و اللّه و اللّه لا أنسيتُ برّك بي ‘
و لو تمكّنتُ مِن اقصى خراساني ‘
سقياً لايّامنا و الشمل مجتمع ‘
و الدهرُ ما خانني في قرب اخواني ‘
ذكرتُ ديمَرتَ اذ طال الثواءُ بها ‘
يا بُعْدَ ديمَرتَ من ابواب جرجاني [1] ‘

These verses are followed immediately by seven others, addressed by the above-mentioned Ṣáḥib Isma'íl b. 'Abbád to Abu'l-'Alá Sarví. Next comes (f. 18*b*) a brief eulogy on the Ṣáḥib, who was, it is stated, one of the three men whose greatness and learning were envied by 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla the Buwayhid, the others being Abu'l-Qásim al-Faḍl b. Sahl and the Qáḍí Abu'l-Qásim Ja'far al-Yazdí, on account of whom he had many disputes with his brother Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla.

Chapter IV (ff. 19*a*–37*a*).

One day a number of nobles and notables who were in attendance on the Ṣáḥib-i-Shahíd Sa'du'd-Dín Muḥammad

[1] See n. 1 on p. 422 *supra*. The first, second, and last of these four couplets are given in *Yáqút*, vol. ii, p. 713, *s.v.* ديمرت, with بلد for the unintelligible كشب. The MS. reads تجمع for مجمع in l. 2; الفناء for الثواء in l. 7; and ديموت for ديمرت in l. 8. For ابواب Y. has اكناف.

Ṣáḥib-Díwán-i-Sáwají were praising Ruknu'd-Dín Mas'úd Sá'id, the father of 'Aḍudu'l-Islám Ruknu'sh-Sharí'at. Suddenly the Ṣáḥib-Díwán broke in with this verse :—

بماهتاب چه حاجت شب تجلّی را '

"What need of the moonlight has the Night of Epiphany?" His meaning was that the praises of this illustrious man and his family had been so well sung by the great poet Kamálu'd-Dín Isma'íl of Iṣfahán that there was no need for anyone else to expatiate upon them. At the age of 25 Ruknu'd-Dín already held the highest ecclesiastical and civil offices. His father (f. 19*b*), Sharafu'd-Dín Jalálu'l-Islám, said of him, in the testamentary counsels which he addressed to his brother, Khwája Abu'l-'Alá 'Imádu'l-Islám Ṣadru'sh-Sharí'a Ruknu'd-Dín :—

مانندهٔ گل بروزگاری اندک '

سر بر زد و غنچه گشت و بشگفت و بریخت '

"*Like the Rose, in a little time he sprang up, became a rose-bud, blossomed and faded.*"

Here follows (ff. 19*b*–20*a*) a *qaṣída* in praise of Iṣfahán by the translator, beginning :—

اصفهان شهریست همچون خال بر روی زمین '

خطّهٔ دلخواه تر از خط یار نازنین '

رنگ رویش لاله و گل بوی خوش و مشک و عود '

آب جویش حلّ نقّره شطّ او رود زرین '

نِعْمَ ارضٌ ارض اصفهان فی الدنیا نعم '

کعبةٌ یأوی الیها النّاس طرًّا آمنین '

This is followed by four Arabic verses on the same topic by Abu'l-Qásim b. Abu'l-'Alá (f. 20*b*), and seven more from a *qaṣída* of Abu Sa'íd ar-Rustamí, beginning :—

سقى قصر المغيرة كلّ دانٍ ‘ اجشّ الرّعد منهلّ الغزالى ‘

Next follow praises of the people of Iṣfahán, to whom is applied the verse:—

هر رئيسى خسروى هر كدخذائى بهمنى ‘
هر جوانى رستمى افگنده در بازو كمان[1] ‘

This is succeeded (f. 21*a*) by an account of the Gáv-Khwání swamp, of which the extent is given as 18 parasangs by 2, where the waters of the Zinda-rúd are absorbed, increasing, by a process of percolation and diffusion, the fertility of the country towards Kirmán for a distance of 80 parasangs. Whenever news comes to Kirmán that the Gáv-Khwání marsh is full to overflowing, the people of that city hold such high festival as they do at the Feast of the Naw-rúz, knowing that there is a year of abundance before them, and at such times they make the most of the opportunity to increase their stock of beasts, fowls, eggs, fish, vegetables, and the like (f. 21*b*). Abu'l-Faraj (ابن واواى ؟)[2] ad-Dimashqí says:—

الوانها شتّى الفنون و انّما ‘ غُذِيَتْ بماءٍ واحد فى منبل[3] ‘

In this neighbourhood is a village called Warzana (ورزنه), in the plain about which are sand-heaps so large that the fiercest hurricane could not disperse one of them in a year. Here, too, are found certain shells (called in the local dialect مُهرهٔ تذرگ), which, whenever a hail-storm threatens, the people hang about the walls of the castles and gates, whereupon, by the Might of God, the clouds are dispersed and pass away. Another village called Hirásgán (هراسگان), situated about half a parasang from Dárum (دارم), contains a fortress girt with a moat, and is surrounded by mounds of

[1] See p. 422, ll. 12 13 *supra*.
[2] By *Yáqút* (iii, 700) he is called الواوا.
[3] The word كه is, in the MS., prefixed to this line. Professor Bevan conjectures that it is a corruption of some indication of the metre (*Kámil*) in which this couplet is written.

shifting sand (f. 22*a*); but however much this sand shifts, none ever falls into the moat, and if a handful is cast into it, a strong wind at once arises and blows till every grain of sand is removed from the moat. Here, too, is a plain called Ghás (? or Fás), measuring about a parasang in length and breadth, where domestic and wild animals mix without strife or bloodshed, which, as the inhabitants assert, is because of a talisman which they have constructed

Another wonder is to be seen in the village of Qálahur (قالهُر), in the district of Azdahár (ازدهار), near Káshán, ten parasangs from Abrúz (ابروز). Here there is a mountain from one side of which water exudes like sweat from a body, never resting, yet never flowing. Every year on the day of Tír in the month of Tír the villagers assemble on the slopes of this mountain, each carrying a pitcher and a stone mallet or pestle, with which they strike on the rock in turn, saying, "O Lady of the Willow (ای بید دخت), vouchsafe to me some of the water to cure such-and-such a disease," whereupon the drops run together and fill the pitcher. The water thus collected will cure any disease with which the collector may be afflicted during the succeeding year.

In the above-mentioned village of Abrúz, near Káshán, there is a subterranean stream (کاریزی) called Isfidáb (whence the inhabitants of this and the surrounding villages derive their drinking-water), which sinks into a marsh in the village of Bín (و بدیه بین غایض می شود). The special virtue of this water is that anyone trying to follow it up or cross it, on reaching a certain point known to the inhabitants of that district, is attacked with such breathlessness (f. 22*b*) that he can advance no further, and if he persists he is seized with giddiness and falls. Moreover, this aqueduct has never undergone or needed repairs or clearing out, for if anything, much or little, falls into it, the water rises and sweeps it away. When 'Amr b. Layth (the Ṣaffárid, A.D. 878–900) was at Isfahán he tried the experiment of damming it up, in which endeavour he employed a number of the villagers for several days, but

to no purpose, for the water did but rise and increase in volume in proportion to his efforts. The author heard Abú Naṣr of Tijábád assert that no Arab could drink of this water without speedily suffering some misfortune in person or property. He was at first inclined to doubt this, till, on looking into the matter, he found that, as a matter of fact, no Arabs dwelt in any of the villages supplied by it, and heard that scarcely any Arab, no matter how thirsty, dared to drink of its water.

In the village of Quhrúd near Káshán the ground is carpeted with a herb which changes into a clear, white, glass-like substance. In another village near the same town, called Karmund (کرمند), is a petrifying well and stream. In the villages of Chakáda (چکاده) and Júrjird, in the Quhistán district (f. 23*a*), there are found by the sides of the fields and roads many great snakes, measuring five cubits (*gaz*) in length, which the children wind round their arms and hands and carry about with impunity. In this district are gold and silver mines, the latter at Little Tímart (تیمرتِ صغری), the former at Great Tímart, of which the remains are still visible. Also in the district of Quhistán, at a place called Bawdam (بودم), is a spring of very clear water, which chokes any animal attempting to drink it, so that death ensues. At another village in Quhistán named Amátha (اَماثَه), are found glow-worms, called in Persian *burák*, which are thus described :—

کرمی هست مانند خُنفسا جِرمی کوچک‌تر از مگسی که در شب تاریک رود و مانند جراغی افروخته از پشت او می تابد و رنگ او بروز برنگ طاووس مانندهٔ است و بلغت فارسی این جانورک‌را بُرّاقَه خوانند

In the same district are stones with a gritty or porous surface (محبّب الوجه) resembling sugar, which emit sparks when struck against one another, like flint and steel.

In the district of Qumdhár (قمذار) is a castle named Wuhán-zád (وُهان‌زاد), on a hillock near which are stones resembling coins, and jingling like coins when shaken together in a bag. And throughout the season of Spring anyone who takes up his abode in this castle sees fires flashing from the top of the walls, but on approaching nearer he sees nothing; and this is especially the case when the season is rainy. In the same district is another village called Bámkábád (بَامْكَابَاد), by which (f. 23*b*) is a cleft in a mountain inhabited by lizards (سوسمار). Of these nothing is visible but the tails, which are withdrawn if struck or rubbed with anything, only to be protruded again when the molestation ceases; and this, as old people declare, has been the case for all time within memory. In the same district, near the village of Fizan (فِزَن), is a fountain of which the circumference measures three lances' length. Every year for seventy days in the spring it casts up sand to the surface, and at the same season a fish comes forth, on the back of which is a spherical excrescence, whence, at the end of the seventy days, a black snake emerges, whereupon the fish disappears into the depths whence it came and is no more seen till the following year, and the water subsides.

In the district of Iṣfahán alone are found *tar-anjubín* (? *turunjín*: ترنجبين), *jáw-shír* (جاوشير), and *saksanj* (? سكسنج or سگبيخ), and also a tree called *khashsát* (? خشسات), locally named *wizak* (وزك), whereof the branches overshadow an area of one *jaríb* or more of ground; it is thickly covered with leaves; its branches cast a shadow like a mountain; and yearly it bears spherical pods or capsules full of fleas:—

وهر سال كيسها مدوّر پر از كيك بار بر گيرد

Near Múghár (موغار), in the district of Ṣard (صرد), near Káshán, is a petrifying fountain, and when the poor people of that district break a jar, jug, cup, or the like, they put the

pieces together (f. 24*a*) in their proper position and place the broken vessel in this water, whence they withdraw it after a while whole and sound.

In the district of Qumdhár (قمذار) is a mountain called Kúh-i-Danárt (کوه دنارت), in which is a spring whereof the water has the following virtue. Whenever the blight called *Shish* or *Sín* (apparently a small insect—قملی که آنرا سیین خوانند)[1] appears in any of the fields in the Iṣfahán or other district, the people of Iṣfahán go to that fountain, draw from it as much water as they want, and hang it up on sticks or posts in the affected fields, in such wise that it shall not rest on the ground. Flocks of birds resembling swallows (پرستو) at once collect over it, flying hither and thither, and when these take their departure, the water is sprinkled over the affected fields, whereupon the birds come back and pick off the blight from the fields, but only if the above-mentioned precaution of not letting the vessel which contains the water touch the ground has been fully observed.

In the plain surrounding the village of Jalálshábád (جلالشاباد), in the district of Quháb (قهاب), is another fountain of singularly pure and sweet water, absolutely free from all sorts of water-weeds and aquatic animals, such as worms, crabs, tortoises, fish, and the like; yet no animal, wild or domestic, will drink of it. And if a well be dug anywhere near that stream, this water collects in it and presently (f. 24*b*) turns to a black salt.

In the district of Márbín is a village called Tarsábád, many of the inhabitants of which possess a certain drug, unknown to other people, which, when dissolved in the milk of a red cow, and administered on one of the dark nights at the end of each lunar month, is most efficacious in curing persons bewitched, crazy, epileptic, or subject to vomiting produced by poison or other causes.

The author now proceeds to speak of Yazd, and first of all of one of its great men, Shamsu'd-Dín Rukn u'l-Islám

[1] The form *Shish*, which is probably correct, occurs lower, l. 11.

Nidhámu'l-Muslimín al-Yazdí, at that time, as it would appear, deputy or assistant *wazír* of Isfahán (f. 25*a*), whose full titles were thus set forth in official documents:—

برادر مرتضی اعظم اعدل صاحب اعلم افضل ملک الملوک
اقضی القضاة و نقیب النقبآء فی العالم شمس الشریعة و الدولة
و الحق و الدّین قوام الاسلام و نظام المسلمین ‘

In the Yazd district are shifting sands, which the wind blows hither and thither; and when anyone would cultivate a garden or field in their midst, he plants tamarisks (Ar. طرفا, Pers. گز) round about the site selected,[1] and these prevent the shifting of the sands. At this point (f. 25*b*) the translator inserts the three following couplets of his own:—

طوبی لاصفهان و بُشْری لاهلها ‘ فازوا بخیرهم و تکانت ببعلها ‘
جنّاتُ عَدنها و ینابیع عذبها ‘ حبّاتُ ارضها و ازاهیر تلّها ‘
اشجار جثّها مع انهار مآئها ‘[2] فی ماربین بین رکایا زلالها ‘

The area of this district is not more than six parasangs by fourteen, or eight by twelve, but it contains nearly 800 flourishing villages and farms. Some of these are supplied with water by the Zarrín-rúd, which rises at a spring called Chashma-i-Jánán and finally sinks into the Gáv-Khwání marsh near Rawídasht (رویدشت). It is called Zarrín-rúd ("the Golden River") because of the wealth which its waters bestow on the lands which it irrigates and fertilises for a distance of 50 parasangs.[3] Here follows a rather florid passage (ff. 26*a*–26*b*) describing, with many quotations from the Qur'án, the abundance of fruits and crops produced in this fertile district.

[1] This plant, from the exudation of which the celebrated sweetmeat called *gaz* is manufactured, is particularly abundant in the desert called *Kaffa-i-Abarqúh* between Dihbíd and Yazd.

[2] The reading جثّها (apparently in the sense of "hillocks") is uncertain, but seems the most probable.

[3] The river *Zar-afshán* ("Gold-scatterer") in Transoxania is similarly called for the same reason.

It is related on trustworthy authority that 'Alí b. Rustam al-Madaní, while lying on his back one day in the *Qubbatu'l-Khaḍrá* ("Green Cupola") which he had built at Medina, and contemplating the expanse of sky and plain and the size of the building, exclaimed that one who was given the government of Iṣfahán for two years could fill the Cupola with gold, and himself reap an abundant harvest of silver; and added that he had heard Abu'l-Qásim b. Máhán, one of the chief financial secretaries of Iṣfahán, state on the authority of his master (unnamed) that when Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla, the Buwayhid prince (A.D. 976–983), occupied Iṣfahán with an army consisting of countless soldiers and camp-followers, after defraying all the allowances and expenses of this vast host and of the government generally, there remained over the produce of 20,000 *jaríbs* (f. 27*a*) of corn-land, in spite of which complaints of the falling off of the revenues were and are prevalent. In the first year of the conquest[1] the revenues from the land-tax (خراج) and capitation-tax (جزیه) reached forty million *dirhams*, while in ancient times the land-tax alone was twelve million *dirhams*. In the translator's time, that is, in A.H. 729 (=A.D. 1329), under the highly-lauded administration of Sharafu'd-Dín 'Alí of Ná'in (on whom the usual wealth of honorific epithets and titles is showered with unstinted profusion), the revenues appear to have been equally flourishing, but unfortunately there is a hiatus after the word مبلغ (f. 27*b*, l. 6), where their total amount, after deducting all expenses and allowances, should have been stated.

Next follows a description of the city walls of Iṣfahán, constructed by 'Alá'u'd-Dawla (probably Muḥammad b. Dushmanzár b. Kákwayh, first cousin of Majdu'd-Dawla the Buwayhid, who annexed Iṣfahán in A.D. 1007), whereof the circuit exceeded 15,000 paces, not reckoning the suburbs of Kamá'án (کماآن), Bará'án (براآن), Shanbalán (شنبلان,

[1] It is not clear whether the Arab conquest is meant, or the above-mentioned conquest of Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla.

f. 28*a*), Kharján (خرجان), Farsán (فرسان), the Garden of 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, Karwá'án (كرواآن), Ashkahán (اشكهان, or perhaps اسكّهان, Asgahán), and Lunbán (or Lubnán, لُنبان or لُبنان). The following Arabic verses descriptive of this wall are cited from the author of the *Maḥásin*, on which this book is based :—

سورٌ على قبّة العيوق ذروته ' و جوّزت منكب الجوزآ مناكبه '
من دون اَبرُجِهِ اَبرُجُ الفلك[1] ' . . . . . .
لو كان يحضر ياجوجاً لما فُتحت ' يوماً و اعجز نُقّباً مناقبه '
وحَوْلَهُ خَنْدَقٌ قد لُجّ لُجّتُهُ ' فليس يمّ و لا نيلٌ يُناسبه '

This wall has twelve gateways, each with a pair of iron-plated gates, through which the largest elephant, fully caparisoned, and bearing spearmen and standards, could pass with ease.

Some of the public buildings of Iṣfahán are next described: first the governor's palace, or *Dáru'l-Amára*, of which a wordy and bombastic description fills a couple of pages; next the palace of Hazár Kúshk ("the Thousand Kiosques"); then the wonderful bazaars, filled with the produce of every clime (f. 29*b*)—*bijouterie* from Baghdad, silks from Kúfa, brocades from Rúm, sherbets from Egypt, gems from Baḥrayn, ebony from 'Ummán, ivory from India, curiosities from China, furs from Khurásán, wood from Ṭabaristán, woollen goods and blankets from Ádharbáyagán (i.e. Ádharbayján) and Gílán, carpets and rugs from Armenia, and the like. A special kind of cotton thread peculiar to Iṣfahán is especially noticed (*f.* 30*b*), whereof one *mithqál* sells at 36 *dirhams*, while one *kharwár* of stuffs manufactured from it is worth 10 *kharwárs* of gold-embroidered silk of Egypt. The translator himself went

[1] One *miṣra'*, which I take to be the second half of this *bayt*, has been accidentally omitted by the copyist. The other *miṣra'* (here printed) is evidently corrupt, as it does not scan.

to the bazaars to verify this point, and, after much haggling about the price, received the following final statement from the vendor:— [1]

یک سخن وزنِ این هر دو (مقنع) سه مثقال است و بر چهار
سوی بازار پنج شش کدخدا هفت روزست تا بده گونه شفاعت
به بیست دینار از ما میخرند ما نمی فروشیم ‘

According to this, one maund of the fabric in question would be worth two thousand *dinárs* (f. 31*a*). A piece of this fabric, measuring 24 by 2¼ ells (*gaz*) and weighing 7 *mithqáls*, was sent as a worthy present to one of the rulers of Baḥrayn, Hurmúz, or one of the islands in the Persian Gulf, by Jamálu'd-Dín Muḥammad Daylam-i-Dastajirdí-i-Iṣfahání, a philanthropic, beneficent, and liberal minister, whose praises are celebrated at length. Another bazaar is next described which was built by the Amír Mudhaffaru'd-Dín Shaykh ‘Alí b. Amír Muḥammad b. Giráy Ílájí, apparently a descendant of Arghún the Mongol (A.D. 1284–1291), of whom the poet Fákhir-i-Fádil of Herát says:—

از یک طرف نبیرهٔ نوئین اعظم است ‘ وز یک طرف سلالهٔ میر بزرگوار ‘

His deputy, Jamálu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Shuja'u'd-Dín-i-Lubnání (or Lunbání)-i-Iṣfahání, is also praised for similar public-spirited acts of generosity, and part of a *qaṣída* composed in his eulogy by Sa'd-i-Hiraví is cited (f. 32*a*):—

از پی ذوق و تفرج گر بلنبان در شوی ‘
مسجدی بینی مروّج بر سرِ آب روان ‘
در جوارش صاحب صاحب قدمرا بقعهٔ ‘
کز لب تعظیم بوسد آسمانش آستان ‘

[1] The point of this sentence consists in the sequence of numbers which it contains. For a similar piece of ingenuity, see A. de Biberstein Kazimirski's *Dialogues Français-Persans*, pp. 123–124.

آستانش را اگر با آسمان نسبت دهی
تا بدانی فرق ظاهر در میان این و آن ‘
ز آسمان تا آستان بارگاه رفعتش ‘
این قدر ما بَیْن باشد کز زمین تا آسمان ‘
غیرتِ باغِ خَوَرْنَق رشک بستان اِرَم ‘
صورت ارژنگ مانی نسخهٔ صحن جنان ‘
شمّهٔ از وصفِ حُسنش هم زگفتار سعید ‘
هست بر طاقش نوشته چون درون آئی بخوان ‘
جاوشش بهرام بانی مشتری تیرش ندیم ‘
مطربش ناهید و مه دربان و کیوان پاسبان ‘
آفتابش صاحب عادل جهان مکرمت ‘
آنکه پیش [او] کمر بندد بخدمت توأمان ‘
صاحب عادل جمال الدین محمّد کآورد ‘
سبز خنگ آسمان‌را حکم او در زیر ران ‘

This is followed (f. 32 *b*) by another poem in his honour by the translator :—

ای جمال تو اصفهان آرائی ‘ چه بود اصفهان جهان آرائی ‘
روشنائیٔ چشم این شهری ‘ نه غلط نور دیدهٔ مهری ‘
چرخ سرکار طاق دکّانت ‘ مهر و مه پاسبان و دربانت ‘
پیشه کاران خاص تو افلاک ‘ خار و خاشاک و صحن تو حاشاک ‘
آجر درگهِ تو قرصهٔ چرخ ‘ خرج تو مال روم و حاصل بلخ ‘
چار سویت که شش جهت دارد ‘ ملک عالم بهیچ نشمارد ‘

Next follows an ornate description of the palace of Khwája Bahá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Shamsu'd-Dín Ṣáḥib-Díwán-i-Juwayní (ff. 32*b*–33*a*), *à propos* of which is cited a poem by Sharafu'd-Dín Shufurvah, who is spoken of as شهرهٔ روزگار. This poem, which comprises 10 *bayts*, begins:—

فلک چیست برکت بنفشه ز باغت ،

قمر چیست خشت نظامی ز بامت ،

These are followed (ff. 33*a*–34*b*) by an Arabic poem on the same subject by the late Qáḍí Nidhámu'd-Dín Iṣfahání, the author of *díwáns* both in Arabic and Persian. This poem comprises 37 *bayts*, of which the second[1] and third run thus:—

مخیّمُ اقبالٍ و منشآءُ دولة ،

رَنَتْ محوَهُ الافلاکُ عن طرف خاشعٍ ،

تمنّی ملوکُ الارض لثم تُرابه ،

فلم یخلُ من خدّ علی الارض ضارعٍ ،

This is succeeded by a description of the Masjid-i-Adína, an old mosque which was originally built by Arabs of the Banú Tamím. When the city, originally founded by Khusayb b. Salm, was enlarged by the incorporation therewith of fifteen suburbs or villages, the quarter of Khusayb-ábád was added to this mosque, but taken from it in A.H. 226 (A.D. 840–841) in the reign of the Caliph al-Mu'taḍid,[2] and again restored by Abú 'Alí b. Rustam in the reign of al-Muqtadir (A.D. 908–932). A Jew who held possession of some of the land required for this extension (said to have been the actual site of Khusayb-ábád) demanded (f. 35*a*) and obtained an enormous price ere he would consent to sell it. Adjoining the mosque were

[1] The first is so corrupt that I can make nothing of it.

[2] There is an error here. At this date al-Mu'taṣim was Caliph. Al-Mu'taḍid reigned A.D. 892–902.

colleges (رواق), caravanserais, guest-houses, offices, treasuries, and a library built by Abu'l-'Abbás Aḥmad aḍ-Ḍabbí. In the latter were preserved many rare books, the catalogue of which filled three large volumes. Hard by (f. 35*b*) was a gate of great beauty built by Abú Muḍar ar-Rúmí (ابو مضر الرومی) at a cost of 2,000 *dínárs* of that time. The two minarets are built upon two buttresses (فیلوار), which form an arch spanning the passage which leads from the mosque into the Dyers' Bazaar. Another smaller mosque in [the quarter of] Júrjír (جورجیر or جورچر) was built by the Káfi'l-Kufát Ṣáḥib [Isma'íl b.] 'Abbád, and is remarkable for its slender and graceful minarets, a hundred cubits (*gaz*) in height and one cubit in diameter.

Amongst the virtues of Iṣfahán (f. 36*a*) the author mentions the devoutness of its inhabitants in public worship, and the fact that since its first foundation no king has ever died there. To quote his own words:—

و از مناقب بزرگ و مراتب بلند که هیچ شهر به چنان خاصیت و فضیلت مخصوص نیست اتفاقست بر آنکه از زمان استحداث اصفهان تا غایة هرگز ملک الموت در آنجا ندای قضی نحبه در گوش هیچ ملک نداده است

The number of cattle daily brought into the city for the butchers averages 1,000 sheep and 100 cows, all of which are killed and eaten before evening, while on feast-days, such as the Naw-rúz, the number greatly exceeds this. Besides this, some 100,000 sheep and 1,000 cows are killed, salted, and made into *qadíd* (قدید), which will keep sweet and good for a whole year, and is so highly esteemed that friends send it to one another as a present (f. 36*b*), and it is exported to distant cities. Every householder of Iṣfahán, says the author, is accustomed to keep a good store of provisions, meat, vegetables, fruits, sweetmeats, and the like, in his house, so that at the shortest notice he may be able to

entertain unexpected guests. Everyone, moreover, has a good supply of ice throughout the Summer, a fact alluded to in the verse:—[1]

خشحشه ز آواز یخ بـا حـور در سقراق نـو ٔ

خوشتر از بغداد و ما فیها و قد سبق البیان ٔ

This chapter concludes with praises of the fruits of Iṣfahán, especially the apples of Ázáyish and the pears of Jayy, and the wonderful china wares to be found in its markets.

Chapter V (ff. 37*a*–45*a*).

It is related by Sulaymán b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'lláh b. Muḥammad b. 'Imrán, on the authority of 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán b. 'Amr b. Rasta, that Muḥammad b. Yúsuf used to say, "The good men of Iṣfahán are the best of men, and the bad are the worst."

خیارُ اصفهان من خیار النّاس و شرارها من شرار النّاس ٔ

Of notable Iṣfahánís the first, according to the author, is *Pharaoh* (!),[2] whose arrogant pretensions to Divinity he makes an excuse for merely mentioning him. Next comes *Bukhtu'n-Naṣr* (Nebuchadnezzar), whose Persian name, according to Ḥamza of Iṣfahán, was as follows:—[3]

بُت نزینه بن دیو بن گودرز

and who was one of King Luhrásp's satraps. He also was originally from Khúzán in the Márbín district.

Third comes *Bahrám Gúr* the Sásánian (A.D. 420–438), who was from the village of Rúsán (روسان), in the district of Ulanján (اُلنجان). Near this village he had a castle called Ázádwár, where he wedded the daughter of Barzíjír (دختر برزیجیر) of the village called Ajuya-i-Barú'án (اجُیهٔ براآن).

[1] This verse occurs in a *qaṣída* by Sa'du'd-Dín Hiraví, already cited at pp. 422–4 *supra*.

[2] He was, says the author, originally of Márbín. (از خوزان ماربین بر خاست).

[3] Ṭabarí (i, 666) gives a quite different genealogy.

Fourth comes (f. 38*a*) *Mihr-Yazdán*, one of the Parthian rulers or *Mulúku't-Ṭawá'if*, also from Ulanján. He built the fortress on [the hill now occupied by] the Castle of Márbín.

Fifth comes *Shírín*, the beloved of Khusraw Parwíz. In short, says the author, this district of Ulanján (f. 38*b*) has at all times up to his own day produced notable men and women, last but not least of whom was Fakhru'd-Dín Muḥammad-i-Ashtarjání-i-Iṣfahání, whose learning, piety, philanthropy, and benign influence are highly praised, and whose virtues are described as having passed to his sons Malik 'Alá'u'd-Dín 'Alí *Dastúru'l-Wuzará* and Malik Yamínu'd-Dín *'Aḍudu'l-Wuzará* (f. 39*b*).

Sixth comes *Salmán the Persian*, the celebrated companion of the Prophet, whose real name was Rúzbih, the son of Wahánán (روزبه بن وَهَانان), and who was a native of the village of Kayán (كيان) in the Quháb (قهاب) district. He was the first-fruits of Islám in Persia, and of him the Prophet said: سلمانُ مِنّا اهل البيت and انا سابقُ العرب الى الجنّة و سلمانُ سابق الفُرس اليها. Abú Hurayra relates that when the verse (*Qur'án*, xlvii, 40), "If ye turn away, He will substitute for you another people in your stead, who shall not be like you," was revealed to the Prophet, one asked him to what people allusion was made. The Prophet laid his hand on Salmán, who was sitting beside him, and said thrice, "This friend and his people. By that God (f. 40*a*) in whose grasp of power is the soul of Muḥammad, were Faith suspended over the vault of the Pleiades, the men of Persia (پارس) would bring it down to earth!" That by "Persia" (پارس) Iṣfahán is meant, is proved, says the author, by Salmán's own narrative, reported by 'Abdu'lláh b. 'Abbás, wherein he says, "I was from Iṣfahán, from a village called Jayy." Salmán, it is added, found at Medina an Iṣfaháni woman who had preceded him in the acceptance of Islám.

Seventh comes *Abú Muslim*, the great propagandist (صاحب دعوت) of the 'Abbásids, who was the son of

Rahám, the son of Gúdarz, or Shídús, the son of Gúdarz, and whose native place was the village of Fátaq (فاتق) in the direction of Karáj (كراج). After a description of the great services he rendered to the House of 'Abbás, the following verses composed by him (ff. 40*b*–41*a*) are cited :—

ادركتُ بالجزم و الكتمان ما عجزتْ ‘
عنه ملوك بنى مروان اذ حشدوا[1] ‘
ما زلتُ اسعَى مليًّا فى ديارهم ‘
و القومُ فى ملكهم بالشام قد رقدوا ‘
حتّى ضربتُهُمُ بالسَّيْفِ فانتبهوا ‘
عن نَوْمَةٍ[2] لَمْ ينمها بعدهم أَحَدُ ‘
و من رعى غنمًا فى ارضِ مسبعةٍ ‘
فنام عنها تولّى رعيها الأَسَدُ ‘
و منها يشير فيها بذكر ارضه الى اصفهان ‘
ذرونى ذرونى ما قررتُ فانّنى ‘
متى ما أَهِجْ يومًا تَمِيدُ بكم ارضى ‘
و ابعث فى سَرْد الحديد عليكمُ ‘
كتايبَ سُوداً طالما انتظرتْ نَهْضى ‘

In proof that Abú Muslim was a native of Iṣfahán is cited a passage from al-Madá'iní's works, in which it is related that one day Abú Muslim, after boasting of his conquests, asked Abú Bakr of Hudhayl, "Who conquered our city of Iṣfahán?" Abú Bakr replied, "The 'Abdu'lláhs" (عبادلة), mentioning some of them by name. Abú Muslim is also reported to have said, "I and Salmán are from one branch

[1] MS. حُسدوا.
[2] MS. نَوْحَةٍ.

on the genealogical tree." One of his descendants, moreover, who bore the same *kunya*, was Abú Muslim Ṭáhir b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh b. Ḥamza of the village of Júzdán (جوزدان), the maternal grandfather of Mufaḍḍal b. Sa'd b. Ḥusayn al-Máfarrúkhí, the author of the *Risálatu Maḥásini Iṣfahán*, which forms the basis of this book, by whom the following *qaṣída* was composed :—

و ما انا الّا المَرْءُ امّا فعاله ، فحُسْنى و امّا نَعْتُهُ فجوادُ ،
له جانبٌ قاسى الصّفا و لرُبّما ، يلينُ لداعى الحبّ منه قيادُ ،
سجاياه ندٌّ فوق نار ذكآئِهِ ، و افكاره فى المعضلاتِ زِنادُ ،
اذا ما رأنى حاسدٌ غَضّ طَرْفَهُ ، كانّى فى عين الحسود رُقادُ ،
يخوضُ حِجاجَيْهِ بروقُ فضائلى ، و فى مِسْمَعَيْهِ من ثناى رعادُ ،
رِحابٌ مغانيهم سباطٌ أكُفُّهُم ، اذا آرْتَدّتِ الآمالُ وَهْىَ جوادُ ،
اوليك قوم أرهقُوا طَبْعَ دَهْرِهِمْ ، وذبُّوا عن الدين الحنيف وذادُوا ،
فمن صعر الدنيا اقاموا و من ردى ، اقالوا و من فتك الزمانِ اقادُوا ،
اذا ما آسْتَجَاروهم أجاروو إنْ دُعُوا ، اجابوا و إنْ نصّوا الخطابَ اجادُوا ،
نفوسهُمُ للقتل تحيى و مالهم ، لامضآءِ حكم الجُودِ منه يزاد ،[1]

This Abú Muslim the younger, on account of his ability, good looks, and agreeable conversation, was a great favourite with 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla the Buwayhid (A.D. 949–982), by whom, when 14 years of age, he was taken to Baghdad for a year. There he studied with Abú 'Abdi'lláh of Baṣra, better known as Ibn Ju'al, a master of jurisprudence and scholastic philosophy, and, in addition, learned (f. 42*a*) five languages besides Persian, viz., Arabic, Turkish, Æthiopic

[1] The following readings of the MS. have been corrected: l. 1, امّا ; فجوادى ; l. 2, قيادوا ; l. 5, مَسمَعَيه ; l. 6, سباطَ ; l. 7, أرهقُوا ; و ذابو ; l. 8, صِغر ; l. 9, نصّوا ; l. 10, يرادوا.

(زنگی), Greek (رومی), and Hindustání (هندی). When only 28 years of age he had the misfortune deeply to offend the Ṣáḥib 'Abbád in a religious discussion held in the presence of 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla. The Ṣáḥib was worsted and silenced, and, though he concealed his vexation, he never forgave his young opponent, so that when, on the death of 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla, Abú Muslim set out from Baghdad to return home to Iṣfahán, the Ṣáḥib sent formal commands to the governor of Hamadán, Abú 'Alí of Merv, to kill him. Abú 'Alí, however, happened to be Abú Muslim's cousin on the father's side, and, by gifts and appeals, he ultimately succeeded, with great difficulty, in inducing the Ṣáḥib to renounce his vengeance.

The author next relates (ff. 42*a*–42*b*), as proof of the valour, public spirit, and patriotism of the Iṣfahánís, how once in former times (no particulars are given) the city was taken and occupied by an army of 30,000 men, who grievously oppressed and maltreated the people, until these at length rose *en masse* and destroyed the invaders to the last man. As proof of their liberality and emulation, he relates, on the authority of "a credible witness," that formerly, in the quarter of Garwá'án (گروآن), "now entirely ruined and obliterated, so that even of its remains no trace abides," there stood fifty flourishing mosques, in each of which prayers were regularly celebrated, every man of consequence thinking it a shame that he should perform his devotions in a mosque for which he was indebted to the liberality of another. As regards their wealth (f. 43*a*), another trustworthy witness related that on one occasion of festival he sat looking at the passers-by in the quarter called Ghán Lúfa (محلّه که معروفست بغان لوفه), near the Bábu'l-Qaṣr ("Palace Gate"), on the avenue leading to Muṣallá ("the Oratory"), and counted 2,000 men clad in silken garments, satin turbans, clothes of Túz and Bam, Egyptian wool and scarlet, out of the one quarter of Bíd-ábád, which is now utterly dilapidated, being partly included in the city-wall and partly in the cemetery.

In the interpretation of dreams, also, the Iṣfahánís often possess great skill, even persons who are quite illiterate and have never received any instruction in this science, either orally or from books. One of these was called Abu'ṭ-Ṭayyib *Mu'abbir*, commonly known as "*Kúbi-band*" (کوبی بند), whose prognostications, though not in accordance with the books, were marvellously correct. When a youth he dreamed one night at Mecca that from the fountain of the Masjid-i-Adína at Iṣfahán a man was giving out water to the people, when suddenly a negro passed by him with a drawn sword in his hand, and therewith struck him on the right side. The dreamer, at this point, woke up in a fright, and next morning set out to seek for one skilled in the interpretation of dreams. He at length found an old man accomplished in oneiromancy, who, on hearing his dream, bade him be of good cheer, for to him had been granted the interpretation of visions. Of his skill the following instances are given:—

Faḍl b. Balah (بَلَه), who was for a while a warden of the Masjid-i-Jámi' under the supervision of the above-mentioned Abu'ṭ-Ṭayyib, related that one day the two of them were out walking. As they passed the Ṣáḥib's house (at that time inhabited by the *Wazír* Shaykh Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz b. 'Abdu'l-Mun'im), they met two women, one of whom, recognizing Abu'ṭ-Ṭayyib, addressed him, saying that she had dreamed that a little bird (مرغکی از جنس دیباج) rose up from her right hand, and again perched on it, eating grain out of the palm of her hand, till suddenly, in an access of anger, she wrung its neck. "Who is this with thee?" (بات کیست), enquired Abu'ṭ-Ṭayyib, pointing to her companion. "My mother," answered she. "Send her with me," said he, "that I may tell her the interpretation." "Be silent," replied the woman, "for I cannot bear to be separated from my mother." The woman, however, insisted that he should interpret the dream for her there and then; and he, with great reluctance and every sign of disgust, said,

"You had a young lad for your lover who used to come and visit you (f. 44*a*), and you have killed him." Thereupon the other woman caught hold of her cloak, crying loudly, "Alas, my son! Alas, my beloved!" News of this was brought to Shaykh Abu'l-'Abbás, who came out to investigate the matter. The woman's guilt was proved, and confessed by herself, and, the body of her victim having been discovered in a well, she was drenched with naphtha, rolled up in matting, and burned to death.

The following anecdote of the same personage was told to the author by his father on the authority of his grandfather, who was the person concerned. He lived at that time on his farm in the village of Júzdán, and one night he dreamed that he was drawing water from a well, and that when he pulled up the bucket it contained two fishes, one large and one small. Next day he met Abu't-Ṭayyib, and demanded from him the interpretation of the dream. He was answered that on his return home two of his farm-labourers, who had an old-standing quarrel, would come before him and ask him to arbitrate between them, with a view to putting an end to their dispute; and was warned not to listen to what they said, or pay any attention to them. On returning home he actually found the two men quarrelling, and they at once appealed to him to decide between them, but, warned by Abu't-Ṭayyib, he refused, saying:—

أَحْسَنْتَمَا مرا اتّفاق نیک از قضای بد معزول گردانیده است

Another narrative follows of a man who dreamed a dream so shocking that, though he desired its interpretation, he could not bring himself to repeat it to Abu't-Ṭayyib, who, nevertheless (f. 44*b*), recounted it without error to him, and at the same time dispelled his fears and advised him how to act.

On another occasion a discussion as to the reality of this science of Interpretation of Dreams took place in the presence of 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, who was disposed to treat it with ridicule. Finally he ordered Abu't-Ṭayyib to be brought before him, and, to prove him, narrated to him sundry incoherent

dreams, and demanded their interpretation. Abu'ṭ-Ṭayyib maintained a stubborn silence, till at last 'Alá'u'd-Dawla said, "The Shaykh is not attending to the dream." Then at length he said, "May the fortune of Your Highness endure in the highest degree! It is not the part of wisdom to reply to mere *badinage*" (مزاح و بازی). 'Alá'u'd-Dawla was astonished and put to shame by this answer, and no longer denied the reality of Abu'ṭ-Ṭayyib's science.

The author excuses himself from dwelling further on the quickness, insight, skill, and mastery of the Iṣfahánís in every art, craft, and science, wherein, as he asserts, they have no equals in the world (f. 45*a*).

(*To be continued.*

ART. XVI.—*Tales of the Wise Man and the Fool, in Tibetan and Chinese.* By J. TAKAKUSU, M.A., M.R.A.S.

THE book I have chosen for my present paper is a sort of Jātaka or Avadāna entitled the "Hien-yü-Ching," which Mr. Nanjio has restored into Sanskrit as "Damamūka-sūtra" (賢 愚 經), or "Tales of the Wise Man and the Fool." It will at once remind one of the Tibetan work "mDsaṅs-blun" (generally called Dsan-lun), that is, "Der Weise und der Thor," published by I. J. Schmidt,[1] and afterwards by Schiefner, for this is a popular work and is read by almost every student of Tibetan. The Chinese version was by Hui-hsio (慧 覺), Wei-teh (威 德), and others, written during their stay in Karakhodjo,[2] A.D. 445 (宋 元 嘉 二 十 二 年). There are, however, two texts both assigned to the same translators, one coming down through the Korean Buddhists and the other through the Chinese. It is said in the earliest catalogue in existence (A.D. 520) that the original text was obtained by the translators in Khoten (Kustana, 于 闐) and translated by them in the Temple Tien-an-shi, Karakhodjo (高 昌 天 安 寺). As to the Tibetan text we were first informed of its existence by Csoma de Körösi in the "Asiatic Researches," vol. xx, 1836, and seven years later we were furnished with the text by the Russian savants mentioned above.

We possess at present four texts of the Sūtra as follows:—

	TIBETAN.	MONGOLIAN.	CHINESE.	KOREAN (in Chinese).
Number of fasciculi ...	12	12	13	13
Number of chapters ...	51	52	69	62
Date of translation ...	After 632 A.D.	After 1269 A.D.	445 A.D.	445 A.D.

[1] St. Petersburg, 1843.

[2] Later the capital of Uigur; the district of Kao-chang in China corresponding to Karakhodjo of Persians.

Though there seems from the above to have been four different *originals*, it may have not been so in reality, and the difference in the existing texts may be due to omission of some stories according to the will of the translators. The Tibetan is the shortest of all, and the 51 chapters which it contains are found in the three other texts, agreeing with one another very closely, and we have reason to consider it to be the latest work. The oldest is, of course, the Chinese, which contains the greatest number of chapters, and was translated nearly two centuries earlier than the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet in A.D. 632. The Korean text seems to have omitted some seven chapters, and the Mongolian left out some seventeen, while the Tibetan curtailed the most, omitting eighteen altogether. We have still another text in Kalmukish, which is mentioned by Mr. Schmidt.[1]

Now let us compare the contents of the texts, Tibetan and Chinese, to which our research is specially directed.[2]

I.

Chap.	Chinese.	Korean.	Tibetan.
1.	Several parables.[3] (The last, Sibi-jātaka; Pāli, 499; Cariya-piṭaka, 1, 8; Skt. Jātaka-mālā, ii.)	1.	1. Darstellung mancherlei Beispiele.[3]
2.	Mahā-sattva feeding a tigress with his body. (Jātaka-mālā, i; cf. Avadāna-kalpa-latā, ii.)	2.	2. Semean C'empo macht mit seinem Körper einer Tigerin eine gabe.
3.	Two Brāhmaṇas receiving precepts.	3.	3. Von dem Kuntuju, welcher sein übernommenes Pflichtgelübde erfüllte.
4.	A poor man of Benares making offerings to Buddha.	4.	4. Von dem Opferdarbringer nach dem Verkauf seines Körpers.
5.	The sea-god questioning a sailor.	5.	5. Von den Fragen der Gottheit des Meeres.
6.	A Deva-putra 'Han-ka-ta' (Gaṅgādhara).	6.	6. Von dem Göttersohne Gaṅgādara.
7.	Prince 'Su-ja-ti' (Sujāti).	7.	*dest.* (7. Mongolian: Vom Prinzen Susati.)

[1] Dsan-lun, p. xvii.

[2] The Korean is practically the same as the Chinese, except those chapters omitted in it. The Mongolian agrees mostly with the Tibetan, except that it has an extra chapter, i.e. chap. 7. See Dsan-lun, p. xvii.

[3] I omit Chinese and Tibetan originals here for brevity's sake.

II.

Chap.	Chinese.	Korban.	Tibetan.
8.	Princess Diamond, the daughter of King 'Pa-shi-noh' (Prasenajit).	8.	7. Von der Dorje genannten Tochter des König Saljal.
9.	A child called 'Gold-treasure.'	9.	8. Von Serjig (dem Goldreichen).
10.	A child called 'Flower-heaven' (Puṣpa-deva).	10.	9. Von Hlai-metog (der Götterblume).
11.	A child called 'Jewel-heaven' (Ratna-deva).	11.	10. Von Hlai-rinc'en (dem Götterkleinode).
12.	Ṛṣi Shan-ti-pa-li (Kṣantivādī). (Pāli Khanti-vādi-Jātaka, 313; Jātaka-mālā, xxviii.)	12.	11. Vom Duldenden.
13.	King Maitrī-bala giving his blood away. (Jātaka-mālā, viii; cf. Avadāna-kalpa-latā, 91.)	13.	12. Von der Gabenspendung des Königs Jampai-tob.
14.	The submission of six heretics.	14.	13. Von der Demüthigung der sechs Irrlehrer.

III.

15.	'Ko-da' offering his body.	15.	14. Von dem Tiere Kunta u. dessen darbringung des eigenen Körpers.
16.	The conversion of King 'Great-light.'	*deest.*	*deest.*
17.	An Upāsikā 'Ma-ha-shi-na' (Mahā-senā).	16.	*deest.*

IV.

18.	The merit of entering the priesthood and the householder 'Shi-li-pi-ti' (Śrī-vṛddhi).	22.	15. Das Lob des Eintritts in den geistlichen stand u. dessen verdienst.
19.	The suicide of a novice on account of precepts.	23.	16. Vom Getsül, welcher die übernommenen Pflichtgebote hielt.
20.	The householder who had no organ of sense.	24.	17. Von den Haus-eigenthümer ohne Sinnwerkzeuge.
21.	A poor man and his wife who obtained rewards by offering a cotton-cloth.	25.	18. Von dem Armen, welche ihre Bekleidung von Baumwollenzeug als Gabe darbrachte.
22.	An old woman who sold her poverty to 'Ka-shen-yen' (Kātyāyana).	26.	19. Von der Armen, welche Kātyāyana ihre Armuth verkaufte.

V.

Chap.	Chinese.	Korean.	Tibetan.
23.	A child called 'Gold-heaven' (Suvarṇa-deva).	27.	20. Von Serhla (goldene Gottheit).
24.	The child of two families.	28.	21. Von dem Sohne zweier Familien.
25.	The householder 'San-dan-nin' (Sandhāna).	29.	34. Von dem Hausbesitzer Dumjed.
26.	King 'Moonlight' (Candraprabha) giving his head away. Cf. Divyāv., xxii.	30.	22. Von dem König Da-od u. dessen hingabe des eigenen Hauptes.

VI.

27.	King 'Pleasing-eyes' giving his eyes away.	*deest.*	35. Von dem Könige Migjed.
28.	500 blind children following Buddha.	*deest.*	*deest.*
29.	The child 'Pun-na-ci' (Pūrṇacitta).	*deest.*	*deest.*
30.	A poor man 'Ni-ti' (Nithī?).	*deest.*	*deest.*

VII.

31.	A Mahā-kappiṇa.	31.	24. Von Kabyn C'enpo.
32.	The nun Utpalā.	16.	25. Von der Nonne Utpala.
33.	Seven sons of 'Li-ci-mi.'	32.	23. Von der sieben Söhnen des Kronsbeamten Ridag.
34.	King 'She-tu-la-ken-nin' (S'ārdūla-karṇa).	33.	26. Von Shudtolaggarni.
35.	King Aśoka offering earth to Buddha (in his former birth).	17.	27. Vom König Asoka. Cf. Aśoka-avadāna in Chinese.
36.	Offering seven jars of gold to Buddha.	18.	28. Von den golduen Kannen.
37.	Rewards to 'Sha-ma' (Kṣamā).	19.	29. Von der Brahmanin Deva.

VIII.

38.	King Chattra-kārī.	34.	*deest.*
39.	King 'Great-gift.'	35.	30. Von der Seereise des Jimpa C'enpo.

IX.

Chap.	Chinese.	Korean.	Tibetan.
40.	On the memory of Ānanda.	38.	*deest.*
41.	'Yu-pa-shi' (Upāsī?) killed by his brother.	39.	*deest.*
42.	The son murdering his father by mistake.	40.	*deest.*
43.	Sudāta building a Vihāra.	41.	*deest.*
44.	The conversion of King 'Great-light.'	42.	*deest.*
45.	The householder 'Lat-na-ja-ya' (Ratna-jaya).	43.	*deest.*
46.	On the 100 heads of the fish 'Ka-pi-li' (Kapila).	44.	*deest.*
47.	The Suddhāvāsa-devaputra offering a bath to Buddha.	36.	*deest.*

X.

48.	King Ma-ha-lin-nu (Mahāreṇu).	*deest.*	31. Von dem König Meloṅdoṅ.
49.	The two brothers 'Good-seeking' and 'Evil-seeking.'	*deest.*	32. Von den beiden Brüdern Legts'ol u. Nyeits'ol.
50.	Prince Kalyāṇa-kārī and his sea voyage. (Pāli, Suppāraka-jātaka, 463; Jātaka-mālā, xiv; Supāraga.)[1]	57.	33. Von dem Königssohne Gedon.

XI.

51.	The Bhikṣu Aṅguli-māla.	45.	36. Von Miduṅwa Sorpreṅcan.
52.	The householder Daṇḍin.	46.	39. Von dem Hausbesitzer Jugpacan.
53.	The poor girl Nandā.	20.	37. Von der Frau Nyeṅgamo.

XII.

54.	Madhura-jita, son of Sithi.	47.	40. Vom Brahmanen Shintsir.
55.	The householder 'Da-mi-li.'	48.	41. Vom Hausbesitzer Danjila.
56.	The child protected by an elephant.	49.	42. Vom Laṅpocoṅ.
57.	A man named 'Pa-pa-li.'	50.	*deest.*
58.	Two parrots understanding the four Noble Truths.	51.	*deest.*
59.	The bird which obtained the birth in heaven by hearing the law.	52.	*deest.*

[1] Pāli translated by Grünwedel in his "Buddhistische Studien," p. 79, and a Lepcha text and translation, pp. 119–126.

XIII.

Chap.	Chinese.	Korean.	Tibetan.
60.	500 swans which obtained the birth in heaven by hearing the law. (Pāli Culla-haṁsa Jātaka, 533; Jātaka-mālā, xxii.)	53.	48. Von den 500 Gänsen, welche im Götterreiche wieder geboren wurden.
61.	On a lion 'Ta-ka-la-pi.'	54.	49. Vom Löwen Yidam-tanpa.
62.	A Brāhmaṇa who offered a robe to Buddha.	55.	43. Von des Brahmaṇen darbringung eines Flicklappens.
63.	The first occasion on which Buddha showed his compassion.	56.	44. Von der ersten Veranlassung, bei welcher Buddha liebende Fürsorge erzeugte.
64.	King Muṇḍaka (or Mūrdha-ja).	57.	45. Vom König Ciwocei.
65.	Ten sons of the woman Sumanā.	58.	46. Von der Sumanā u. ihrer zehn Söhnen.
66.	The child 'Pa-shi-tsi' (Vasiṣṭha?).	59.	38. Vom Bashitsir.
67.	'Yu-pa-ki-ti' (Upagupta).	60.	47. Von Upagupta.
68.	A worm in the water.	61.	50. Von der Grundursache des Schiksals eines Wurmes.
69.	A S'ramaṇera 'Kin-ti' (Kunti?).	62.	51. Von Getsül Kyunte.

So much for the contents of the work. The right course would be to compare next the details of each chapter. I cannot do this here very well in a limited space, and let it suffice at present to refer to only a few points which are, according to my opinion, enough to convince us that the Tibetan has a close relation with the Chinese, and further to prove that the former is a translation of the latter.

1. The Tibetan translation agrees nearly word for word with the Chinese, so that one can easily trace the connection between the two. Of course there are some omissions or additions in both texts. Generally the paraphrased portions and the equivalents of names given in the Chinese texts are left out in the Tibetan. The disagreement must be due to an addition by a later hand on the part of the Chinese text. At any rate, that the Chinese text was not formerly as it is at present can be easily conceived, for it existed in manuscript during about 527

years, since it had been translated from Sanskrit A.D. 445 (printed for the first time A.D. 972). There are some apparent mistakes which are certainly due to the copyists' ignorance: e.g., 'Su-lo-pa' (修 樓 婆)[1] is a mistake for 'Su-pa-lo,' for the equivalent is given as 妙 色, i.e. 'Excellent colour' (Suvarṇa); 'Mi-kiu-la-pa-la' (彌 佉 羅 跋 羅)[2] for 'Mi-tu-la-pa-la' (Mitra-bala or Maitrī-bala); 'Pa-lo-she-sha' (婆 樓 施 舍) for 'Pa-lo-ka-sha' (Bharukaccha);[3] 'Shi-la-pa-ta-ti' (尸 羅 跋 陀 提) for 'Shi-la-pa-da-la' (Śīla-bhadra).[4]

Except these mistakes by the copyists, the paraphrased portions, and some additional notes which have in course of time crept into the text, we have nothing against the hypothesis that the Tibetan is the translation of a Chinese version of the Sūtra, which was not much different from the existing text.

2. As to the number of chapters, the Chinese text contains the most; in fact, it has 18 chapters more than the Tibetan, 7 more than the Korean, and 17 more than the Mongolian version. Thus it has a right to be considered as the original, at least of one, if not of all.

3. In point of time, again, the Chinese, having been translated in 445 A.D., and leaving no doubt whatever as to the date, comes first and foremost; and as the Tibetan version must be posterior to the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet in 632 A.D., the Chinese must be at least 200 years older than the Tibetan.

4. The Chinese versions retain Sanskrit words more than the Tibetan. These, when translated into Tibetan, are mostly replaced by similar sounds in case of transcriptions, and by equivalents in case of translations.

[1] Chap. 7 (Tib.). To know the corresponding number of chapters in Chinese and Korean, refer to the list given above.
[2] Chap. 12 (Tib.).
[3] Chap. 17 (Tib.).
[4] Chap. 35 (Tib.).

Examples of the Chinese retaining more Sanskrit than the Tibetan:—

Chinese.	Sanskrit.	Tibetan.	Chapter of the Tibetan.
Pu-pa-ti-po[1] ...	Puṣpa-deva	Hlai-metog[1]	9
Lat-na-ti-po	Ratna-deva	Hlai-rinc'en	10
Mi-ka-la-pa-la ...	Maitrī-bala	Jampai-tob	12
Ta-la-hu-shi... ...	Taru-kubja	Sdoñ-dun (holzklotz) ...	13
Ti-po-tat	Deva-datta	Hlai-jin	13
Su-mi	Sumeru	Rirab hlumpo	13
Shi-li-pi-ti	S'rī-vṛddhi	Palcei	15
Tan-ma-pi-ti ...	Dharma-vṛddhi ...	C'oici p'agpa	15
Tan-nya-shi-ci ...	Dāna-sthī	Jinpa	17
Shi-la-shi-ci	S'īla-sthī	Ts'ult'in	17
Shuk-li	S'uklī	Karmo (der Weise) ...	18
Su-pa-na-pa-su ...	Suvarṇa-bhāsa ...	Serji-od	20
Pa-ta-ci-pa	Bhadra-jīva	Ts'owa-saṅpo	22
Shen-ta-pa-la-pi ...	Candra-prabha ...	Da-od	22
Tu-la-nan-ta ...	Cūla-nanda	Dug-demo	25
Ka-lan-na-ka-li ...	Kalyāṇa-kārī ...	Dgedon	33
Pa-pa-ka-li	Pāpa-kārī	Sdigdon	33
Wan-ku-ma-la ...	Aṅguli-māla... ...	Sorprencun	36
A-li-mit-la	Arya-mitra	P'agpai-sheinjen	37

5. The Chinese original used by the Tibetan translator seems to have been pretty corrupt, and contained some miswritten characters peculiar to Chinese: e.g.:—

Chap.	Tibetan.	Chinese.	Sanskrit.
1.	Damgama.	曇摩鉗 Tan-ma-kan.	Dharma-kāma.
	[There seems to have been a wrong reading in the Chinese.]		
2.	Vami-sūtra.	婆修密多羅 Pa-su-mi-ta-la.	Vasu-mitra.
	[The order of Chinese characters seems to have been incorrect.]		
15.	Aseka.	陀塞鞞 ta-sa-ki.	Dāsaka (?).
	[The Tibetan translator seems to have read 阿 *A* for 陀 *ta*.]		
15.	Lita.	獺利吃 La-li-ta.	Lalita (?).
	[The Tibetan reads no 獺 *la* here.]		

[1] I omit Chinese and Tibetan characters. Moreover, I simplify the Tibetan spellings as much as I can.

Chap.	Tibetan.	Chinese.	Sanskrit.
16.	Suvanata.	周利槃特 Cu-li-pan-tek.	S'uddhi-panthaka.[1]

[Perhaps 利 *li* was not in the original.]

6. Transcriptions by the Tibetan translator done without understanding the original Chinese: e.g.:—

Chap.	Tibetan.	Chinese.	Sanskrit.
2.	C'in-rta (Great cart).	摩訶羅楻那 Ma-ha-la-tan-na.	Mahā-ratna.

[This has been taken to be Mahā-ratha (= great cart). As it stands it is due to a misunderstanding. But it is also possible that the Chinese text has since been altered into Ma-ha-la-tan-na. The Mongolian Üligerün Dalai, 42, and Altan Gerel, 426 (the corresponding Chinese text too), have Yeke Terge and Mahā-ratha, Ch. 大車 (= Great carriage).]

15, et passim.	Sar-p'ag (often used for 'householder' or 'lord').	薩薄 Sat-pak.	Sat-pati ?.

[Sanskrit equivalent is not certain, perhaps Satpati, 'Good Lord.' Anyhow the Tibetan has simply transcribed the Chinese, or, if I am wrong, has the word Sar-p'ag any meaning as above?]

25.	Shudtolggarni.	設頭羅俯寧 She-tu-la-ken-nin.	S'utudru-karṇa ?.
30.	Meloń-gdon (Mirror-face).	摩訶令奴 Ma-ha-liu-nu.	Mahā-reṇu.

[Here a fanciful etymology seems to have influenced the translator.]

36.	Balamadar.	波羅摩達 Pa-la-ma-tat.	Brahma-datta.
37.	Pinteloshusha.	賓頭盧埵闍 Pin-tu-lu-ta-ja.	Piṇḍola-dvāja

[Shu points to 垂 *sui*, for 埵 is not *sui*, but *tu*. In this case the Tibetan seems to have misread it.]

7. Some other peculiarities in the Tibetan.

[1] Sukhāvatī-vyūha (smaller), § 1.

(A) When a Chinese nasal comes the Tibetan often splits the syllable asunder and makes it into two: e.g. :—

Chinese.	Sanskrit.	Tibetan.	Chap.
虔闍尼波梨 Kan-ja-ni-pa-li.	Kañjanī-pālī.	Ka-na-jani-pali.	1.
安陀 An-ta.	Andhra.	A-na-ta.	16.
周利槃多 Cu-li-pan-ta.	S'uddhi-panthaka.	Cūwa-na-ta.	16.

And these, perhaps from a false analogy of Shen-dan, (旃 檀) = Can-da-na, Ma-ha-shen (摩 訶 羨) = Mahā-se-na, Na-shen (那 先) = Nāga-se-na, etc., etc.

(B) Chinese *pi* (= Jap. *bi*) is represented with *byi* in Tibetan, as in the case of a Sanskrit word. *Byi* is generally pronounced *ji* in Tibetan, but we must not apply this rule to the transcribed words, as it has been done by Mr. Schmidt. Thus :—

Chinese.	Tibetan.	Chap.
Shi-pi (尸 毘)	Shi-byi (Skt. S'ibi).	1.
Pi-lan-kat-li. (毗 楞 竭 梨)	Byi-liṅ-gi-ra-li.	1.
Man-ji-pi-li. (曼 慈 毗 梨)	Man-ji-byi-la.	17.
Ki-li-pi. (機 里 毗)	Ti-li-byi.	35.
Pin-tu-lu-ta-ja. (賓 頭 盧 墮 闍)	Pyin-te-lo-shu-sha.	39.

(C) Mistakes from the forms of characters peculiar to Chinese. Chapter 22: Ma-shen-ta (Mahā-candra, 摩 旃 陀), under which is noted Ta-yü, 大 月 'Great Moon,' but here the Tibetan has 'Can-C'enpo,' 'Great-eye,' i.e. 大 目 Ta-mu. The text may have had 目 owing to a corruption. In the case of Pin-te-lo-shu-sha, above referred to, 墮 *ta* is

taken as having the similar sound with 垂 *sui*, on account of their resemblance to each other. I have noticed elsewhere the reading of 槃 *pan* for 梨 *li*, and 阿 *A* for 陀 *ta*, etc., etc. However, these mistakes may be due simply to a corruption of the Chinese text, and the translator may be free from blame.[1]

The above remarks, though they may not be exhaustive, will be sufficient to explain the relation between the Tibetan and the Chinese. Formerly, when I was reviewing Mr. Grünwedel's work [2] in the "Hansei Zasshi" (now the "Orient"), vol. xx, No. 11, 1897, I expressed there the idea that the Chinese may be a translation of the Tibetan,[3] but the internal evidence which we can adduce from the texts proves quite the opposite, and the Chinese has the right to claim the priority over the Tibetan. Moreover, the conclusion is confirmed by some native writers who were contemporaries of the authors of the Chinese version.

8. In the catalogues of the Chinese Tri-piṭaka, Kai-yuen-lu, and Ching-yuen-lu it is said as follows:—

"Hien-yü-Ching (The Wise Man and the Fool, 賢愚經,) in 13 vols., sometimes said to be 15 vols. or 16 vols., or even 17 vols.[4] Otherwise called the Hien-yü-yin-yuen-ching (Dama-mūka-nidāna-sūtra). This is mentioned in the Sung-tsi-lu (宋齊錄) by Tao-hui (道慧), and in the Seng-yiu-lu (僧祐錄) by Seng-yiu (僧祐, flourished in 500–520 A.D.).

[1] The Chinese text is not free from such mistakes as mentioned here. It has that mistake which can be said to be almost *hereditary*, i.e. 波旬 pa-shun for Skt. pāpīya (= Māra), which is a mistake for 波匈 pa-pi; analogous to this the text has 耶旬 ya-shun for jhāpeti (Skt. kṣapayati), 'to burn,' but this is again 耶匈 ya-pi. In some other texts it is 闍毗 ja-pi, 荼毘 ca-pi, 闍維 ja-wei, or even 耶維 ya-wei, all originating from Pāli jhāpe-, 'cause to burn.'

[2] "Buddhistische Studien" von Albert Grünwedel, veröffentlichung aus dem Königlichen Museum der Vörkerkunde, Bd. v, Berlin, 1897.

[3] p. 27, note.

[4] We see from this note there were several texts of this Sūtra.

The work exists at present in 13 vols. The author is Śramaṇa Hui-Hsio or T'an-Hsio (慧 覺 or 曇 覺). Seng-yiu says: 'T'an-Hsio was a native of Liang Chou (凉 州). He was noble and intelligent, and renowned for the purity of his conduct and the deepness of his knowledge. When he was in Khoten (于 闐, Kustana) he obtained the Sanskrit text of this Sūtra. He came to Karakhodjo (Kau-chang, 高 昌) from Khoten, and there he, together with a Śramaṇa Wei-teh (威 德), translated the text.' It is also mentioned in Tsing-Mai's (靖 邁) work Ku-chin-i-chin-t'u-ki (古 今 譯 經 圖 記)." Note: "It is said in the Record of Hien-yü-Ching by Śramaṇa Seng-yiu (僧 祐) of the Liang dynasty (A.D. 502–557) that the Śramaṇas of Ho-hsi (west of the river), T'an-Hsio, Wei-teh, and others, eight in all, intended to travel afar in search of their sacred texts. While in the Mahā-vihāra of Khoten they met with the festival called the 'Pañca-varṣa-pariṣad,'[1] which is in Chinese a 'great assembly of all in every five years.' Several teachers versed in the Tri-piṭaka were engaged in the propagation of the precious law; they preach Sūtras or Vinaya according to their special skill. The eight Śramaṇas also took the opportunity, attended the lectures and strove to acquaint themselves with the foreign dialect. They succeeded in explaining what they heard there, and translated it all. When they came back to Karakhodjo, they collected what they learnt of each work and made it into one book. Afterwards crossing over the sand-streams they brought it home to Liang Chou. At the time Śramaṇa Hui-lang was famous as the great preceptor of Ho-hsi, and being rich in pious deeds could recite the expanded texts (Vaipulya) all from memory. He thought: 'The text brought home from Khoten is a portion of the Avadānas. What the Avadānas show us are good and bad examples of man's deeds; they are in other words the distinctions of the wise man and the fool. Among the Sūtras handed down from

[1] 般 遮 于 瑟 Pan-ca-yu-shi. This is mentioned also in Fa-hien's Travels.

former ages Avadānas are numerous, and therefore we will give a new title to this text according to the subject-matter of it, and call it the 'Hien-yü-Ching' (The Wise Man and the Fool).'"

According to this contemporaneous and therefore very important note, the title "The Wise Man and the Fool" is entirely of Chinese origin, and if this note be taken as authentic (and of course it is) it will also account for the origin of the Tibetan name Dsan-lun. The fact that the book has the name given by the Chinese must be a strong proof of its having been translated from the Chinese.

9. I do not go at present so far as to say that the Mongolian version of our text is also from the Chinese, but the second chapter of the Üligerün Dalai (the Ocean of Parables)[1] betrays its Chinese origin. The author seems to have read 十 太 子 '10 princes' for 千 太 子 '1,000 princes,' for the characters 十 and 千 resemble each other, and such a mistake can only arise in Chinese numerals.

10. Lastly, to strengthen our argument I may quote the words of Csoma de Körösi in his Analysis of Kanjur in the "Asiatic Researches," vol. xx, Arts. ii and xi (1836), p. 480. He says: "At the end (of the Tibetan Dsan-lun) it is stated that this work, it seems, has been translated from Chinese." So even to Tibetans the work appeared to have come from the Chinese.

From the above remarks I hope that the points of my argument have become quite clear to the readers. It is, I think, perfectly certain that the Tibetan version is a translation of the Chinese; the correspondence of both texts cannot be explained otherwise. To make it quite safe, however, we had better wait for a corroboration from scholars versed in Tibetan.

If I have succeeded in drawing attention to the fact that between the Tibetan and the Chinese there exists

[1] = Dsan-lun, chap. 7 (Mongolian), *dest* in Tibetan; Chinese text, chap. 7.

a relation similar to that between Indian originals and Chinese or Tibetan, and also in showing that the comparative study of Buddhism and Buddhist literature must rest on the basis of the four languages, I shall be quite satisfied. By "four languages" I mean, of course, Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese.

N.B.—The fact that the text was translated in Karakhodjo in 445 A.D., and the existence of a centre of religious learning in Khoten as told by Seng-yiu (500–520 A.D.), may in a way help the study of that unknown Buddhist language found in Central Asia. The MSS. are now being examined by Professor Leumann, of Strassburg.

TEMPLE OF BASDEO OR BASAK NAG
(VASUKI)
BADARIWAR.

ART. XVII.—*The Nāgas. A Contribution to the History of Serpent-Worship.* By Brigade-Surgeon C. F. OLDHAM.

IT is well known that between the Vedic period, and that described in the epic poems, great modifications occurred in the religion and social customs of the Indian people. Since the Epic period, further changes have taken place; so that the orthodox Hinduism, of the present day, differs much from that represented in the Mahābhārata. Religious vicissitudes have also occurred outside the Brahmanic pale. The Buddhist religion has become extinguished in India. Vast numbers of the people, too, have been converted—many of them forcibly—to the faith of Islām. Notwithstanding all this, however, many of the old deities still live. The Nāga rajas are worshipped as demigods; the sun, the cedar, and the serpent are held sacred; and Indra and his Devas have still their worshippers and their temples, as they had in the days described in the Mahābhārata.

These old, and now unorthodox, divinities are the popular deities in many of the Himālayan valleys, and in other parts of India, away from the centres of Brahmanism.

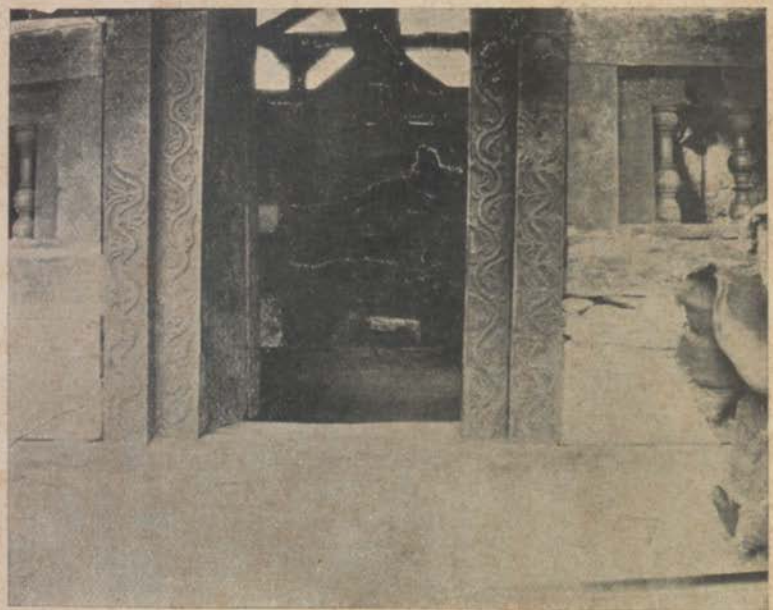
In the mountainous country bordering upon Kashmir, and especially in the tract lying between the Chenab and Ravi rivers, a remnant of the Nāgas of the Mahābhārata still survives. These people have remained under more or less independent chiefs until comparatively recent times. They have escaped conversion to Islām, and they have saved their temples and their idols from the destructive zeal of Mahomedan iconoclasts, as well as from the almost equally destructive bigotry of the orthodox Brahman. Here the serpent-gods Sesha, Vāsuki Bāsdeo or Bāsak Nāg, Takshaka or Takht Nāg, and other Nāgas less known to fame, are

still worshipped with their ancient rites. The forms of worship and the architecture of the temples have probably undergone little change since the days of the Mahābhārata. And the serpent-gods are worshipped now, as they were then, not as dangerous reptiles, nor as mere symbols, but as the deified rulers of an ancient people, whose tribal, or rather, perhaps, racial, emblem was the Nāga, or hooded serpent, and whose chief deity was the sun. These people do not call themselves Nāgas. That term was not a tribal name, but merely an epithet applied to those who reverenced the Nāga, or hooded serpent. The name of the tribe is Takha. Taxiles, the ally of Alexander, was a Takha raja.

Amongst these people the Nāga—the cobra of the present day—was, and is, held sacred; and tradition says that the killing of one of these serpents, in olden times, involved the heaviest penalties. This, of course, is no longer the case, but I have heard men regret that the Nāg may now be killed in the country of Bāsdeo (Vāsuki). It is not that all serpents are regarded with veneration. Here, as elsewhere in India, the cobra alone is sacred. Other snakes may be killed without remorse. In one place only have I known worship offered to any other serpent than the cobra. This was at the foot of the Rotang Pass, where, under an overhanging rock, offerings are made to some small harmless snakes, which are called 'Nāg kiri.' As this name shows, however, they are considered as representatives of the Nāga, which is rarely found at that altitude. Elsewhere snakes of the same species are killed without scruple.

The Nāga temples are not, however, dedicated to the serpent, but to the Nāga rajas, the ancient rulers of the race. Sesh Nāg, Bāsak Nāg, Takht Nāg, Prithu Nāg, Karkota Nāg, Karsha Nāg, Sabīr Nāg, Sāntan Nāg, and many others, are all worshipped in human form. Each, however, has the hoods of three, five, seven, or more serpents, forming a canopy over his head, as shown by Fergusson in his plates of the Amarawati sculptures.[1] In some places Nāgas of less

[1] "Tree and Serpent Worship," plates xxiv, xliv, etc.



TEMPLE OF SESH NAG

DAMAN

SARAJ.

note are represented as men, attended by snakes, but without the serpent-canopy. There are also shrines dedicated to Nāgini Devis, who were the wives of Nāga chiefs.

As elsewhere explained, since the Asuras became Kshatriyas their souls have become Devas, and those of their wives have become Devis. Hence, there have been no Nāgas or Nāginis in recent times. Those, whose shrines remain, belong to the distant past.

Within each temple is the image of the Nāga raja, with the serpent-canopy over his head. There are also many iron trisulas, or tridents, and representations of snakes in iron or stone, which have been placed there by worshippers as votive offerings. Besides these, are a lamp, a dish for burning incense, and the sacred sūngal, gājā, or iron scourge, which is the exact counterpart of that represented in the hand of the Egyptian Osiris.

The representation of the sun occupies a prominent position, being carved upon the roof and other parts of the building. In these primitive temples I could discover no trace of any connection between the Nāga and the Phallus. The worship is simply that of the Nāga demi-gods, as descendants of the Sun, and ancestors of the race. The Devas, too, whose temples are found throughout the Himālaya, are deified Kshatriyas, and ancestors of the people. The rites and ceremonial at the Nāga temples are essentially the same as those at the temples of the Devas. And it is very unlikely that any important change has occurred, in this respect, since the ancient times when Swārga was occupied by the Nāgas and the Devas. In each case, goats and sheep are sacrificed, votive offerings are made, lights and incense are burned, the smoke of cedar is used for purification and protection against evil spirits, circumambulation of the temple takes place, and the deity is consulted through his inspired prophet. This representative of the deity sometimes passes through the fire, or inhales the smoke of burning cedar, and almost always does penance with the sūngal or iron scourge. Music and dancing form an important part of the ceremonial. The musicians are

often of aboriginal race, and being therefore considered as of lower caste, are not allowed to approach within a certain distance of the shrine. The dancing at the temples and in ceremonial processions is confined to men. I have seen worshippers dancing before the litter in which the representation of the deity was travelling, as David danced before the Ark.

In most of the temples to Vāsuki or Bāsdeo in the Chenab valley there is, besides the figure of the Nāga raja, a representation of his Wuzir, who is called Jimuta-vāhana. Legend says that Bāsdeo was engaged in war with Garuḍa, and that, on one occasion, the Nāga chief was surprised by the enemy and had a narrow escape. In fact, he was saved only by the devotion of his minister, who gave his own life to save that of his master. This probably means that Jimuta-vāhana was killed in covering the retreat of the raja. Bāsdeo escaped to the Kailās Kūnd, a mountain lake some 13,000 feet above the sea, between the Chenab and Rāvi valleys. Meantime an army was raised, by which Garuḍa was defeated. The Nāga raja, in his gratitude, ordered that in future Jimuta-vāhana should be worshipped in the same temple with himself. It would seem from this that Vāsuki, like other Solar kings, received divine honours during his lifetime.

The legend just referred to seems to relate to some of the struggles between the unregenerate and the Aryanized tribes. It is probably founded on fact. At all events, a great festival is held annually at the Kailās Kūnd, which is attended by all the population of the surrounding country. It seems probable that this legend suggested the story of Jimuta-vāhana in the Kathā Sarit Sagara[1]; and also the plot of the Nāga Nanda, which is in fact the same story dramatized. In each case the events occur in the reign of Vāsuki; in each case the name of the hero is Jimuta-vāhana; in each case his home is in the Himālaya; and in each case he gives himself up to Garuḍa, to save the

[1] Kathā Sarit Sagara (Tawney), i, 186.

NĀGA RĀJAS, WITH CHAKRA AND SERPENT CANOPY,
AT RUINED TEMPLE
NEAR BADARIWAR.

life of another. Here, however, the resemblance ceases. The drama has a Buddhist complexion. In it, Vāsuki is represented as being obliged to provide one of his subjects, daily, to be eaten by Garuḍa. The place of one of the victims is taken by Jimuta-vāhana, who is partially devoured. Garuḍa then finds out his mistake, releases him, promises to eat no more human beings, and restores to life the Nāgas he had previously consumed.

In connection with this subject it is interesting to note that, according to the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim I-tsing, the great raja Silāditya kept all the best writers, especially poets, at his court, and even joined in their recitals. The king would take the part of Jimuta-vāhana, and transform himself into a Nāga, amid songs and instrumental music.[1] Jimuta-vāhana, therefore, was considered as a Nāga in the days of Silāditya.

In Gurhwal and Kemāon I have not met with any representation of Jimuta-vāhana in the Nāga temples, which are numerous. The legend, therefore, is probably local.

In some of his temples Bāsdeo or Vāsuki is represented as holding in his hand, or sometimes in each hand, a disc or chakra, which the priests call 'Nāga ka bhān.' Surya the Sun-god is represented as holding a similar object. So also are Indru Nāga (Nahush) and other Nāga rajas. This disc evidently represents the Sun; and is doubtless the same as the chakra in the hand of Prithu, on seeing which Brahma recognized in him a portion of Vishnu, or the Sun.[2]

Thus Prithu, like other early Solar kings, seems to have carried the chakra or 'Nāga ka bhān,' and to have claimed divine honours as a personification of the Sun-god.

Most of the temples of the Nāga rajas are built of massive logs of cedar, and are sheltered in fine old cedar groves. In the Chenab valley many of the grandest trees were, sad to say, cut up into railway sleepers not long ago. The cedar, kelu, or deodāra (tree of the gods) is sacred throughout

[1] "Buddhist Annals of Western World" (Beal), i, 210 (note).
[2] Vishnu Purāna (Wilson), I, xiii, 101.

the Hindu Kush and the Himālaya, as it was in ancient Babylonia.

Branches of this tree are burned at sacrifices to keep off evil spirits, and the smoke is inhaled by the inspired prophets with the same object. It was not only amongst the people of the hills that the cedar was sacred, for at the great horse sacrifice of Yudishthira two of the sacrificial posts were of deodāra.[1] At the Aswamedha of Dasaratha also, two of the posts were of this sacred tree.[2] The wood in both cases must have been brought from the Himālaya, as the cedar does not grow in the plains of India. So highly venerated is this tree, that some years ago, when the raja of Mandi, in the Himālaya, leased the right to cut deodar timber in his dominions to a firm of contractors, his people rose in rebellion. They said the land no doubt was the raja's, but the trees belonged to the gods. The raja had to apply to the British Government, for protection against his angry subjects.

It may be observed that the Kashmir shawl-pattern is a conventional representation of the *Cedrus deodara*. Several other trees are sacred in the Himālaya, notably the juniper and the ash, but no other is held in the same degree of reverence as the cedar.

The different serpent-gods, with their insignia, and attended by their priests and office-bearers, visit each other's festivals. The Devas, also, visit each other in the same way. These festivals are held at all the principal temples. In front of each of these, there is usually an open grassy space, surrounded by seats arranged somewhat in the form of an amphitheatre. Here each caste and family has its allotted position, according to ancient custom.

Besides the regular festivals, gatherings occur at the temples on other important occasions, as when the people meet to consult their gods through the medium of the inspired prophets. Such assemblages usually occur in case

[1] Mahābhārata, Aswamedha, Anugita, p. lxxxviii, 222.
[2] Ramayana, I, xxxii.

TEMPLE OF SABIR NĀG

CHINTA

CHINAB VALLEY.

of war, famine, or pestilence. Sometimes several deities meet in conclave, each being represented by his temple officials. Such a convocation is probably referred to in the passage in the Mahābhārata, which tells us that the gods (Devas), having assembled on the banks of the Sāraswati, there installed the excellent Nāga Vāsuki as king of all the serpents.[1]

The priests of most of these temples, whether of the Nāgas or of the Devas, are Kshatriyas, or Khuttris as they are called in the vernacular. In this, we have a survival of ancient customs existing in the far-off days when the Kshatriya chief offered his own sacrifices.

At some of the temples, however, the priests are so-called 'desi,' or local, Brahmans. These belong to none of the known Brahmanical clans, and are not recognized by them. They probably are members of families who, from long connection with the temples, have acquired priestly dignity. In many places they intermarry with the Khuttris. In this, however, they only follow the example of ancient rishis, such as Sakra and Chyavana.

Orthodox Brahmans may sometimes be found officiating at these unorthodox temples, but this is very rarely the case. When it does occur, the position of the Brahman is but a subordinate one.

Whether, however, there be a Brahman priest or not, there is always an inspired prophet, who is the medium of communication between the deity and the people. In some cases, when many of the worshippers are of lower caste, or of aboriginal descent, there is also a prophet of lower grade, called 'lamahāta,' who passes on to them the communications received through the inspired representative of the deity.

The inspired prophet is known by several titles, as chela, gūr-chela, banahāta, dharmi, dangarīah, or, in some instances, as Rā. He is generally a Kshatriya, but sometimes, though rarely, he is a desi-Brahman. I have never known an

[1] Mahābhārata, Salya, Gudāyadhya, p. xxvii, 149.

orthodox Brahman act in this capacity, but I have seen one of them, as priest, incensing the chela while in the condition of inspired frenzy.

The chela or banabhāta is not elected, but is supposed to become possessed, or 'seized,' as the expression is, by the deity. Should he, however, be considered an improper person, he is called before the village elders, who, in solemn conclave, decide upon his claims. The office is not hereditary. The chela when he receives his call must separate from his family, must lead a celibate life, must eat no food which has not been prepared with his own hands, must sleep on the ground, and must not wear shoes. In some cases the chela is allowed to live in his own house, but the other rules appear to be always enforced. In most places the chela, when under the divine influence, must not be touched by any other person.

When, as is rarely the case, the worship at a Nāga, or Deva, temple is conducted by a Brahman priest, he has no authority over the chela or over the temple property, nor has he any power to regulate the festivals, or to make any demands from the worshippers. The temple management is in the hands of the council of elders, guided by the will of the deity as announced by the prophet when under the influence of the divine afflatus. The chela then represents the deity, and is spoken of as the deity. It is probable that when in the epic poems we read of the commands of Indra, or other divinities, the utterances of the inspired prophet are referred to. As may well be imagined, the influence of these men, for good or for evil, is very great. There can, I think, be little doubt that many an apparently inexplicable outburst of fanaticism has been caused by the raving of these prophets. Sir G. Robertson mentions that a bloody war between two Kāfir clans was caused by the utterances of a 'pshur.'[1] This is the title given to the inspired prophets in the valleys of the Hindu Kush. It seems to me at least probable that the mad attack upon a British force at

[1] "Kafirs of the Hindu Kush," p. 418.

BRIHARU NAG

SARAJ

(CHELA IN FOREGROUND.)

Manipur a few years ago, followed by the murder of several officers, had a similar origin. I was assured, by a very intelligent local chief, that no one dared to disobey the orders of the deity received through the inspired chela. He added that should anyone do so, some dreadful calamity would certainly happen.

In the Himālaya, the inspired prophet at the temples of Devas or Nāgas, whatever may be his local title, is not a sorcerer or magician. Unlike the orthodox Brahman, he does not pretend to any power over the divinity he represents, or any other, either in consequence of his austerities, or by means of mantras, or through any rites or ceremonial. He is merely the mouthpiece of the deity. So far as I have seen, too, the chela does not wear any fantastic costume or grotesque ornaments. He wears the same dress as the other villagers, except that he must never wear shoes. The chelas, however, of some of the Devis, and of a few of the Nāgas, wear a red cap. This is of the same shape as those of the other villagers. The only difference is in colour. The prophet is of course treated with great respect, but his emoluments are very small. He has a right to the head of every victim sacrificed, and sometimes he receives an extra portion. He often, too, receives small contributions of grain at harvest time; and, if the temple has an endowment, he has a small sum from that source. In most cases, however, he derives his subsistence mainly from his own land.

The foregoing does not in all particulars agree with descriptions, which have been given, of the unorthodox rites practised in the south of India. Of these latter I have no personal knowledge. What I have just said must be considered as relating to Northern India only.

That all these men believe in their own inspiration it would probably be too much to say, but some of them certainly seem to do so. I have known several of them. I once asked a man, whose father had been a chela, why he had not been inspired. He said, simply, that the Deo had never come to him. He seemed to have no doubt as to his father's inspiration, or the possibility of his own.

As to the worshippers, the sincerity of their faith is often shown by the severity of their penances. I have seen a man apply the sūngal, or iron scourge, to his own bare back and shoulders, till the blood ran down in streams, and formed a pool upon the ground. The punishment was most severe.

At sacrifices the chela, as already mentioned, inhales the smoke of burning cedar, and in some cases he drinks the warm blood from the neck of the decapitated victim. Sometimes, too, he jumps into or over the sacrificial fire. He always applies to his own back, and sometimes to those of the worshippers, the iron scourge which has just been referred to. This application of the sūngal, to the backs of the worshippers, is sometimes merely a ceremonial one, no blood being drawn. But when the scourge is used by the penitents themselves the punishment is very real.

This scourge, as already mentioned, appears to be the exact counterpart of that represented in the hands of Osiris and of several of the Egyptian deities. It is made entirely of iron, and varies in weight from about three to five pounds or more. It has usually three, but sometimes five, lashes. Each of these is made up of two or three long links and a broad lancet-shaped blade at the extremity. This somewhat resembles in shape the broad piece of leather at the end of the thong of a Tatar whip. It occurred to me that this scourge might be the same as the aspaheâstra, or sraoshô-charana, of the Zoroastrians. But the late esteemed Professor Darmesteter, to whom I mentioned this, considered that the Zoroastrian scourge had thongs of leather. Be this as it may, it seems probable that they were but different forms of the same instrument. The mode of use, and the expiatory effect, were the same in each case.[1]

Some years ago I was invited by the Chāk, or local chief, of Barmāor, in the valley of the Rāvi, to attend a great sacrifice to Kailang Nāg. The object of the sacrifice was to obtain fine weather for the sowing, which had been delayed by storms. Kailang, like other Nāga demigods,

[1] Vendidad (S.B.E.), Far. xiv, 8.

EGYPTIAN GOD KHONSU

WITH SCOURGE SIMILAR TO SŪNGAL.

SŪNGAL OR GĀJĀ.

is supposed to control the weather. On my arrival I found the people assembled on the open grassy space in front of the temple. The men and boys sat together, the women and girls being at a little distance. Soon the music struck up, and some of the men and boys began to dance in a circle, the chela dancing in the centre. After a time the music became wilder and the dance more energetic. Some of the men when tired sat down, and others took their places. The chela continued dancing, and he applied the sūngal to his own back and shoulders and to those of some of the other dancers. Some of the men then applied another similar scourge to their own backs with great effect, amid shouts of "Kailang Mahārāj kī jāi!" (Victory to the great King Kailang). Then, all being ready, the victim (a ram) was led out, and having shown by shivering that it was acceptable to the deity, its head was struck off. The body was immediately lifted up by several men, and the chela, seizing upon it, drank the blood as it spouted from the neck, amid renewed shouts of "Kailang Mahārāj kī jāi!" The carcase was thrown down upon the ground, and the head, with a burning coal upon it, placed before the threshold of the temple. The dancing was then renewed, and became more violent, until the chela gasped out "Kailang āya" (Kailang has come). All then became silent, and the prophet announced that the sacrifice was accepted, and that the season would be favourable. This was received with a storm of shouts of "Kailang Mahārāj kī jāi!" and the chela sank down upon the ground exhausted. Water was poured over him, and he was vigorously fanned till he showed signs of revival. The assembly then began to disperse.

Kailang Nāg is one of the deities, to whom human sacrifices are said to have been offered in former days. There are many temples, in the Himālaya, at which human beings are said to have been offered in times of drought and threatened famine. One of these, near the Sāch Pass, is dedicated to a Nāgini known as Amā Nāga, who has the reputation of having often refused to give rain "until she had eaten men." Certain villages, in turn, supplied the victims.

At all these temples votive offerings are made, as in the Catholic Church. These are in fulfilment of vows made during sickness, danger, or misfortune. Thus, a man may promise a trident to Vāsuki or Takshaka; or a plough, a sword, or a bullock-yoke to the tutelary Deva of the village. These are generally represented by small models, which are placed in the temple. Sometimes, however, the object actually devoted is given up to the deity. I have seen a spinning-wheel placed in a small shrine which was scarcely large enough to hold it. In this old form of Hinduism the offerings are made to the gods, not to the Brahmans.

Around most of the old temples, either of Devas or of Nāgas, are arranged a number of stone tablets, like small tombstones, on each of which is rudely carved the figure of a man, or of a man and woman. These are the monuments of deceased villagers, and correspond to the gravestones in our churchyards. As the dead are burned, there are no graves.

These monuments are sometimes placed at the village spring, at the crossing of a stream, or in some other frequented place; and sometimes, in addition to the tablet, some work of public utility, as a resting-place for travellers, a fountain, or a bridge over a stream, is erected in memory of the wealthier villagers.

At some of the temples of the Devas a pole or mast, called dhuj (dhwaja), is erected. This is a pine-tree stripped of its branches, and it is renewed yearly, the old one being burned. As its name denotes, this is the standard of the deity. It is referred to in the Mahābhārata, where Indra directs the King of Chedi to set up an Indradhwaja.[1] In processions a smaller dhuj is often carried by the chela. On the Indus, and other Panjāb rivers, the boatmen place a pole surmounted with a tuft of hair, at the bows or at the masthead of their boats, as the dhuj of Khwaja Khizr, which is the Musselman name of Varuṇa, the ancient sea-god.

[1] Mahābhārata, Adi, Adivansāvatārana, p. lxiii, 173.

AIRI DEO

DEVIDWARA

KAMAON.

Pilgrimages are made to the temples of Devas and Nāgas as well as to those of the Devis and Nāginis. These are usually in fulfilment of vows or to ask some favour of the deity, and are often undertaken by married women without children. These pilgrimages are frequently made by night, and in some localities it is customary to make a mark at every few yards upon a stone or other object by the road-side. These marks are called 'likhnū,' and are made with a mixture of rice-flour and water. They are a sort of record that the pilgrimage has been duly performed.

The Devis were in most cases the wives of Kshatriya chiefs, who became 'sati,' or were burned with the bodies of their husbands; but the term is now applied to almost all female divinities. The Nāginis, as already mentioned, were the wives of the Nāja rajas.

These Devas and Nāgas were the ancestors of the present Hindu people, and they were the popular deities of the epic poems, and of the early Buddhist legends. It was over them that Indra reigned, and over them, in the Himalāya, he reigns still. Yet, by the orthodox Brahman, these divinities are now considered as demons; and they have been so described by European writers, who derived their information from Brahmanical sources. The worship of ancestors, or of deified human beings, has prevailed throughout the world, and even now it is far from being extinct. Arhats and rishis, saints and angels, are still reverenced; but the Devas and Nāgas are stigmatized as demons.

ART. XVIII.—*An old Kumaunī Satire.* By GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., Ph.D.

THE three great administrators of Kumaon were Mr. Traill (1815–1835), Mr. Batten (1848–1856), and Captain (afterwards Major-General Sir Henry) Ramsay, all of whom are remembered with affection by their whilom subjects. There were numerous short settlements of Kumaon, the first being in 1815–16, the second in 1817, and the third (for three years) in 1818. The fifth settlement (for five years) took place in 1823, and was subsequently extended for another five. In 1831 the Board of Revenue at Allahabad obtained jurisdiction over revenue matters in Kumaon. About the year 1837 proposals were made for a settlement of twenty years, which the landholders appear to have been unwilling to accept on account of its length. It was ultimately carried out in 1842–6 (ninth settlement).

The author of the following poem, Kṛṣṇā Pāṛai, is said to have died about fifty years ago at the age of a little over 50. He was therefore a contemporary of the early settlements of Kumaon, and could easily have written his poem in Mr. Traill's time, as is the popular tradition, which says that although the poet attacked the chief of the district so fiercely, he was patronized by him. Mr. Traill, they say, used to go to the village assemblies unattended by a single follower, and used to hear the satire sung in his presence.

Kṛṣṇā Pāṛai was a resident of a village in Paṭṭī Syūnarā Mallā in Almora District. This country was conquered in the year 1815 in the war with Nēpāl, and the verses (which show a striking contrast to the contented feeling of the

hill people at the present time, the result of the wise administration of the three great makers of Kumaon) were written not long after that event. They represent the popular dislike to the change from the happy-go-lucky methods of a native *régime* to the settled principles of British administration. The author was a professional singer, and, on the death of his only son, is said to have developed 'eccentricities' (such as writing poems like the one now printed). In it he attacks the land settlements, the new system of disposing of civil and criminal cases, the law which put husband and wife on the same level, and the employment of low-caste Brāhmaṇs in ministerial offices. He alludes to a scarcity which occurred at the time of writing, and, I need hardly say, lays the blame of it upon the new rulers.

The song is still remembered by old people in Kumaon, but few know it in its entirety. Only the other day (1899) a local newspaper published in Almora, which was 'agin the Government,' spoke of the hard condition into which Kumaon had fallen, and added that the prophecy of Kṛṣṇā Pāṛai was about to be fulfilled.

The poem is an interesting specimen of the Kumaunī language, and contains some forms not mentioned by Kellogg. It shows the close connection which exists between these Himalayan Aryan dialects and those of distant Rajputana, especially Mewar.

I am indebted to Pandit Gōbind Prasād for the text.

कृष्णा पाँडै को कलियुग ।

कलकत्ता बटी फिरंगि आयो ।
जाळ जमाळ का बोजा बाँदि लायो ॥ १ ॥
लाट गवर्नल बाड़ बाड़ा भूप ।
मुल्क लुटण सुणि अनेक रूप ॥ २ ॥

फिरंगि राजा कलि अवतार ।
आपन पाप लै औरन मार ॥ ३ ॥
फिरंगि राजै की अकल देख ।
कुड़ि बाड़ि व्यचि बेर इस्तब लेख ॥ ४ ॥
पितला को टुकड़ा को चपड़ास कियो ।
मुल्क को सुनो रुपो लुटि लुटि लियो ॥ ५ ॥
आळ धौलड़िया है गे देवान ।
मुल्क उजड़ि गयो कै न्हाति फाम ॥ ६ ॥

दिन परि दिन कलि जुग आलो ।
चेला का हाता बाब मार खालो ॥ ७ ॥
हौंश्रिया यारो कलि जुग सूण ।
घाघरि दी बेर ज्वै न्हैति गूण ॥ ८ ॥
मुल्क कुमौं मैं घुगतिया त्यार ।
खसम है बेर ज्वै होलि न्यार ॥ ९ ॥
मुल्क कुमौं मैं कपुव बासो ।
ज्वै कणि है गयो खसम को शाशो ॥ १० ॥
कलि जुग माँज जोर छ पधान ।
खसम का खोरा मैं हाण छ ठाँग ॥ ११ ॥
मुल्क कुमौं मैं बाड़ो भारि चैन ।
नौ नाळि बे बेर छै नाळि भैन ॥ १२ ॥

कृष्णा पाँडे ल कलि जुग खोलो ।
मुल्क कुमौं को ढुंगो ढुंगो होलो ॥ १३ ॥

Translation.

(1) From[1] Calcutta the Englishman came. He tied up and brought loads of[2] perjury and forgery. (2) Lieutenant-Governors, Viceroys,[3] mighty mighty monarchs, (came) to plunder[4] the land by many methods. (3) The English Lord is the incarnation of the iron age. By his own sins he destroys others. (4) See the wisdom of the English ruler. He says, "Sell your house and garden and write a deed of relinquishment."[5] (5) He has made a badge[6] of a piece of brass, and with it has robbed the country of its gold and silver. (6) (The people of) Jāḷ and Dhaulāṛ[7] have become high officials. The land is laid waste and no one[8] pays heed.

(7) Day by day the iron age will come,[9] and the father will

[1] *Baṭī* is a postposition of the ablative, and is the same as the Naipālī *bāṭō*. I may note with regard to *phiraṅgi*, 'Englishman,' that the word is also used in Kumaon to mean 'changeable in mood.' The use of the word in this sense illustrates the feeling of a native that he never knows where he is in dealing with a European. One moment he is all smiles and the next in a fury.

[2] The genitive postposition is *kō*, fem. *kī*, obl. *kā*. It is the same in Mēwārī. The plural termination of nouns in *ō* (equivalent to Hindī *ā*) is *ā* (equivalent to Hindī *ē*). Hence we have *bōjā* (note the disaspiration of the usual *jh*), 'loads'; *bāṛā*, 'great' (kings). Similarly the oblique form ends in *ā*, as in *pitalā kō*, 'of brass'; *cēlā kā hātā*, 'by the hand of the son'; *khasam kā khōrā mẽ*, 'on the head of the husband.'

[3] *Lāṭ*, a corruption of 'Lord,' is the usual word for a Lieutenant-Governor. *Gavarnal* is a corruption of 'Governor,' i.e. Viceroy.

[4] *Luṭaṇ* is the infinitive: *suṇi*, or *huṇi*, is a postposition meaning 'for.' In Gaṛhwālī it is *saṇi*. It means literally 'having heard.' Compare the Naipālī *dēkhi*, 'having seen,' equivalent to the Hindī *sẽ*.

[5] *Byachi* = Hindī *bēch*, 'having sold.' The representation of *ē* by *ya* is noteworthy. In Eastern India *ya* is the regular way of writing the sound of short *e*. Thus *byakti*, pronounced *bekti*, 'a person.' The allusion is to the settlement proceedings. If a person objected to the settlement of the land, he had to write a deed of relinquishment. The preparation of this cost money, for which the proprietor had, so the poet says, to sell his house and garden. *Istab* is a corruption of *istīfā*.

[6] The brass badge worn by process peons who served notices on defaulters. We should expect *pitalā kā* instead of *pitalā ko*.

[7] Jāḷ and Dhaulāṛ are two villages in Paṭṭī Bōrai Rau of Almora. They are inhabited by low-caste Brāhmaṇs, who are despised by the higher septs such as the Pāṛais, to which the author belonged. Some of these men were employed by Mr. Traill.

[8] *Kai*, 'anyone'; *nhāti*, 'is not'; compare *nhaiti* in verse 8. *Phām* is for *fahm*.

[9] Here we have the typical Kumaunī future in *l*, which also occurs in Mārwārī, and sometimes also in Mēwārī. Disrespect to parents is one of the signs of the *Kali-yuga* or iron age.

eat stripes at the hand of his son. (8) Ye rustic swains,[1] hear (the account of) the iron age, even if you give[2] your wife a (new) petticoat she will not be grateful. (9) The *Ghugatiyā* festival[3] is (the custom) of Kumaon, and (on that day) the wife will be separated from her husband. (10) In the land of Kumaon the *Kapuv's*[4] voice was heard. The wife has begun to loathe her husband.[5] (11) In the iron age the wife has become the ruler,[6] and strikes blows on the head of her good man. (12) In the land of Kumaon, faith, there is great prosperity; from sowing nine *nāḷis*, six *nāḷis* are produced.[7]

(13) Kṛṣṇā Pāṛai[8] has disclosed (the evils of) the iron age. The land of Kumaon will be reduced to dust.

[1] *Hauśiyā* is apparently a corruption of *ḥawāshī*, and is the equivalent of the Urdū *shauqīn*. *Yārō* is 'O friends.' Hence the compound means literally 'my loving friends,' but is commonly used in addressing a gathering of rustics, such as those to whom Kṛṣṇā Pāṛai recited, and has lost its original meaning.

[2] Literally, 'by giving': compare *hai-bēr*, 'from,' in the next line; also *bwē bēr*, 'by sowing,' in verse 12.

[3] The Ghugatiyā festival is celebrated in Kumaon on the Makara Saṅkrānti or day on which the sun enters Capricornus on its return from the south. Small images of pigeons (*ghugtā*) are made of flour and fried in *ghī* or oil. They are then strung as necklaces and placed round the necks of children on this day. On this festival all the members of a family feast together. The poet says that times will be so out of joint that on this day husband and wife will be separated.

[4] A kind of pigeon; it is an omen of evil to hear its song. Hence the verse means that a calamity has taken place.

[5] Literally, To (*kaṇi*) the wife loathing of the husband is come.

[6] *Padhān* for *pradhān*. The *ch* is the verb substantive, which is attached enclitically to the preceding word. The two are pronounced *jōich*.

[7] The statement about prosperity is, of course, sarcastic. A *nāḷi* is a grain-measure weighing about two *sērs* or four pounds. *Bhain* is the plural masculine of *bhayō*. The cry of the discontented that the ruler is responsible for famines is an old one. Dr. Fraser's *Golden Bough* gives numerous instances. Only the other day an Irish newspaper spoke of her late Most Gracious Majesty as a 'Famine-Queen.' A certain school of Indian politicians holds the present Government responsible for the famine which has lately devastated a wide area in that country. The leaders, I need hardly say, take a nineteenth-century view of the case, and lay the blame on the systems of Land Revenue Administration, but this is not the shape which the contention has assumed when it has filtered down to the masses. Taking the brighter side of the same superstition, the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, has been hailed by them as having brought rain with him in his recent tour in Western and Southern India, and, even as a modest District Collector, I myself have been credited with a heavy fall of rain which came to Gayā on the day of my return there from furlough.

[8] Here we have an enclitic *l* used, instead of *lē*, as the sign of the case of the agent. This is the only instance of this case in the poem.

ART. XIX.—*The Authorship of the Piyadasi Inscriptions.* By VINCENT A. SMITH, M.R.A.S., late of the Indian Civil Service.

THE numerous inscriptions on rocks and stone pillars which purport to have been issued by command of a sovereign named Priyadarśin or Piyadasi, and a few which omit the sovereign's name while using the title specially affected by King Piyadasi, obviously form a distinct class among Indian epigraphical records and belong approximately to one period. The exceptional value and the extreme interest of these inscriptions have always, since their first discovery, been recognized by all students of Indian history and antiquities, and for nearly seventy years the Piyadasi class of inscriptions has been studied and discussed by eminent scholars. Before these invaluable records can be fully and confidently utilized for the elucidation of the dark places of Indian history, two preliminary problems must be definitely solved. These problems are, firstly, Were all the Piyadasi inscriptions issued by one sovereign, or by two or more sovereigns? and secondly, Who was Piyadasi, and what is his place in history?

Having recently undertaken to write a book on the subject of Aśoka, I was compelled to deal with both these problems, and to satisfy myself as to the true solution of both. Although this investigation was undertaken as a preliminary study for my book, and primarily for my own satisfaction, competent authority has assured me that it may be of interest to other people, and I therefore venture to lay it before this Society.

General consent identifies Piyadasi with the Emperor Aśoka Maurya in the third century B.C., and ascribes most, if not all, of the Piyadasi class of inscriptions to

a single sovereign. But the consent, though general, is not absolutely unanimous. Doubts have been frequently expressed, and various writers, including some distinguished scholars, have doubted both the unity of the authorship of the inscriptions and the identity of Piyadasi with Aśoka. A pamphlet by Babu P. C. Mukherjī, which was reviewed in our Journal last year by Professor Rhys Davids, and thus introduced to the consideration of scholars, proposed startling theories in opposition to the views commonly accepted, and the arguments adduced by the author of that pamphlet are sufficiently plausible to raise doubts in the minds of readers who have not specially studied the subject. The present time, therefore, seems opportune for the examination of the two problems above stated. When I undertook the investigation I approached it with an absolutely open and impartial mind, and I thought it advisable to see first of all if the inscriptions themselves could solve the question of unity of authorship, irrespective of the question of the identity of Piyadasi and Aśoka Maurya.

I shall therefore first discuss the question of unity of authorship on the assumption that we do not know who Piyadasi was or where he lived.

The known inscriptions of the Piyadasi class, nearly all of which purport to have been issued by the authority of Piyadasi, may be conveniently arranged in eight groups, namely:—

I.—The Fourteen Rock Edicts, of which recensions have been discovered at seven localities, namely:—

1. Shāhbāzgaṛhi (Kapurdigiri), in the Yusufzāi territory, north-east of Peshāwar in the Pañjāb;
2. Manserā in the Hazāra District, Pañjāb;
3. Kālsī, in the Dehrā Dūn District of the North-Western Provinces;
4. Dhauli, in the Katāk District of Orissa;
5. Jaugaḍa, in the Ganjām District of the Madras Presidency;

6. Girnār, near Jūnāgaṛh in Kaṭhiāwār, Bombay Presidency; and
7. Sopārā, in the Thāna District, north of Bombay.

II.—The Two Kalinga (also known as the Detached, or Separate) Rock Edicts, at—

1. Dhauli, two edicts, and
2. Jaugaḍa, two edicts.

III.—The Two Minor Rock Edicts, at—

1. Bairāt, in the Alwar State, Rājputāna;
2. Rūpnāth, in the Jabalpur District, Central Provinces;
3. Sahasrām, in the Shāhābād District, Bengal; and
4. Siddāpura, in the Maisūr (Mysore) State, three copies. The Siddāpura copies contain two edicts, namely, a variant of the edict found in different forms at Bairāt, Rūpnāth, and Sahasrām, and a second edict peculiar to Siddāpura.

IV.—The Bhabra Edict, at Bhabra, near Bairāt in Alwar State, Rājputāna.

V.—The Three Cave Dedications, in three caves at the Barābar hill, near Gayā, Bengal.

VI.—The Two Tarāi Memorial Inscriptions, on pillars at—

1. Nigālī Sāgar, near Niglīva in the Nepalese Tarāi, north of the Bastī District, in the North-Western Provinces;
2. Rummindeī (*alias* Paḍariā), in the Nepalese Tarāi, north of Dulhā in the Bastī District, and about thirteen miles south-east of the Nigālī Sāgar pillar.

VII.—The Seven Pillar Edicts, on six pillars, namely:—

1. Delhi-Toprā (*alias* Delhi-Sivālik, or Fīroz Shāh's Lāṭ, or Delhi I), at ruined city of Fīrozābād, near Delhi, removed from Toprā, near Ambāla (Umballa). The important Seventh Edict is found on this pillar only;[1]

[1] The older writers erroneously divided this edict into two, Nos. VII and VIII.

2. Delhi-Mīrath (-Meerut, *alias* Delhi II), on the ridge at Delhi, removed from Mīrath;
3. Allāhābād, in the Fort;
4. Lauṛiyā-Araraāj (*alias* Radhiā), near a village named Lauṛiyā, and a temple of Araraāj-Mahādeo in the Muzaffarpur District, Bengal;
5. Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh(-Navandgaṛh, *alias* Mathiā), near another village named Lauṛiyā and the great mound of Nandangaṛh, in the Champāran District, Bengal;
6. Rāmpurwa, near the village of that name in the north-eastern corner of the Champāran District.

VIII.—The Supplementary Pillar Edicts, on pillars, at—

1. Allāhābād, where two short edicts, the Queen's and the Kauśāmbī, have been added to Pillar Edicts, Nos. I to VI; and at
2. Sānci, partly identical with the Kauśāmbī Edict at Allāhābād.

The total number of separate documents extant may be reckoned as 34, namely: 14 Rock Edicts, 2 Kalinga Edicts (the Jaugaḍa pair differs very little from the Dhauli pair), 2 Minor Rock Edicts (the recensions of No. 1 being variants), 1 Bhabra Edict, forming a class by itself, 3 Cave Dedications, 2 Tarāi Memorial Inscriptions, 7 Pillar Edicts, and 3 Supplementary Pillar Edicts. Important variations occur in the different recensions of the Fourteen Rock Edicts and the Minor Rock Edicts. The variations in the six recensions of Pillar Edicts I–VI are unimportant. Edict No. VII, the most important of the Pillar series, being found on the Delhi-Toprā pillar only, has no variants.

Individual phrases and turns of expression are so often repeated in the Piyadasi inscriptions that the hasty reader is apt to suppose that all the documents are much the same, but in reality each of the Fourteen Rock Edicts and each of the Seven Pillar Edicts has a perfectly distinct subject-matter. For example, the subject of the First Pillar Edict

is 'the principles of government,' that of the second, 'the royal example,' and that of the third, 'self-examination.'

The Fourteen Rock Edicts are dated in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of the reign of Devānaṁpiya Piyadasi Rāja, His Sacred Majesty King Piyadasi, counting from his solemn coronation (*abhiṣeka*), and in their completed form were published in the later of those two years. Each of the fourteen edicts opens with the full royal title as given above, but in the body of the documents the abbreviated form Devānaṁpiya, His Sacred Majesty, is sometimes used by itself.

A momentary digression concerning the title *Devānaṁpiya* may, perhaps, be pardoned. King Piyadasi in most of his inscriptions uses it as his official style, and it is also used in the three brief inscriptions in the Nāgārjuni caves of King Daśaratha, who, according to the Purānas, was a grandson of Aśoka Maurya. In Ceylon it was used by Tissa (Tishya), the contemporary, according to the chronicles, of Aśoka Maurya, and by at least one later sovereign. So far as I am aware, these are the only known examples of the use of the compound as a royal title, but the beginning of the Eighth Rock Edict shows that it was also used by several of the predecessors of Piyadasi. The subject of that edict is 'Pious Tours,' and Piyadasi observes, in the Kālsī text, that "in times past 'Their Sacred Majesties' (*devānaṁpiyā*) used to go out on so-called pleasure-tours," but that he has changed all that. In the Girnār, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa recensions the word *rājāno*, 'kings,' is substituted for the plural *devānaṁpiyā*, which latter must, therefore, be necessarily interpreted in this passage as an equivalent of *rājāno*. When M. Senart's book, "Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi," was published in 1881 the only available text reading *devanaṁpiyā* was that of Kālsī. The Manserā text had not then been discovered, and the copy of the Shāhbāzgaṛhi text was unintelligible. The perfect facsimiles now available, and published by Bühler, prove that Kālsī, Manserā, and Shāhbāzgaṛhi agree in giving the title *devānaṁpiya*, and that M. Senart's conjecture that the plural form *devānaṁpiyā* in

the Kālsī text is due to a clerical error cannot be maintained. The reading is quite correct, and the verb is in the plural (*nikhamisu*). It is true that Manserā reads *devana priya*, but this form also is plural, being used with the verb *nikramishu*, and distinguished from the singular *devana priye* used lower down as the epithet of *Priyadrasi rāja*. *Devanaṁpiya* in the Shāhbāzgaṛhi text is similarly plural.

The verbal translation of *devānaṁpiya* as 'beloved of the gods' or 'dear to the gods' is so awkward and displeasing to the ear when frequently repeated, that the rendering by the conventional phrase 'His Majesty,' or 'His Sacred Majesty,' seems to me to be a more faithful representation of the real meaning.

Although the various recensions of the Fourteen Edicts differ considerably in alphabet, spelling, and dialect, and to a less extent in substance, nobody has ever suggested any doubt concerning the unity of authorship of all the texts. Undoubtedly they were all published by a single sovereign named Piyadasi (Priyadarśin).

The Kalinga Edicts of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, hitherto known by the rather inappropriate designation of the Detached or Separate Edicts, are so placed on the rock as to be obviously a supplement to the local edition of the Fourteen Edicts, which intentionally omits Edicts XI, XII, and XIII, although it includes the Epilogue, No. XIV. The Borderers' Edict, erroneously called No. II by Prinsep and all subsequent writers, is arranged as a continuation of the Fourteen Edicts, and was probably incised at the same time.

The Provincials' Edict, the so-called No. I, in which the king reproaches his officials with remissness in the execution of his orders, is clearly an addition made at a later date. But there is no reason to suppose, nor has anybody ever suggested, that either of the Kalinga Edicts, whether at Dhauli or Jaugaḍa, was issued by a sovereign different from him who issued the Fourteen Rock Edicts. The Kalinga Edicts and the Fourteen Rock Edicts are, therefore, the proclamations of a single sovereign named Piyadasi.

The Minor Rock Edicts omit the sovereign's name, and simply purport to have been issued by the authority of "His Majesty (*devānaṁpiya*)." Owing to this circumstance and certain difficulties of interpretation, scholars have given their fancy free play, and have conjecturally attributed these documents to Daśaratha, Samprati, or other persons. It is not necessary to examine these conjectures in detail. They are mere guesses, and nobody has ever attempted to prove that the Minor Rock Edicts could not have been issued by Piyadasi. Some of the arguments which have been used to cast doubt on his authorship have become obsolete by the progress of discovery. But the publication from time to time of such arguments renders necessary a demonstration of the real authorship of these documents, which is not on the face of them obvious.

The next in order, the Bhabra Edict, addressed to the Buddhist clergy, differs in its contents from the other Piyadasi inscriptions so much that it forms a class by itself. It does not contain any clear indication of date, but purports to be issued by King Piyadasi. The facts that it is, like some of the Minor Rock Edicts, inscribed on a detached boulder, and that it was found near the Bairāṭ Minor Rock Edict, suggest that it should be referred to approximately the same date. The authorship is not certainly apparent on the face of the document, because it would be possible to maintain, and the suggestion has been made, that more sovereigns than one may have used the name Piyadasi. It is necessary, therefore, to determine the authorship of this edict.

The Barābar Cave dedications also purport to have been made by King Piyadasi, and it is necessary to determine whether or not he is the person who issued the Fourteen Rock Edicts and the Kalinga Edicts.

In the inscriptions on the two pillars discovered in recent years in the Nepalese Tarāi, the royal titles used are exactly the same as those used in the Fourteen Rock Edicts, and I am not aware that any competent scholar has ever doubted that these pillar inscriptions and the Fourteen Rock Edicts

belong to the one reign. I am not quite certain to whom Mr. Mukherjī ascribes the Tarāi inscriptions.

Class VII, the Seven Pillar Edicts, and Class VIII, the Supplementary Pillar Edicts, may be considered together. The latter are to all appearances supplementary to the main series. The unity of authorship of the fourteen Rock Edicts and of the Pillar Edicts is usually admitted, but Mr. Mukherjī has ventured to publish the daring hypothesis that the Pillar Edicts are the work of Aśoka Maurya, and that the Rock Edicts are the work of his grandson Samprati. It is well, therefore, to regard the whole question of the authorship of all the Piyadasi inscriptions as being open.

Analysis of the royal style or titles used in the eight groups of inscriptions supplies valuable evidence for the decision of the question of authorship. Four formulas are used—

I. The fullest formula, *Devānaṁpiya Piyadasi Rāja*, is used in Class I, the Fourteen Rock Edicts, Class VI, the Memorial Inscriptions of the Tarāi Pillars, and Class VII, the Seven Pillar Edicts.

But in the Kālsī text of Rock Edict I the title *rāja* is omitted, and in all the texts of the thirteenth Rock Edict the abbreviated style *devānaṁpiya* is used in the body of the document.

II. The title *devānaṁpiya* by itself is used in Class II, the Kalinga Edicts, Class III, the Minor Rock Edicts, and Class VIII, the Supplementary Pillar Edicts.

III. The formula *Piyadasi Rāja* is used in the Bhabra Edict only, Class IV.

IV. The practically identical formula *Rāja Piyadasi* is used in the dedications of the Barābar caves, Class V.

Primâ facie, the use of the one full formula in the Fourteen Rock Edicts, the Seven Pillar Edicts, and the Tarāi Memorial Inscriptions is very strong evidence of the unity of authorship. All the inscriptions under consideration, to whatever class they belong, are on the face

of them approximately contemporaneous, and it is in the highest degree improbable that two Rājas named Piyadasi, and using the title *devānaṁpiya*, should have set up cognate inscriptions on stone within a period of, say, fifty years. Unless distinct proof can be given to the contrary—and no such proof can be given—the royal style alone is sufficient to prove the unity of authorship of the Fourteen Rock Edicts, the Seven Pillar Edicts, and the Tarāi Inscriptions.

But the Kalinga Edicts are, as we have seen, nothing but an appendix to the Kalinga edition of the Fourteen Edicts, and inasmuch as the Kalinga Edicts are issued simply by command of 'His Majesty' (*devānaṁpiya*), who is not named, they teach us that Piyadasi was in the habit of issuing proclamations in this style. The same lesson is taught by the Supplementary Pillar Edicts, which use the same formula and are a mere supplement to the Seven Pillar Edicts. But the same style is used in the Minor Rock Edicts, which, therefore, on the evidence of the royal style alone, should be considered as the work of Piyadasi until proof to the contrary is given, and such proof cannot be given.

It has been established that the sovereign named Piyadasi used indifferently in six classes of his inscriptions either the full formula *Devānaṁpiya Piyadasi Rāja* or the abbreviated formula *Devānaṁpiya* standing alone.

The remaining two classes of inscriptions, namely, the Cave Dedications and the Bhabra Edict, are published in the name of Rāja Piyadasi, or Piyadasi Rāja, which two expressions may be regarded as identical. *Primâ facie*, until the existence of a second Piyadasi of nearly the same date as the first is proved, these inscriptions also must be referred to the author of the Fourteen Rock Edicts and of the Seven Pillar Edicts. Nobody has ever discovered a second Piyadasi, and the only mention of the name Piyadasi in literature outside the edicts (namely, in the *Dīpavaṁsa*) assigns the name to one king only.

The result is that the evidence of the royal style alone proves, in the absence of decisive evidence to the contrary,

that all the eight classes of inscriptions under consideration belong to a single reign, and were issued by the authority of one sovereign, Rāja Piyadasi. In legal language, the evidence of the royal titles alone throws the burden of proof on the party denying unity of authorship.

In their external characteristics, as distinguished from their contents, all the eight groups of inscriptions have much in common. Stone is the sole material on which the records are incised. Except the Shāhbāzgaṛhi and Manserā versions of the Fourteen Rock Edicts, which are recorded in the Indian form of the Aramaic alphabet afterwards known as Kharoṣṭhī, all the inscriptions are incised in an ancient form of the Brāhmī character, from which all the modern alphabets of India, Ceylon, Burma, and Siam have been derived. Notwithstanding minor variations, the Brāhmī alphabet used in all the classes of the inscriptions clearly belongs to a single period of no long duration. With regard to the orthography and language of the inscriptions the same remark holds good. All are composed in a Prākṛt of one stage of linguistic development. The great majority of the inscriptions were written in the Māgadhī dialect familiar to the officials of Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the empire. The inscriptions at the remote positions, Girnār and Shāhbāzgaṛhi (with Manserā), which were doubtless promulgated respectively under the immediate orders of the Viceroys stationed at Ujjain and Taxila,[1] exhibit variations of spelling and dialect which are plainly local. The Rūpnāth and Siddāpura Minor Rock Edicts present variations intermediate between the eastern and western versions of the Fourteen Rock Edicts, and these minor edicts also were probably issued from a provincial secretariat; but there is no ground for alleging that the orthography and language

[1] The Viceroys at Taxila and Ujjain are expressly mentioned in the so-called First Detached Edict at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. The Second Detached Edict mentions a prince stationed at Tosalī. The Siddāpura Edicts were issued by command of another prince stationed at Suvarṇagiri. Unfortunately the sites of Tosalī and Suvarṇagiri are not known. The towns were in the southern provinces. The so-called Second Detached Edict is prior to the so-called First.

of any one group of inscriptions belongs to an appreciably earlier or later period than those of the other groups.

With regard to the language and orthography, the remark may be repeated that the burden of proof lies on the party maintaining diversity of authorship.

Proof has been adduced that all the forms of the royal title used in the inscriptions are essentially one and must refer to a single sovereign. The inference of unity of authorship is supported by the occurrence of the peculiar formula at the opening of the Edicts—"Thus saith His Majesty"—which is used alike in the Fourteen Rock Edicts, the Seven Pillar Edicts, and the Minor Rock Edicts. This formula, which was apparently imitated from the practice of the Persian monarch Darius, son of Hystaspes, is in India peculiar to the Piyadasi inscriptions. If the *Devānaṁpiya* of the Minor Rock Edicts were distinct from the *Devānaṁpiya Piyadasi Rāja* of the Fourteen Rock Edicts, Seven Pillar Edicts, and Tarāi Pillar Edicts, it is unlikely that this mode of address would have been used by the author of the Minor Rock Edicts.

An examination of the substantive contents of the Edicts fully confirms the conclusions deduced from the material, alphabet, orthography, and language of the documents, and from the formulas of royal title and address to the subjects used therein. Although no dates other than those expressed in regnal years, counted from the king's solemn coronation (*abhiṣeka*), are inserted in the inscriptions, the dates in regnal years are no less than ten in number, and, when arranged in a series, combine in a chronological unity which clearly belongs to a single reign. They may be arranged as follows:—

Year.	Event.	Authority.
9th.	Conquest of Kalinga.	(13th Rock E.)
	Initial conversion to Buddhism.	(13th Rock E.)
11th.	More complete conversion to Buddhism and institution of religious tours.	(Minor Rock E.)
	Dispatch of missionaries.	

Year.	Event.	Authority.
13th.	Inscriptions engraved for first time.	(No. 6 of Seven Pillar E.)
	Composition of No. 4 Rock Edict.	(No. 4 Rock E.)
	Organization of *anusamyāna* assemblies.	(No. 3 Rock E.)
	Dedication at Barābar of Caves Nos. 1 and 2.	(Cave inscriptions.)
14th.	Creation of office of *Dharmamahāmātrā*.	(No. 5 Rock E.)
	Publication of complete series of Fourteen Rock Edicts, and of the so-called Second Kalinga Rock Edict.[1]	(No. 14 Rock E.)
15th.	Restoration for the second time of the *stūpa* of Koṇākamana.	(Niglīva Pillar.)
18th.	Publication of Minor Rock Edicts.[2]	(Sahasrām ; 9th year + more than 2½ + more than 6.)
20th.	Dedication at Barābar of No. 3 Cave.	(Cave inscription.)
21st.	Pious tour by the king, who visited the Lumbini garden and the *stūpa* of Koṇākamana, erecting a pillar commemorative of the visit at each place.	(Niglīva and Rummindeī, or Paḍariā, Pillars.)
27th.	Composition of Edicts Nos. I–VI of the Seven Pillar Edicts.	(No. 6 Pillar E.)
28th.	Publication of the complete series of the Seven Pillar Edicts.	(No. 7 of Pillar E.)

The doubts felt by several scholars on the subject of the unity of the authorship of the inscriptions were largely based on doubts concerning the religion of the sovereign who issued them. Although the teaching of the two principal series of inscriptions, the Fourteen Rock Edicts and the Seven Pillar Edicts, is apparently more Buddhist than anything else, there is little that is distinctively Buddhist in the documents, and it has been found possible to argue that their author was not a Buddhist. But even the Fourteen Rock Edicts themselves contain evidence of their Buddhist origin. The elephant carved in relief on the rock over the Dhauli text; the figure of an elephant engraved on the Kālsī rock, and labelled *gajatame*, "the

[1] The exact date of the so-called First Detached (Kalinga) Edict cannot be fixed, but it is later than the so-called Second.

[2] The Clergy Edict of Bhabra probably belongs to the same period of the reign.

most excellent elephant"; and the legend below the Girnār text, *va sveto hasti sarvalokasukhāharo nama*, "the white elephant giving happiness to all worlds," which evidently referred to an engraving now lost, are all clearly symbols of Gautama Buddha, whose mother, according to a well-known legend, dreamed on the night of his conception that a white elephant entered her side. Sundry words and turns of phrase also are clearly Buddhist, but I need not stop to consider minute verbal criticism.

The memorial inscriptions on the Tarāi pillars, which, as I have shown, are certainly the work of the author of the Fourteen Rock Edicts, prove that Piyadasi was an ardent Buddhist in the fifteenth year of his reign, when he enlarged the stūpa of Koṇākamana Buddha, and in the twenty-first year of his reign, when he personally did reverence to the birthplace of Gautama Buddha and to the stūpa of Koṇākamana.

With these proofs of the Buddhism of Piyadasi available no hesitation need now be felt in identifying the Piyadasi of the Fourteen Rock Edicts with the author of the Bhabra Edict.

The notion that the author of any of the Piyadasi inscriptions was a Jain is now obsolete and untenable.

The fact that the Cave Inscriptions record donations made by King Piyadasi to the Vaiṣnava Ajīvikas is no objection against the king's Buddhism. The edicts contain numerous declarations of the monarch's complete tolerance of all Indian sects, and of his readiness, in modern language, to adopt the policy of concurrent endowment.

The absence from the principal edicts of any overt declaration of faith in Buddhism is adequately explained by the observation of Professor Kern that such a declaration would have been out of place in proclamations addressed to the people at large without distinction of sect, and devoted to the enforcement of practical duties of morality and piety on persons of all shades of opinion.

The edicts themselves contain statements which are intelligible only on the assumption that all the documents

proceed from one source. The promulgation of Piyadasi's 'sermons in stones' began, as we have seen, in the thirteenth year of the reign. The Fourteenth Rock Edict, which closes the Rock series as published in a collective form in the fourteenth regnal year, contains the following remarkable expressions:—

"These religious edicts have been written by order of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, under a form whether abridged or expanded. For not everything is suitable in every place. For my empire is large, and much has been written, and I shall write still more. Certain sentences have been repeated over and over again because of the sweetness of their import."[1]

The Sahasrām and Rūpnāth recensions of the first Minor Rock Edict and the concluding section of the Seven Pillar Edicts prescribe that the king's command must be incised wherever either stone tablets or stone pillars are found, so that it may endure for a long time.

All these statements are intelligible only on the assumption that the Fourteen Rock Edicts, the Seven Pillar Edicts, and the various recensions of the Minor Rock Edicts were all issued by the command of one and the same sovereign. These three classes of edicts are found over the vast space extending from Maisūr (Mysore) on the south to the Himālaya on the north, and from the Bay of Bengal on the east to the Arabian Sea on the west. The empire was truly large, as King Piyadasi observes. The promise that, as much had been already written, more would yet be written, was abundantly fulfilled by the publication of the Seven Pillar Edicts, the Minor Rock Edicts, and the Tarāi Pillar and Barābar Cave inscriptions. Good reason

[1] Bühler, from Shāhbāzgarhi versions in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, p. 472. M. Senart gives the following translation from the Girnār recension:—"Cet édit a été gravé par le roi Piyadasi, cher aux Devas, sous une forme soit abrégée, soit d'étendue moyenne, soit développée, et tout n'est pas réuni partout; car mon empire est grand, et j'ai gravé beaucoup, et je ferai encore graver. Certains préceptes sont répétés avec insistance, à cause de l'importance particulière que j'attache à voir le peuple les mettre en pratique." ("Inscriptions de Piyadasi," vol. i, p. 322.)

exists for believing that many inscriptions of Piyadasi remain to be discovered. The remark that the edicts would be found to occur in various recensions, abbreviated, of medium length, or expanded, is admirably illustrated by the set of the Minor Rock Edicts. The abbreviated recension is found at Bairāt, the medium forms at Rūpnāth and Sahasrām, and the expanded form at Siddāpura, in triplicate. This last recension adds an entire edict defining the ancient standard of virtuous conduct, which practically reproduces in substance, though not in style, several passages in the Fourteen Rock Edicts, and supplies yet another proof that the Minor Rock Edicts proceed from the same source as the two main series.

The repetition of phrases and sentiments, which King Piyadasi so naively mentions as a characteristic of his compositions, is apparent in almost every paragraph of the two principal sets of edicts, and, as I have just observed, is also found in the Minor Rock Edicts.

The testimony of the Sixth Pillar Edict is absolutely conclusive as to the unity of authorship of the Fourteen Rock Edicts and the Pillar Edicts. Rock Edict No. IV professes to have been composed in the thirteenth year of the reign. The Sixth Pillar Edict, dating from the twenty-seventh year, expressly mentions the fact that the king had in his thirteenth year ordered religious edicts to be written to promote the welfare and happiness of his people and the growth of the principles of religion.

The Seventh Pillar Edict, found on the Delhi-Toprā pillar only, is a summary of the measures taken and recommended by Piyadasi for the promulgation and progress of the *Dhamma*, or Law of Piety, and refers to the subject-matter of almost all the Rock Edicts.

The subject-matter of all the inscriptions, except the brief dedications, is one and the same, the proclamation and enforcement of that system of morals, or Law of Piety, which had commended itself to the king's conscience. All the royal institutions and commands are directed to one sole end, the establishment of the kingdom of righteousness, as

he conceived righteousness. In a word, all the edicts are sermons. Bühler has rightly observed that we possess many hundreds of inscriptions issued by many Indian kings, but among them not one sermon, save only those of King Piyadasi. No other Indian monarch has tried by means of official proclamations to convert his subjects to a particular creed, and to maintain them in the practice of virtue and morality.[1] It is very difficult to believe that two or more nearly contemporary kings using the same names or titles adopted this extraordinary and unprecedented practice.

Not only are all the edicts, long or short, devoted to the promulgation, inculcation, and propagation of a particular form of moral doctrine, but all agree in teaching that doctrine in the same rugged and awkward, yet vivid, style, in language quaintly clumsy, in sentences dislocated by abrupt breaks or unexpected questions, and disfigured by wearisome repetitions.

The awkwardness of expression, the individuality of style, and the passionate earnestness of exhortation leave no doubt on my mind that these unique sermons are in the main the personal composition of a single author, the Emperor Piyadasi himself.

Can any secretary be imagined bold enough to express his sovereign's remorse in the language of the Thirteenth Rock Edict? I cannot refrain from transcribing this remarkable passage, which seems to me to carry across the ages the sore cry of a wounded spirit. "King Priyadarsin,[2] beloved of the gods, being anointed eight years, conquered the country of Kalinga. One hundred and fifty thousand souls were carried away thence, one hundred thousand were slain, and many times as many died. Afterwards, now that Kalinga has been conquered, are found with the Beloved of the gods, a zealous protection of the Sacred Law, a zealous love for the Sacred Law, a zealous teaching of the Sacred Law.[3]

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. vii, p. 144. A partial parallel is supplied by the 'Sacred Edicts' issued by the second emperor of the present dynasty in China.

[2] The Shâhbâzgarhi recension favours Sanskritized forms.

[3] I prefer to render *dhamma* by the phrase 'Law of Piety,' rather than by 'Sacred Law,' as Bühler, or by 'religion,' as M. Senart does.

"That is the repentance of the Beloved of the gods on account of his conquest of Kalinga; for when an unconquered country is being conquered, there happens both a slaying and a dying and a carrying off of the people. That appears very painful and regrettable to the Beloved of the gods."[1]

Many passages from edicts of different classes might be cited which strike the personal note with almost equal distinctness. The unity of authorship of the edicts is shown by the internal evidence of the documents themselves to be true in the strictest possible sense. The edicts were not only issued by authority and command of King Piyadasi, they were either drafted by his pen or dictated by his lips. The only exception is the second edict at Siddāpura, which professes to give a brief abstract of the Law of Piety. This differs obviously in style from similar abstracts in several of the edicts in the two principal series, and seems to be the composition of the Viceroy of the Dakhin or of one of his officials.

To sum up, all the inscriptions which purport to have been issued by Rāja Piyadasi, Piyadasi Rāja, or Devānaṁpiya are fully, and in my judgment conclusively, proved to have been issued by, and under the personal direction of, a single Buddhist emperor of India, whose full titles were expressed by the formula *Devānaṁpiya Piyadasi Rāja*, 'His Sacred Majesty King Piyadasi.' The unity of authorship is evidenced by the uniformity of the material vehicle of the inscriptions; by their alphabets, orthography, and phonetic development, which all belong to one period; by the peculiarities of the royal title and mode of address to the

[1] Bühler's translation of the Shāhbāzgaṛhi recension. M. Senart translates the Kālsī recension as follows:—"Dans la neuvième année de son sacre, le roi Piyadasi cher aux Devas a fait la conquête du territoire immense de Kalinga. Des centaines de milliers de créatures y ont été enlevées, cent mille y ont été frappées, bien des fois le même nombre y sont mortes. Alors le roi cher aux Devas s'est aussitôt depuis l'acquisition de Kalinga tourné vers la religion, il a conçu le zèle de la religion, il s'est appliqué à la diffusion de la religion—si grand est le regret qu'a ressenti le roi cher aux Devas de ce qui est passé dans la conquête du Kalinga. En effet, en conquérant le territoire qui ne m'était pas soumis, les meurtres, les morts, les enlèvements d'hommes qui s'y sont produits, tout cela a été vivement et douloureusement ressenti par moi, le roi cher aux Devas." ("Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi," vol. i, p. 308; vol. ii, p. 69.)

subjects; by their singular and characteristic style; by their variety of recension, for the reason stated by their author; by their frequent repetitions of phrase and sentiment, for which also a reason is given by their author; by their subject-matter, which is not that of any other Indian inscriptions; and by their geographical distribution over a vast empire, such as their author claimed to possess.

As Bühler long ago observed, with special reference to the Minor Rock Edicts, when we have so many points of agreement between the various sets of inscriptions, the obvious inference is that all proceed from the same author. The only way to bar this conclusion would be to show that the facts on which it is based are susceptible of some other explanation. This proof has never been given, and the long chain of circumstantial evidence which connects all the classes of the inscriptions with Piyadasi, the author of the Fourteen Rock Edicts, has never yet been opposed by any intelligible theory based on facts. Mr. Mukherjī's theories rest on an uncritical acceptance of miscellaneous traditions of most uncertain authority, unchecked by adequate knowledge of the contents of the edicts, and result in the absurd conclusion that the Fourteen Rock Edicts and the Seven Pillar Edicts must be ascribed to different authors. Mr. Mukherjī's guess that Sampadi *may* have been the Piyadasi who issued the Fourteen Rock Edicts is nothing but a guess. That it is a bad guess is sufficiently proved by the following remarks of Bühler:—"Mr. Rhys Davids does not discuss Professor Pischel's conjecture which makes Sampadi the author of the [Minor Rock] edicts. I shall follow him in this respect, and merely remark that Sampadi is, according to the Buddhists and the Jainas, the grandson of Aśoka, and that the first author of certain date who gives the history of his conversion to Jainism by Suhasti and of his benefactions is Hemachandra, the contemporary of Kumārapāla (1173 A.D.). Hemachandra's account is purely legendary and unhistorical. The tradition that Sampadi was a protector of the Jainas is, however, old. Sampadi may be merely another name for Daśaratha, who appears in his

stead in the Brahmanical *râjâvalis*, or he may be a distinct person. But the information regarding him is too vague to afford a basis for any historical speculations." [1]

The truth is that all Indian and Ceylonese tradition concerning events of remote antiquity is untrustworthy and cannot safely be used as a basis for the reconstruction of history. No traditional date for the ancient period alluded to (which in Ceylon tradition may be reckoned as extending up to B.C. 160) is, in my judgment, of the slightest independent value, and attempts to reconcile scientific inferences from ascertained facts with traditional dates, whether those of the death of the Buddha, the accession of Aśoka, or of any other event, are, in my humble opinion, waste of time. Tradition has its value even for the historian of India, but the chronological skeleton of history must be reconstructed independently of, and often in defiance of, tradition, which may then be cautiously used to fill in details with a greater or less degree of probability. I propose to examine in a subsequent article the evidence for the identity of Piyadasi with Aśoka Maurya, and the connected questions concerning the reality of the existence of Kālāśoka, and the historical value of the legends of the Three Councils.

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. vii. p. 143, note.

ART. XX.—*Three Years of Buwaihid Rule in Baghdad, A.H. 389–393. Being a fragment of the History of Hilāl-as-Ṣābī († A.H. 448) from a MS. in the Library of the British Museum (Add. 19,360).* By H. F. AMEDROZ.

I.

The Historian and his Works.

THE history of which this MS. is all that is known to exist, covered in its entirety the period between A.H. 360 and 447. This fragment—which forms the larger portion of its eighth part—commences towards the close of the year 389, and concludes early in the year 393. It is interesting, not merely as the oldest Arabic authority for the period, but more especially as affording a specimen of Oriental history written at first-hand, the facts being either within the writer's own knowledge or told him by contemporaries. A history compiled by these means is almost certain to present a picture of a period truer and more vivid than one derived from abridgments, such as the Kāmil of Ibn al-Athīr, where, all that seemed capable of omission having been discarded, little beyond the dry bones of history remains. But of histories of this type few have survived. Al-Qifṭi, in a passage of his Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā (B.M. Add. 25,737, fol. 17*a*), translated by de Slane in Ibn Khallikān (i, 290), suggests, as a fairly complete list of authorities for the first four centuries of the Caliphate, the works of Ṭabari, of Ibn Abi Ṭāhir Ṭaifūr, of his son 'Ubaid Allah, of Thābit b. Sinān, of Farghānī, and of our author Hilāl-as-Ṣābī. Of these, with the exception of Ṭabari, one fragment of Ibn Ṭaifūr's history covering the reign of Māmūn (B.M. Add. 23,318) and this fragment of Hilāl are all that have come

down to us. It was the length and consequent cost of these histories that caused them to disappear. The Oriental world was content with abridgments which could be produced for a moderate sum; the originals fell out of use; and thus it came about that whilst copies of the Kāmil and similar works continued to be multiplied, the remaining parts of Hilāl's history, if in existence, are probably being devoured —not necessarily by readers—in some Eastern library.

The author, Abu'l-Ḥusain Hilāl b. al-Muḥassan b. Ibrāhīm as-Ṣābī, i.e. the Sabean,[1] came of a peculiarly literary stock. Born in 359, he was grandson to the celebrated poet and statesman Abu Isḥaq Ibrāhīm as-Ṣābī, the author of the lost history of the Dailamites, the Kitāb at-Tāji, whose abilities were such as not only procured him the offer of the Vizierate—subject to the acceptance of Islam—from one Buwaihid ruler, but even saved him from the consequences of the not unprovoked resentment of another.[2] On the

[1] The religion of the Sabeans, who were natives of Harran in Mesopotamia, was a survival of the old Syrian heathenism somewhat influenced by Hellenic elements. The name 'Sabean' was adopted in the time of the Caliph Māmūn. For the history and development of the Sabean sect, see Chwolsohn's "Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus," St. Petersburg, 1856, and a posthumous notice by Dozy on the Harranian religion in Actes 6e Congr. Int. Or. Leyden, 1844, part ii, p. 283. See also *al-Bīrūnī*, Sachau's translation, pp. 314, 315.

[2] See Yatīmat ad-Dahr (Damascus, 1302 A.H.), vol. ii, p. 27, where 'Aḍud ad-Daula's threat to have Ibrāhīm trampled to death by elephants is attributed, not, as stated in his life by Ibn Khallikān (Sl. Eng., i, 31), to his acts when in the service of 'Izz ad-Daula Bakhtiyār, but to his sarcastic reference to the history of the Dailamites, which he was writing 'by command,' as a tissue of folly and lies.

To the same effect is the account given by Yāqūt in the Mu'jam al-Udabā, of which the portion at Oxford—Bodl. Or. 753, fol. 84*b*—contains a life of Ibrāhīm as-Ṣābī, with full details of his career and its vicissitudes. Much of it, and in particular the story of the treatment he underwent from 'Aḍud ad-Daula, is quoted from Hilāl's history, and his account throws some light on what seemed to Ibn al-Athīr so inexplicable, namely, that Ibrāhīm was punished for his zeal in the service of his sovereign, 'Izz ad-Daula, which ought to have been accounted a merit by his successor (see vol. ix, p. 11). But it appears that on the occasion of 'Aḍud ad-Daula's first expedition to 'Irāq in 364 A.H., undertaken ostensibly in order to support 'Izz ad-Daula against his mutinous Turkish soldiery, Ibrāhīm had received great favours at his hands. He even wished to accompany him on his return to Fārs, but was debarred from so doing by fears for the fate of his family, who would be left behind. 'Aḍud ad-Daula did his best to ensure Ibrāhīm's safety by making express mention of him in the stipulations entered into with 'Izz ad-Daula, but nevertheless, after his departure, Ibrāhīm thought it prudent to remain in hiding until the Qāḍi Ibn Ma'rūf had obtained for him a promise of immunity from 'Izz ad-Daula and his vizier, Ibn Baqiyyah. In spite of this he was later arrested at the instigation of a personal enemy, Ibn as-Sirāj, but a seasonable quarrel which followed between

mother's side Hilāl was also nephew to the above-mentioned

the latter and the vizier led to the arrest of his enemy, and, adds Hilāl, either as a statement of fact or as a touch of word-painting, "The fetters on the limbs of Abu Isḥaq were transferred to the limbs of Ibn as-Sirāj." Ibrāhīm thereupon re-entered the service of 'Izz ad-Daula as secretary. It was in this capacity that he wrote the letters which roused the resentment of 'Aḍud ad-Daula, and which, as coming from his pen, may have seemed to him an act of ingratitude. Nevertheless, on his arrival in Baghdad in 367 A.H. he confirmed Ibrāhīm in his salary and property, and it was only on reaching Mosul that he wrote to his vizier, Abu al-Qāsim al-Muṭahhar b. 'Abd Allah, ordering his arrest. Hilāl's explanation of this is, that among the State documents at Mosul were found letters written by Ibrāhīm, in the name of 'Izz ad-Daula, to Abu Taghlib the Hamdanid, and that it was the sight of these that prompted 'Aḍud ad-Daula's order. When his letter arrived, Ibrāhīm happened to be in the company of the vizier, whose concern on becoming aware of the contents was apparent to all present, and he executed the order with reluctance. Later, on the occasion of his dispatch against the ruler of the Baṭīḥah, he begged 'Aḍud ad-Daula, not merely to set Ibrāhīm at liberty, but to appoint him to act as deputy for him during his absence. 'Aḍud ad-Daula so far relented as to order the release of Ibrāhīm's two sons, who had been arrested with him, and to allow the vizier to supply Ibrāhīm's personal wants. Further, he signified his pleasure that his prisoner should compose a work on the glories of the ruling house, and Ibrāhīm accordingly set about his work on the Dailamite dynasty—the Kitāb al-Tāji. It is noticeable that the story of his having described it to a friend as "a tissue of folly and lies," though mentioned earlier by Yāqūt—probably on the authority of the Yatīmat ad-Dahr—does not appear in Hilāl's narrative. He says that, as the work progressed, the author waited on 'Aḍud ad-Daula with its several portions, which were read over and considered, and additions and alterations made thereto, and that when finished to the satisfaction of 'Aḍud ad-Daula it was copied out, a few weeks sufficing for its completion. For a year longer Ibrāhīm remained in prison, until the vizier seized a favourable moment to induce 'Aḍud ad-Daula to give the order for his release, which he acted on forthwith, knowing from experience that his master's mind was subject to change.

Hilāl further relates that his grandfather was intended for the profession of medicine, which was hereditary in the family, and held an appointment at the hospital at the monthly stipend of twenty dinars. But his literary vocation, proving irrepressible, was allowed to prevail, and he became Kātib to the vizier al-Muhallabi (who died in 352 A.H.; see his life by Ibn Khallikān, Sl. Eng., i, 410). His abilities were noticed and recognized by the vizier, who attached him to his person, and he soon found a special occasion for the display of his powers. A social gathering at the vizier's house was interrupted by a sudden order from Mu'izz ad-Daula for the dispatch of a letter to Muḥammad b. Ilyās, the ruler of Kirmān, to ask his daughter in marriage for 'Izz ad-Daula. Both Kātibs and guests were for the time quite unequal to the task of preparing such a letter—indeed, one of the latter, Abu 'Ali al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Anbāri, was personally appealed to by his host, and had to decline—but Ibrāhīm wrote the letter forthwith, and the vizier on reading it said that had it been written with deliberation it would remain a wonderful effort. This led to fresh favours on the vizier's part, and to his appointing Ibrāhīm to government posts of such importance that they were officially communicated by the Caliph to the minor independent rulers. The passage runs thus:—

ثم قلدنى ديوان الرسايل والمظالم والمعاونة تقليدًا سلطانيًا كتب به
عن المطيع الى اصحاب الاطراف

Anecdotes follow of Ibrāhīm's relations with eminent persons, such as the Ṣāḥib ibn 'Abbād, the Sharīf ar-Raḍī, and the poet al-Mutanabbi, and

historian Thābit b. Sinān, likewise a Sabean,[1] whose history his nephew continued.

Of Hilāl's career little is known. Al-Anbāri, in the Nuzhat al-Alibbā (lith. Cairo, 1294), p. 423, has a brief notice of him, and gives the date of his birth, 359, on the authority of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādi. The life of him given by Ibn Khallikān (Sl. Eng., iii, 628) consists mainly of an irrelevant anecdote. He mentions that he was the author of another work, called al-A'yān wa al-Amāthil, which von Kremer recognized in the Gotha MS. No. 1,756, and as identical with his Kitāb al-Wuzarā,[2] under which name it is quoted by Yāqūt in the Mu'jam al-Udabā, loc. cit., for an account of the visit of condolence paid by the vizier al-Muhallabi to Ibrāhīm as-Ṣābi on the death of his father; by Ibn Khallikān himself for the death of Ibn al-'Amīd in 359 (ed. Wüst., No. 707, p. 40, Sl. Eng., iii, 261); and by Dhahabi in the Tārīkh al-Islām for his notice of the vizier Fakhr al-Mulk, who died in 407 (B.M. Or. 49, 61*a*).

Ṣafadi also has a notice of Hilāl in the Wāfi bil-Wafayāt (B.M. Add. 23,359, 225*a*), which tells us little beyond details of his conversion to Islam, but which does contain a list of his works, as follows:—

specimens are given of Ibrāhīm's verse. Hilāl adds a personal reminiscence. He once asked his grandfather the reason why he seemed so discontented, seeing that they were all leading a prosperous life. The old man smiled, and told him that his case was that of the worm who, accustomed to honey, had been shifted to vinegar, and who, sensible of its acidity, regretted the honeyed past; whereas the rest of them were like worms whose original lot was cast in vinegar, and who had never tasted sweetness nor known the charm of vinegar's opposite. Ibrāhīm's ailment was, in fact, "remembering happier things," and it may be hoped that the statement of Ibn al-Athīr (ix, 74), that in his old age he suffered from poverty, is incorrect. He died in 384 A.H., aged 71 years.

Yāqūt concludes with the statement that Ibrāhīm was the author of the following works:—The well-known letters, about a thousand sheets in all; the Tāji, on the history of the Buwaih family; his own family history; a selection from the poetry of al-Muhallabi; and the Dīwān of his own verse. It is to be noticed that this list does not include the "de Triangulis" attributed to him by Wüstenfeld, Gesch., No. 149, on the authority of Ṭasiri, nor the Akhbār an-Nuḥāh, attributed to him by Fluegel in "Die Grammatischen Schuler der Araber," infra, and which was probably written by his grandson Hilāl.

[1] Ṣafadi gives a notice of him in the Wāfi bil-Wafayāt (B.M. Add. 23,357, 106*b*); see also Ibn Khallikān, Sl. Eng., i, 289.

[2] See "Das Einnahme Budget des Abbasiden-reiches v. j. 306": Denkschr. d. phil. hist. Cl. d. W. A., Bd. xxxvi, pp. 283–362.

(1) His history, in continuation of that of Thābit b. Sinān, from 360 to 447 A.H., which again was continued by Hilāl's son, Ghars an-Ni'ma.

(2) Kitāb ad-Duwal al-Buwaihīyah, of which I have found no mention elsewhere.

(3) Kitāb Ghurar al-Balāghah.

[Chwolsohn (op. cit., i, 608) mentions a MS. of this work as existing in the Asiatic Museum at St. Petersburg, No. 439, and attributes its authorship to Hilāl. It contains forms of elaborate letter-writing.]

(4) Kitāb Akhbār Baghdād.

[Yāqūt, in the Mu'jam al-Buldān, ed. Wüstenfeld, quotes this work by name.]

(5) Kitāb al-Wuzarā, the work above mentioned, which Ṣafadi calls a continuation of works of the same title by as-Ṣūli (died 335 A.H.; see his life by Ibn Khallikān, Sl. Eng., iii, 68) and by al-Jahshiyāri (Abu 'Abd Allah Muḥammad b. 'Abdūs, see Fihrist, 127; died 331 A.H., Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 303).

(6) Kitāb Ma'āthir Ahlihi, i.e. a work on the Sabean community.

(7) Kitāb al-Kuttāb, which presumably treated of State secretaries.

(8) Kitāb as-Siyāsah, on government.

[Of these three works (6–8) I have found no mention elsewhere.]

Chwolsohn (op. cit., i, 623) also refers to a work entitled Akhbar an-Nuḥāh, which Hāji Khalīfah, No. 241, attributes to 'as-Ṣābi' without any more particular designation; and Chwolsohn, on the authority of another MS. of Hāji Khalīfah, suggests that the author's name should be written 'Shai as-Ṣāfi.' Fluegel, in "Die Grammatischen Schuler der Araber" (Abh. f. d. K. d. Morg., Leipzig, 1862, vol. ii, 4, p. 12), attributes the work to the grandfather, Ibrāhīm as-Ṣābi. It is to be noticed that

Ṣafadi, whilst not including any work of this name in his list of Hilāl's works, does include it in the list of authorities he gives in the introduction to the Wāfi bil-Wafayāt (Vienna, No. 1,163, i, fol. 18*b*), as he does also the Kitāb al-Wuzarā, and in the case of both works he calls the author merely 'as-Ṣābi.'

Moreover, at fol. 131*b* he quotes as-Ṣābi for the death of the grammarian Ibn Kaisān in 320, a date not within the limits of Hilāl's history, and which is probably taken from this Akhbar an-Nuḥāh.

[He makes as-Ṣābi say in reference to the crowded state of his pupil room,

هذا الرجل من الجانّ الا انه فى شكل انسان

As regards the above date, 320 A.H., al-Khaṭīb, in the History of Baghdad (B.M. Add. 23,319, 121*a*), gives 299 as the date of the death of Ibn Kaisān.]

Hilāl's life was passed in the government service. Like his grandfather and also his father before him, he held the office of a Kātib, or State secretary, and the office afforded ample material to the historian. Al-Qifṭi, in the passage already cited, says that no writer of the period applied himself so closely as Hilāl to the judging of events and to obtaining an insight into State secrets, a course he copied from his grandfather, who had been, like him, a State secretary and well acquainted with current events. And Chwolsohn, in his account of the leading Sabeans at Baghdad (op. cit., i, chap. xii), ranks Hilāl far above the general run of Eastern historians.

Of these, the following made use of his history. Their names are in order of date :—

(1) 'Ali b. Ẓāfir, in ad-Duwal al-Munqaṭi'ah (B.M. Or. 3,685, 151*a*), in his account of the Caliph al-Qādir billah, quotes him for details as to the idol in the Temple of Sūmnāth destroyed by Maḥmūd of Ghaznah in 412 A.H. (These details are given in an abridged form by Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 242.)

(2) Yāqūt, in the Mu'jam al-Udabā, loc. cit., quotes him for the life of Ibrāhīm as-Ṣābi, and also for that of the vizier Abu'l-'Abbās ad-Ḍabbi, to be mentioned later.

(3) Al-Qifṭi, in the Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā, loc. cit., quotes him for the date of the death of Thābit b. Sinān in 365.

(4) Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī, in the Mirāt az-Zamān (B.M. Or. 4,619), quotes him for numerous events between 360 and 447 A.H., some of which relate to the Fatimide rulers of Egypt. And passages of this MS. are to be found, almost verbatim, in his account of the years 389–393.

(5) Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüst., No. 745, p. 142, and No. 752, p. 14; Sl. Eng., iii, 422 and 453) quotes him for the birth of the Oqailid Muslim b. Quraish in 432, and for the revolt of Abu Raqwah against the Fatimide al-Ḥākim in 395–397.

(6) 'Imād ad-Dīn Isma'īl ibn al-Athīr, in the 'Ibrat Uli al-Ibṣār fi Mulūk al-Amṣār (B.M. Add. 9,969, 194*b*), gives the date 447 for the termination of the Dhail adh-Dhail, as he terms it, of Ibn as-Ṣābi, meaning Hilāl's history.

(7) Dhahabi, in the Tārīkh al-Islām (B.M. Or. 48, 17*b*), quotes him for a letter written to Bahā ad-Daula by the Caliph al-Qādir billah on his accession; and again (B.M. Or. 49, 9*b*) for the story of the injury to the black stone at Mecca in 413 (see Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 234). And his account of the festival of al-Ghadīr in 589 (B.M. Or. 48, 21*a*) is copied almost verbatim from this MS., fol. 6*a*.

Hilāl is also frequently quoted by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādi as an oral authority for information in his history. He was Hilāl's junior by just one generation, and is quoted by Dhahabi in his notice of Hilāl's death in the Tārīkh al-Islām (B.M. Or. 49, 222*b*) as saying that he had taken down in writing information he had obtained from Hilāl.

To give a single instance, his account of the Greek Embassy to Baghdad (B.M. Add. 23,319, 38*b*), translated by Mr. G. le Strange (J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 37), was obtained from Hilāl. For other instances see ib., 26*b*, 36*a* and *b*, 42*a*, and 44*a*.

Hilāl was the first of his family to adopt the religion of Islām, nor did he take the step hastily or unadvisedly. For we are told by Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī, on an authority at fourth-hand from Hilāl himself—and the story is also told more shortly by Ṣafadī in his notice of Hilāl, on the authority of Yāqūt's Mu'jam al-Udabā—that three several apparitions of the Prophet at intervals between 399 and 403 A.H. were needed to effect his conversion. The first occasion was in his own home, when the Prophet appeared to him in a dream, and after causing him to perform his ablutions preparatory to prayer with water taken from an earthenware jug so frozen by cold that he had to break the ice therein, prayed in person with him and called on him to make a profession of faith. He awoke with a cry; his story alarmed the family, but his father smiled and told him to go back to bed, and that the story would keep till next morning. But the water was examined, and was found to be nearly liquid. His father believed the dream to be a true one, and whilst ordering silence about it advised his son to comply with the Prophet's requirements.

In a second dream he saw the Prophet lead him to a mosque, where he touched and cured a man suffering from aggravated dropsy who was lying asleep there. At this Hilāl called a blessing on him, and awoke.

Last, in 403 A.H., whilst asleep in a tent, he saw the Prophet ride by the door and turn in his saddle so that he saw his face. He assisted him to alight and brought him a cushion to sit on. In answer to his excuses for his slackness, the Prophet told him that fair thoughts did not compensate for foul deeds, and that he was to forthwith amend his ways. He promised obedience, and awoke. He thereupon attended prayers at the mosque, when all his doubts disappeared. Fakhr al-Mulk (the vizier), hearing of this open act of worship, sent him a present of robes

and of 200 dinars, but he sent them back saying he did not wish this action of his to be mixed up with any temporal concern. This act was admired in him.

Then follows the story of a dream told him by his wife, wherein she saw the Prophet, together with the Companions, and with 'Ali holding two swords, one of which he girded on her husband, the Prophet telling her that her husband was of more account in Allah's eyes than many beside, and that she was to remain firmly espoused to him. And that this completely removed an idea she had before entertained of divorcing herself from him on the ground of his Sabean belief.

It was also related that in a subsequent vision the Prophet had announced that his wife would give birth to a son, who was to be named Muḥammad. This happened; he was given the names of Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad, and was also the author of a history (op. cit., 238 *b*).

This son was Ghars an-Ni'ma Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad. Ṣafadi gives a notice of him in the Wāfi bil-Wafayāt (B.M. Or. 5,320, 110*a*), where, after referring to the eminence of the family and to Hilāl's conversion to Islām through a vision, he says that his son was born in 416 and died in 508 (written by mistake 408); that he served in the secretaries' office under the Caliph al-Qā'im; that he wrote a work entitled "Strange Blunders, etc." (mentioned by Ibn Khallikān, Sl. Eng., iii, 628), a continuation of his father's history, and a third work; that at his death he left the sum of 70,000 dinars, whilst no one imagined him to be possessed of as much as the amount of the poor rate thereon (i.e. about two and a half per cent.); and that he was a loose and inaccurate historian.[1] Then follows a story of his having founded a library in the street of Ibn Abi 'Aun at Baghdad, which he endowed with some 400 volumes on various branches of learning, and appointed a certain Alide to be the keeper. For some years it was resorted to by scholars, but later he discharged the keeper, annulled

[1] Al-Qifṭi, loc. cit., says that his history falls off in quality after 470 A.H.

the endowment, and sold the books. This conduct met with disapproval, but he declared the establishment of the Niẓāmīyah College[1] had rendered his library superfluous. And, in answer to the objection that books once made the subject of an endowment were inalienable, he replied that he had spent the proceeds of the sale in charity.

As regards the date of the composition of this portion of Hilāl's history, it must have been written after 417 A.H., as on fol. 115*b* the historian gives that year as the date of the final destruction of the palace built at as-Ṣalīq by Muhadhdhib ad-Daula in 392.

The manuscript is a fine example of elegant caligraphy of probably the thirteenth century, and is singularly free from copyists' errors. It contains 119 folios of 15 lines on each side, and is equivalent in quantity to perhaps a hundred and fifty pages of the printed edition of Ṭabari.

I now proceed to give an abridged account of the more important episodes, with a few short specimens of the text translated.

II.

The Vizier al-Muwaffaq.

Over one-fifth of the MS. is concerned with the history of the Vizier of Bahā ad-Daula, whose full name appears from the notice of his death in Dhahabi's Tārīkh al-Islām (B.M. Or. 48, 239*a*) to have been al-Muwaffaq Abu 'Ali al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Isma'īl al-Iskāfi, and at fol. 12*a* of this MS. we are told that in 390 A.H. he was given the title of 'Umdat al-Mulk in addition to that of al-Muwaffaq. By Ibn al-Athīr he is first mentioned as governor of Baghdād, and as at war in 386 A.H. with the Oqailid al-Muqallad, when he was superseded by Abu Ja'far al-Ḥajjāj and fled to

[1] Ibn Khallikān gives 459 as the date of the opening of the College, on the authority of Ghars an-Ni'ma (Sl. Eng., ii, 164).

al-Baṭīḥa, remaining there for over two years (vol. ix, 89). In 388 he returned, and re-entered the service of Bahā ad-Daula as vizier. He then got into difficulties in contending with the troops of Ṣamṣām ad-Daula under Abu 'Ali b. Ustādh Hurmuz ('Amīd al-Juyūsh), from which he was fortunately extricated by the sudden murder of Ṣamṣām ad-Daula by Abu'l-Qāsim and Abu Naṣr, two of the sons of 'Izz ad-Daula Bakhtiyār, in revenge for the killing of their father by his (*ib.*, p. 100). And when Abu 'Ali, in reply to their summons to take the oath of allegiance, persuaded the troops under his command to enter the service of Bahā ad-Daula, al-Muwaffaq succeeded in causing his master to be proclaimed sovereign at Shīrāz. Thereupon the sons of Bakhtiyār fled — Abu'l-Qāsim to Badr b. Ḥasanwaih, and Abu Naṣr,[1] whose subsequent history will now be related, to the Dailamite territory (p. 106).

Early in the year 390 Abu Naṣr rose against Bahā ad-Daula, for Hilāl says, at fol. 12*a*, that in the month of Muḥarram, al-Muwaffaq proceeded to Jabal Jīlawaih[2] in pursuit of him, and after advancing as far as Abarquwaih[3] returned in Ṣafar. He then received the title of 'Umdat al-Mulk and other marks of honour.

In Jumadī i he set out on the campaign against Abu Naṣr ibn Bakhtiyār. The account of this and of al-Muwaffaq's subsequent history covers about 28 folios, in three detached portions separated by notices of intervening events. The whole is here given consecutively; it is represented by less than two pages of Ibn al-Athīr.

Fols. 14 to 30. The narrative first mentions the public honours paid to al-Muwaffaq previous to his departure from Shīrāz, where he left as his deputy Abu Ghālib Muḥammad b. Khalaf, the Vizier Fakhr at-Mulk, whose story follows later. Al-Muwaffaq first moves towards Abarquwaih, on

[1] 'Utbi (Kitāb Yāmīni, Sprenger, lith., p. 302) calls Abu Naṣr, Naṣr ad-Daula Sallār, and says that he was in desperate straits and reduced to levying toll on merchandise by intercepting it and allowing it to pass only after payment, and that he subsisted by this means.

[2] Situate in the province of Sābūr (Iṣṭakhri, 98).

[3] Distant about 44 farsakhs from Shīrāz (*ib.*, 129).

the border of Fars, where Ibn Bakhtiyār had gathered his adherents together. He had been making some headway, and after inflicting a defeat on Ustādh Hurmuz and the Kirmān troops, had advanced to Jīraft and overrun most of Kirmān. Ustādh Hurmuz was at Sīrajān, whence, by al-Muwaffaq's orders, he moved on to Bardasīr, the chief city of Kirmān. Al-Muwaffaq advances by way of Dārābjird, and is met there by its governor, whose retinue by its noise rouses him from slumber. Envious of the governor's state, he arrests him, seizes his property and has him tortured, when his firmness excites the astonishment of his tormentor.

Ibn Bakhtiyār advances on Bardasīr, but on hearing that Ustādh Hurmuz has reached there, he turns off towards Bamm and Narmāsīr to await the arrival of his partisans. Al-Muwaffaq hastens by forced marches from Fasā to Jīraft, where he causes some 400 Dailamites who had made their submission to be treacherously slaughtered. He then leaves his heavy baggage and goes in pursuit of Ibn Bakhtiyār, thereby running very great risk and acting in direct opposition to the advice of his commanders whom he had consulted. An astrologer whom he had brought from Shīrāz, and who had predicted that he would be victorious on a given day, then only a few days distant, still holds firm to his assurance. He is laughed at, but his prediction comes true to the day. We are told, on the authority of al-Muwaffaq's secretary, that his master had wished to retire from office, but that Bahā ad-Daula had urged him to undertake the campaign in terms which admitted of no refusal, and that the Dailamites had showed the greatest eagerness to serve under him, so that he was compelled to reject the services of many of them.

At Fasā al-Muwaffaq finds a certain Jawāmard Abu Dhar'ānī in the custody of the governor of the town, Abu Mūsa Khwājah b. Siyāhajīk.[1] This Jawāmard had previously been released from imprisonment in Baghdad by al-Muwaffaq, after which he had joined the troops of

[1] In Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 115 and 118, this name is spelt 'Siyāhajīl.'

Khamārtikīn, who was in the service of Bahā ad-Daula.[1] Thence he had gone to Ibn Bakhtiyār, who had sent him to Fasā to get information, accompanied by one Wandrain, a native of the place, who was to gain over the Dailamites there. The latter was to some extent successful, but his presence in Fasā became known to an official who was carrying on an intrigue with a female servant in the house where he lay hid, and who gave information to the governor, whereupon Wandrain was arrested and executed, and Jawāmard was imprisoned. The latter is now set at liberty by al-Muwaffaq on condition that he returns to Ibn Bakhtiyār, pretending to have escaped from prison, and then watches an opportunity to make him fall into al-Muwaffaq's power. This Jawāmard promises to do, and he rejoins Ibn Bakhtiyār.

Al-Muwaffaq then hastens on to Jīraft and receives the submission of many of Ibn Bakhtiyār's adherents. At this point his commanders again protest against the rapidity of his march, on the ground that his success would be no less perilous than his defeat, as Bahā ad-Daula would then cease to require their services, for they said, "Should this monarch feel secure, that feeling will lead to his regulating us and enquiring into our privileges and position"; and that al-Muwaffaq had better rest content with what he had achieved. He refused, alleging that having counselled the campaign in opposition to the monarch's other advisers, he was bound to do his utmost to make it successful, and that they must assist him. This they readily promised to do.

Ibn Bakhtiyār is now heard of at Durfādh,[2] eight farsakhs distant from Jīraft, and thither al-Muwaffaq hastens with a picked body of three hundred lightly equipped mounted troops. He pursues Ibn Bakhtiyār to Sarūstān, where he hears he has gone towards Darzīn,[3] but his information is

[1] Ibn al-Athīr (ix, 64) mentions a Khamārtikīn al-Hafṣi as having been sent by Bahā ad-Daula in 381 A.H. to receive the submission of the inhabitants of Kaḥbah.

[2] This place is spelt Dārbāī by Iṣṭakhri, 165, who speaks of silver-mines there.

[3] Also written Dārjīn, and in Yākūt, ii, 520, Dārrazīn. See Iṣṭakhri, 161, n. *d*. Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 115, has 'Darzīn' as in the text.

vague, until a bearer of dispatches is captured, who reports him actually at Darzīn, awaiting the arrival of troops from other places. Thereupon al-Muwaffaq hastens on. A light is seen ahead, but it turns out to be a fire lit by hunters. Towards dawn they near Darzīn, and are then attacked by Ibn Bakhtiyār, who is routed. He flies accompanied by Jawāmard, who, at the passage of a stream, strikes him from his horse with a blow from a mace, but on alighting in order to lift him up and carry him off to al-Muwaffaq, both their horses are carried off by pillagers, and when Jawāmard asserts that he has killed Ibn Bakhtiyār he is disbelieved and the search is continued. In the meantime a Dailamite who knows Ibn Bakhtiyār by sight, finds him, and whilst conveying him, at his own request, to al-Muwaffaq, meets a Turk who, thinking Ibn Bakhtiyār to be a Dailamite, reproaches his captor with sparing an enemy. The other explains, and they agree to share the reward. But other camp-followers claim to share also, and in the confusion Ibn Bakhtiyār is killed. His head is carried to al-Muwaffaq,[1] who halts and receives the congratulations of his commanders. They, in reality, deplore the success with the exception of one Ruzmān, who reminds al-Muwaffaq of a dream he had already related, in which Samsām ad-Daula had appeared to him and sent him to tell al-Muwaffaq to avenge his death on Ibn Bakhtiyār.

Then follows the text of a short letter from al-Muwaffaq to Bahā ad-Daula announcing his victory. Money is distributed to such as bring in prisoners—for a Dailamite so much, for a foot-soldier the half only. Many are slaughtered, and two persons engaged in interceding with al-Muwaffaq for a man's life are interrupted by the news that he has been killed, whereupon they depart to mourn over him, and are condoled with by al-Muwaffaq. Hilāl was also told some particulars about the Astrologer;[2] how

[1] 'Utbi, loc. cit., has a story of his head having been brought by a soldier to Bahā ad-Daulā, and that he ordered him to be flayed as a warning against shedding the blood of princes.

[2] He is mentioned in Ibn al-Athīr's narrative, ix, 115.

he predicted al-Muwaffaq's victory, asserting that the prediction was fully warranted by the horoscope of Ibn Bakhtiyār, and offering his life as a penalty should the prediction prove untrue. When only five days remained unexpired he still maintained that the event would happen on the date he had foretold. And the battle did, in fact, take place on that precise day.

Ibn Bakhtiyār was interred at Darzīn in the tomb which contained the body of Abu Ṭāhir Sulaimān b. Muḥammad b. Ilyās,[1] who was killed by Zarīzād when returning from his campaign against Kūrkīn b. Justān in Khorasān. His Turkish troops go off to Khabīṣ, and being granted terms take service with their fellow Turks in al-Muwaffaq's army.

Al-Muwaffaq moves on to Bardasīr, where Ustādh Hurmuz was besieging Ibn Bakhtiyār's adherents in the citadel. They make proposals of surrender through the Dailamites serving with al-Muwaffaq, but he insists on their giving up all their property, and they leave the fort carrying only a wallet and gourd apiece.

Prisoners are brought in, and amongst them Bulfaḍl b. Buwaih, to whom al-Muwaffaq allots a separate tent. At nightfall he directs two high officials to go and reprimand Bulfaḍl severely for his treasonable conduct. When they are gone, al-Muwaffaq proposes to a son of Khwājah b. Siyāhajīk that they should follow and overhear what passes. They reach the back of the tent, and hear how Bulfaḍl stops the reprimands of one of the envoys by telling him that he must know perfectly well that all, both high and low, were in favour of Ibn Bakhtiyār, so much so that it might be said that the only exceptions were the State secretaries and al-Muwaffaq himself. The envoys on their return are questioned by al-Muwaffaq and disclose Bulfaḍl's statement, saying that the only thing for the Government to do is to smooth the matter over. Bulfaḍl and the Dailamite prisoners were taken to Shīrāz; the latter were

[1] Ibn al-Athīr (viii, 448–9) says that Sulaimān and two of his nephews were defeated and killed by Kūrkīn, governor of Kirmān for 'Aḍud ad-Daula, in 359 A.H.

released at the request of leading members of their body, but Bulfaḍl remained a prisoner until al-Muwaffaq's arrest, when he was set free.

Al-Muwaffaq next proceeded to deal with the Dailamite troops of Kirmān, offering certain terms which they were to accept or else quit the service. (This passage contains many technical terms.) He also dismissed Ustādh Hurmuz, and replaced him by Khwājah b. Siyāhajīk as military commander.

He then hears that his conduct is being criticized and reflected on at Court. This greatly disturbs him, and he sends a letter to Bahā ad-Daula asking to be allowed to retire, as he had been promised he should. Afterwards he hesitates, and, although dissuaded by the leading Dailamites, he returns to Shīrāz, where he is met by Bahā ad-Daula. They enter the town together, but midway al-Muwaffaq turns off to his house followed by all his troops, and Bahā ad-Daula is left with only his escort and suite, which displeases him and is much commented on. And this was the last occasion on which Bahā ad-Daula went out to meet any vizier.

The account of the arrest of al-Muwaffaq at Shīrāz soon follows (fols. 33 to 35). His resolve to withdraw from office, coupled with other circumstances, combined to lose him the favour of Bahā ad-Daula. The courtiers, too, whom he had alarmed by his outspokenness, incited their master against him. But he still kept on applying for permission to retire. On the eve of his arrest some intimate friends came to see him and remonstrated with him on his misguided conduct. They offered, in case he had any grudge against either Abu 'Ali b. Ustādh Hurmuz or Abu 'Abd Allah al-Ḥusain b. Aḥmad,[1] to do their best to remove them from his path, or

[1] Two eminent names representing, one the sword, and the other the pen. The former has been already mentioned under his title of 'Amīd al-Juyūsh. He is an important figure during these three years. His secretary told Hilāl (fol. 63*a*) that after deserting the cause of Ṣamṣām ad-Daula and entering the service of Bahā ad-Daula, as above stated, he withdrew from affairs and remained about the Court at Shīrāz. After a year he asked leave to retire to Khurāsān, but was persuaded not to do so. On the fall of al-Muwaffaq, whom he disliked, he returned to office, and governed to the best of his ability, but on Abu Ghālib b. Khalaf being appointed deputy for him, retired to his own house. (The version

to serve him in any way they could. But he protested he had been on good terms with Abu 'Ali ever since they were together in Ahwāz, and that his only wish was to be allowed to retire. They urged that considering the position he had attained to, it was absurd for him to suppose he could lead a private life, and that he ought to offer to remain in office. But he still refused. They then begged him at least to delay and reconsider his position, but he persisted in attending next day to his official duties as usual. Communications followed between him and Bahā ad-Daula as to his retirement. It was noticed that things were changed at the Palace, and the Ṣāḥib Abu Muḥammad b. Mukarram[1] urged him to fly while it was still in his power, and to get home (i.e. to Baghdād), where he could decide on what to do; but in vain. Later al-Muwaffaq

of this given by al-Muwaffaq's secretary, fol. 36*a*, is that he proved incompetent, and that this led to the appointment of the deputy.) In 391 he was appointed governor of Khūzistān (Ahwāz) in succession to Abu Ja'far al-Ḥajjāj, who had proved unfit, with the title of 'Amīd al-Juyūsh, and governed exceedingly well. This is also stated by Ibn al-Athīr (ix, 116). Al-Ḥajjāj (fol. 64) showed some resentment, but was pacified by being summoned to the Court to give advice, and then sent to restore order at Baghdād in conjunction with Abu Naṣr Sābūr, another prominent figure in the MS. whose life is given by Ibn Khallikān (Sl. Eng., i, 554). Here also al-Ḥajjāj was not successful, and whilst he was absent fighting the Oqailids, disorder rose to such a pitch that 'Amīd al-Juyūsh was sent to govern 'Irāq (fol. 97*b*, and Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 121). The story of his arrival at Baghdād, his stern repression of crime there, his administrative changes, and his excellent rule in general, is told fully in the text (fols. 98 to 103). It seems, indeed, to have become proverbial. In the Mirāt az-Zamān (B.M. Or. 4,619, 198*a*) Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī gives an anecdote, on the authority of al-Khaṭīb, of 'Amīd al-Juyūsh having sent at night-time a slave carrying gold from the Najmi (an open space on the west bank of the Tigris, often used as a camping-ground for troops coming to Baghdād, Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 254 and 440, and x, 444) to the Upper Prison, as evidence of the safety of the roads. And half a century after his death a criminal judge is described as so excellent as to have been likened to 'Amīd al-Juyūsh (ib., fol. 248*a*).

The second named person is the poet Ibn al-Ḥajjāj. Extracts from his works are given in the Yatīmat ad-Dahr (ii, 211–270), and his life is told by Ibn Khallikān (Sl. Eng., i, 448). His death in 391 is recorded in this history (fol. 66 et seq.), where Hilāl says that he had served as a State secretary under his grandfather Ibrāhīm as-Ṣābi, and sets out a letter he had found addressed by the poet to his grandfather, as well as fragments of his poetry, about thirty lines in all. There is one volume of his Dīwān in the Library of the British Museum, Add. 7,588, and another among the Schefer MSS. now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, ante, p. 333.

[1] "b. Mukram" in Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 115. He had been in the service of Ṣamṣām ad-Daula (ib., 78), and a daughter of his was married to Jalāl ad-Daula (ib., 258).

perceived himself how matters stood, and told his secretary (Hilāl's informant) to leave him and consult his safety, and in spite of his reluctance insisted on his obeying. He departed accordingly, and only two persons remained with al-Muwaffaq. A Farrāsh arrives, tells them to leave, and then locks the door and sets a guard on it. The Dailamites at the Palace, on hearing the news, disperse in silence. The whole of al-Muwaffaq's property, and his retainers, are seized, and we are told later (fol. 36*b*), and also by Ibn al-Aṯhīr, that instructions were sent to Abu Naṣr Sābūr at Baghdād to seize his son, relatives, and adherents, and his property there, but that Sābūr warned the son and relatives, and so enabled them to escape, and dealt leniently with the property.

What happened to al-Muwaffaq after his arrest is set out under the year 392, fols. 89–97, on the authority of his secretary. His first custodian treats him so inhumanly as to endanger his life. He therefore determines on flight, and by gaining over his guards obtains from his secretary the requisite means of escaping from the citadel, at the foot of which horses are in waiting to convey him to the territory of ad-Dīwāni.[1] Riding hard, al-Muwaffaq and those with him arrive at the town of Bilād Sābūr[2] by morning, and are met and welcomed by ad-Dīwāni. At this point both he and the secretary try to persuade al-Muwaffaq to escape beyond the reach of Bahā ad-Daula, and ad-Dīwāni offers to convey him to the territory of Badr b. Ḥasanwaih or to al-Baṭīḥa (i.e. the great swamps formed by the Tigris and

[1] I cannot find any mention of this name elsewhere. It is not, I think, a Nisbah, but denotes the headman of a tribe of Kurds. Iṣṭaḵhri, at p. 98, tells us that Sābūr, one of the provinces of Fars, had five districts or 'Ramm' (in Dozy's Suppl. spelt 'Zamm'), meaning a Kurdish camping-ground, and that one of these, the Ramm of al-Ḥusain b. Sāliḥ, was known as Ramm ad-Dīwān. He tells us also that each Ramm had a headman, whose duties he enumerates (p. 113), and the Dīwāni of the text is, no doubt, the headman of that Ramm. A note to the passage of Iṣṭaḵhri mentions several variants of 'al-Dīwān,' and in Yāqūt, ii, 821, where the passage is copied, it is written 'Az-zīzān'; the MS. tends to confirm the text of Iṣṭaḵhrī.

[2] The capital of the province of Sābūr, though, as Iṣṭaḵhri tells us, not its largest town, bore the same name, but Bilād Sābūr is situate, according to Iṣṭaḵhri (p. 112), not in that province, but in Arrajān, another province of Fars.

Euphrates). But he insisted on trying to conciliate Bahā ad-Daula, and sent his secretary back to Shīrāz to take the advice of Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb[1] as to what he ought to do. And he wrote a letter to Bahā ad-Daula protesting that his flight was due only to the cruel treatment he had undergone, but that he was still at heart his faithful servant, with more of the same sort.

The narrative continues as follows (fol. 90*b*, text A):—"And Abu Naṣr went on to say:—To return, as I was ordered to do, charged with this message, involved risk and danger. But I could not avoid compliance, and I returned to Shīrāz, and at night-time visited Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb, who enquired what had happened, saying that the monarch was highly incensed at the flight of al-Muwaffaq, imagining that it would lead to much mischief. I told him my errand, to which he replied that he was not at liberty to undertake to transmit to Bahā ad-Daula either the letter or my statement of its purport, he being acquainted with the footing we were on together, but that I had better go to al-Muẓaffar 'Ubaid Allah b. al-Faḍl[2] and ask him to keep the news of my arrival secret, and to send in the letter as though it had come by a courier, and whilst preserving secrecy, to find out what the king's views in the matter were. So I went to him and arranged accordingly. But so great was his desire to tell Bahā ad-Daula and allay his anxiety, that he attended very early in the morning and presented the letter, not hiding my arrival, but on the contrary mentioning it. On the whole the king was satisfied and asked what I wanted. Al-Muẓaffar replied: 'An indemnity under the hand of the Sharīf at-Ṭāhir Abu Aḥmad al-Mūsawi,' and he assented and promised it. I had a message from Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb to be concise and

[1] Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb Ḥamzah b. Ibrāhīm was an astrologer in the service of Bahā ad-Daula and a favourite at Court. He is mentioned at fol. 36*a* as actively interfering with the question of who should manage public business after the arrest of al-Muwaffaq. He survived Bahā ad-Daula, and died in solitude and poverty in 419 A.H. (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 256). As observed by Professor Robertson Smith (J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 214), astrology was at this period a part of statecraft.

[2] Mentioned later in the account of Ṭāhir's invasion of Kirmān.

not go into matters at length, and I gave a promise to that effect, which I did not keep, for I drafted out the oath (of indemnity) in the fullest terms. This I carried to the Residence, where at-Ṭāhir Abu Aḥmad and Abu'l-Muẓaffar al-'Alā were met. And the Amīn Abu 'Abd Allah came out and said to me: 'His Majesty is enquiring what is the indemnity which he is being required to grant.' Thereupon I produced the draft from my sleeve, and handed it to him, saying: 'Al-Muwaffaq has sent this draft by me, and has ordered me to endeavour to procure its being graciously copied out under the hand of the Amīn, and that it should be honoured by the expression of His Majesty's pleasure thereon in the presence of the Sharīf at-Ṭāhir.' He said, 'I will go and present it,' and went in and did so. And when the king saw its length, and had verified how exhaustively it was drawn up, he said to Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb: 'Were you not ordered to inform Abu Naṣr that he was to be brief and concise?' He answered: 'I did so and he promised, but has not performed.' He then told the Amīn to copy it out word for word. I was present at the sitting, which was attended by the Sharīf at-Ṭāhir Abu Aḥmad, al-Muẓaffar Abu'l-'Alā, Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb, al-Athīr Abu'l-Misk 'Anbar,[1] and the Amīn Abu 'Abd Allah. The king began reading the copy, and after a time tore it across, and then resumed going through it. I bowed, whereupon he raised his head and asked what I wanted. I said: 'Your servant afar off begs the favour of this gracious missive being read without its being exposed to be torn.' His anger was evident, but he resumed reading it from beginning to end. When he had finished I bowed, and he said: 'What, then, is it you want?' I replied: 'The gracious missive together with the royal indorsement thereon.' He called for ink and wrote: 'I have pronounced an oath, and undertake to perform it according to the tenour of what has been sought of me.' I took it, and we all left to conduct al-Muwaffaq back with us."

[1] A eunuch high in favour at the Court of Bahā ad-Daula and of Musharrif ad-Daula. Later he removed to Mosul and died in 420 A.H. (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 215, 233–5, 249, and 278.)

At this moment a body of troops had been sent by Bahā ad-Daula under Abu'l-Faḍl b. Sūdmandh to operate against ad-Dīwāni, and were besieging him in al-Māhūr.[1] Here they joined al-Muwaffaq with beasts, garments, and other baggage sent him by friends for his journey, and they all returned together to Shīrāz. They are met by, amongst others, Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb, with whom al-Muwaffaq requests a private conference, and an appointment for that night is made with the secretary. He attends and enquires of Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb what ought to be al-Muwaffaq's course of action. He answers that his previous advice to him had been disregarded with fatal results; that he knew the nature of Bahā ad-Daula better than al-Muwaffaq did, and that he ought now to send away all his horses and inform the king that a person in his position, determined on withdrawing from public life, had no need of them; that he had therefore sent them to the stables, and that when he needed a mount he would apply to him for one; that his intention was to live apart from the world, and that he only wished the king would station persons at his door to exclude visitors. This would reassure the king, and later on his friends would enable him to withdraw to his residence in Baghdād or to visit some Mashhad, and he would then be able to go where he pleased. The secretary assented to all this, but al-Muwaffaq, on being told of it, said that Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb wished him back in prison, and, disregarding his advice, went on receiving his friends.[2]

[1] The place is not mentioned in Iṣṭakhri, who, however, disclaims enumerating all the strong places in Fars, their number, either in the hills or near the towns, being, he says on p. 116, in excess of five thousand.

[2] I append the very idiomatic sentence which follows, for the meaning of which I am indebted to Professor D. S. Margoliouth, who considers the use of the word تسوّق 'to traffic, merchandise,' as suitable and witty. Two persons are mentioned as visiting the vizier, and

يحدّثهما و يحدّثانه و يباسطهما و يباسطانه و يُعيدان عليه ما يتسوّقان عنده به و يُعيدان عنه ما يتسوّقان به عليه

"He talked to them and they to him, and was familiar with them and they

The vizier Abu Ghālib, who had just returned from Sīrāf, is put into communication with al-Muwaffaq by the secretary, and they exchange courteous letters. But, later, he receives disquieting information about al-Muwaffaq, so he decides upon testing his sincerity by instructing a mutual friend to ascertain his true sentiments. To this friend al-Muwaffaq expresses himself unfavourably towards the vizier, and he, on being told of it, holds aloof from him. Some time afterwards, whilst hostilities against ad-Dīwāni were still proceeding, and he was refusing to submit and do homage in the hope that al-Muwaffaq would again be in power and be able to protect him, forged letters are despatched, as though written by al-Muwaffaq, to the force opposing ad-Dīwāni, suggesting they should revolt and pretend to fall back on Shīrāz. These were conveyed to Bahā ad-Daula, and he was told that this had happened at the instigation of al-Muwaffaq, and that on arriving the troops would declare for him. Enraged and alarmed, he orders al-Muwaffaq to be arrested and taken back to the citadel. Here he is well treated by his custodian, who offers his services if he will promise not to escape. He does promise, and letters are conveyed between him and Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb. Afterwards another officer in the fort offers to enable al-Muwaffaq to escape to Rayy and to accompany him, but he refuses to break his promise. Later on Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb, in order to ascertain al-Muwaffaq's real sentiments, commissions a friend to disparage him in confidential talk, and to report the result. He does this, suggesting that Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb is the cause of the displeasure of Bahā ad-Daula, and offering to convey to the latter a letter. Now, al-Muwaffaq had suspected something of the kind, and he carelessly gives utterance to his thoughts on the subject. He also wrote a letter to the king protesting his fidelity, and adding that he had fled from custody with the knowledge and on the advice of Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb. The letter was handed to Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb, who read it and put it by without a word. The

with him. And they repeated to him stories whereby they hoped to gain his favour, and repeated (afterwards) scraps of his conversation, whereby they hoped to gain favour at his expense."

outcome of all this will be seen when al-Muwaffaq's death is related.

He was put to death by Bahā ad-Daula in 394 A.H. (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 115; see also Dhahabi, Or. 48, 239*a*, who says that when governor of Baghdād he arrested and fleeced the Jews; that he then fled to the Baṭīḥa, but returned after two years, and as vizier was valiant and successful in war, acquiring Fars for Bahā ad-Daula, who afterwards had him put to death, at the age of 49 years; all on the authority of Abu'l-Faraj ibn al-Jauzī, that is, from the "Muntaẓam," of which the portion at Berlin, No. 9,436, covers the years 297 to 441 A.H. Ibn al-Jauzī died in 597 A.H., and was maternal grandfather to the author of the Mirāt az-Zamān.)

III.

The Invasion and Conquest of Kirmān by Ṭāhir b. Khalaf (Shīrbārīk), and his subsequent Retirement to Sijistān.

This event is inserted by Hilāl at the close of the year 390, as having occurred some time between that and the following year. It occupies folios 39–51, represented by about half a page of Ibn al-Athīr (vol. ix, 118, 119).

In a Qaṣīdah by Badi' az-Zamān al-Hamadhāni, who died in 398, quoted by 'Utbi in the Kitāb Yāmīni, lith. Sprenger, p. 207,[1] Khalaf is said to have been descended from both 'Amrū and Ya'qūb, sons of the Soffarid al-Layth.

Ibn al-Athīr (ix, 57) makes him grandson to 'Amrū through his mother, Bānū. But on the paternal side his descent his uncertain. Yāqūt (iii, 44) makes Aḥmad son to Khalaf b. al-Layth. Ibn al-Athīr (viii, 58) and Dhahabi (Or. 48, 257*a*) make him son to Muḥammad b. al-Layth.

[1] سما بك من عمرو ويعقوب محتد
كذا الاصل مفخور به وكذا النسل

A life of Badī'az-Zamān is given by Ibn Khallikān (Sl. Eng., i, 112).

Two Persian chronicles, viz. the Iḥyā al-Mulūk (B.M. Or. 2,779, 29*b*) and the Zīnat al-Majālis (Teheran, A.H. 1262, fol. 71*a*), mention the Qaṣīdah, and then quote, as their authority for Khalaf's pedigree, Mu'īn ad-Dīn al-Isfizāri; but the former, quoting from his Tārīkh Harāt, i.e. the Rauḍāt al-Jannāt (see B.M. Pers. Suppl., No. 94), has Khalaf b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Abu Ja'far b. Layth, and the latter, quoting from another work by the same author entitled the Mirāt an-Nasab, has Khalaf b. Aḥmad b. Ja'far b. Layth.

[The question of Khalaf's pedigree is discussed by Sauvaire, "Sur un fels Saffaride, etc.," in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1881, p. 129.]

Khalaf's father, Aḥmad, is mentioned as in the service of the Samanid ruler in 301 (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 58), and it appears from the Persian Chronicles that he was appointed governor of Sijistān by reason of his influence as a descendant of the Soffarid dynasty over its inhabitants. With the decline of the Samanid rule his position became less and less that of a subordinate, and his son Khalaf became, in fact, an independent ruler. Dhahabi, in the Tārīkh al-Islām (B.M. Or. 48, 257*a*), calls Khalaf "Amīr of Sijistān and son of its Amīr," and fixes his birth in 326 A.H. Ibn al-Athīr (viii, 416, 417) has an account, evidently derived from 'Utbi's Kitāb Yāmīni, p. 35 et seq., of a revolt against his rule in 354 A.H., headed by a relative whom he had left as regent whilst he performed the pilgrimage in 353, and how he suppressed it with the assistance of the Samanid ruler; how later he quarrelled with the Samanid, who sent his general Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Sīmjūr to attack him in his stronghold of Ark; how the siege dragged on for years, and was terminated by Khalaf voluntarily abandoning Ark at the friendly suggestion of Ibn Sīmjūr, and removing to the fortress of al-Ṭāq; and, adds Ibn al-Athīr, this was the first sign of decay in the Samanid dynasty.

Khalaf soon recovered Sijistān, but had to grant the Khuṭbah to 'Aḍud ad-Daula after his conquest of Kirmān in 357 (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 433). In 381, when 'Aḍud

ad-Daula was dead, he sent an army under his son 'Amrū to seize Kirmān, but 'Amrū was repulsed by the troops of Ṣamṣām ad-Daula, and, on his return to Sijistān in 382, was put to death by his father, who washed and prayed over his corpse. The historian marvels at so great cruelty being found united with so great learning.[1]

Next, after making terms with Ustādh Hurmuz, who was governor of Kirmān for Ṣamṣām ad-Daula, Khalaf contrived a scheme for rousing the people of Sijistān against the governor by sending to him a Qāḍi, whom they held in high esteem, accompanied by an emissary who was instructed to poison the Qāḍi in such a way that the deed should be attributed to Ustādh Hurmuz.[2] This was done, and Khalaf was enabled to despatch an avenging force under his son Ṭāhir, who in 384 besieged and nearly took the capital, Bardasīr. (See Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 57–59.)

In 390 Khalaf came into collision with Maḥmūd of Ghaznah (ib., p. 113). According to 'Utbi (pp. 186–190), he had attempted to seize Bust from Nāṣir ad-Dīn Subuktigīn, the father of Maḥmūd, but had managed to ward off his resentment. In 390, Subuktigīn having died, Khalaf sent his son Ṭāhir to seize Quhistān and the town of Būshanj from Bughrājaq, an uncle of Maḥmūd. The attempt failed, but Bughrājaq was surprised by Ṭāhir and killed. Thereupon Maḥmūd marched against Khalaf, but was induced to make terms with him, apparently in order to be at liberty to turn against Hindustan. (See 'Utbi, pp. 190–192.)

In 391 occurred the invasion of Kirmān by Ṭāhir. The substance of Hilāl's narrative of this event is as follows:—

[1] 'Utbi, p. 203, praises Khalaf's patronage of letters, and says that he got together a number of learned men to make an exhaustive compilation of interpretations of the Qurān, on which object he expended a sum of 20,000 dinars; and that a copy of the work existed in the Sābūni College at Nīsābūr and was of inordinate length. The Persian translator of 'Utbi, who wrote shortly after 600 A.H., states that he saw the work at Iṣfahān in the library of the family of Khujand, and that it consisted of one hundred volumes. (Lith. ed. Pers., p. 253, and B.M. Add. 24,950, 141*b*.) And Dhahabi, in his notice of Khalaf, loc. cit., gives a long list of those from whom he derived and to whom he transmitted traditions.

[2] The mention of Khalaf's ill-treatment of one of his people's shaikhs, at fol. 50*a* of the MS., seems to refer to this incident.

Abu Mūsa Khwājah b. Siyāhajīk, appointed governor of Kirmān after the defeat of Ibn Bakhtiyār, had treated the partisans of the rebel with great severity, visiting them with death, fines, and confiscation. Now it happened that Ṭāhir b. Khalaf, having been worsted in warfare with his father, had started for Kirmān to take refuge with Bahā ad-Daula. After suffering much hardship on the way, he comes across some fugitive Dailamites of Ibn Bakhtiyār's party, who urge him to seize Kirmān, promising him the aid of all who were disaffected towards Bahā ad-Daula. The project attracts him, but his weakness forces him to dissemble for a time, and he enters Nirmāsīr as a fugitive, where he is well entertained by the Governor. Later, suspicious rumours about him reach the Governor of Bardasīr, one Abu Muḥammad. He proceeds with some Kurdish troops to seize Ṭāhir, but they object that his force of Dailamites is too strong for them, and suggest that some of their number should pretend to join him and then surprise him when out hunting. Abu Muḥammad proposes this plan to Khwājah b. Siyāhajīk, but is curtly told to mind his own business. Irritated at this he discharges his Kurdish troops, and remains inactive.

In the meantime Khwājah b. Siyāhajīk advances from Jīraft with the intention of joining forces with Abu Muḥammad and marching against Ṭāhir, but, on his nearing Darzīn, Ṭāhir, on the advice of his troops, retires to the warm districts[1] to seek the protection of the population, who were both lawless and strong. Thereupon Khwājah b. Siyāhajīk and Abu Muḥammad return to Jīraft, and after trying in vain to recall the Kurds, collect their cavalry for an attack on Ṭāhir. His force has in the meantime increased in strength, and he has procured supplies.

[1] خروم, meaning the warm zone or district, as opposed to صرود, also written سرود, or cold district. Iṣṭakhri says (p. 159), وكرمان لها صرود وخروم. The words are Persian, گرم وسرد, 'hot and cold'; see Johnson's Persian Dictionary.

Advancing on Jīraft, Ṭāhir encounters the troops of Khwājah b. Siyāhajīk, and, having detected a weak spot in his lines, attacks him with success, effecting considerable slaughter and taking him prisoner — he had been wounded in the head[1] — with Abu Muḥammad and some thirty officers, besides supplying his needs from their stores. He then takes Jīraft, and overruns most of Kirmān, large numbers of Dailamites coming in and joining him. The beaten army, which was still a strong force, retires on Sīrjān, and sends to Bahā ad-Daula for reinforcements. This was shortly after the arrest of al-Muwaffaq. On Ṭāhir advancing towards Sīrjān they retire precipitately on Shīrāz, but are stopped on their way, and told that Ustādh Hurmuz had been despatched to take the command. He arrives, and advances by Harāt to Iṣṭakhr, seizing all the Dailamite estates he could lay his hands on, in order to supply the wants of the army. He likewise kept pressing Bahā ad-Daula for succour, and was sent a force of Turks and 300 Dailamites with a promise that more should follow. Ustādh Hurmuz's orders being to attack Ṭāhir, he advances to Sīrjān, where he halts five days to await a promised reinforcement of 'Zuṭṭ,' i.e. gypsies, and then encamps at Nakhtah,[2] twenty farsakhs from Sīrjān. Soon after he learns from one of his couriers that the promised troops had started from Shīrāz, and were advancing by forced marches.

Now the children of Khwājah b. Siyāhajīk and the relatives of the other captives had been constantly urging on Bahā ad-Daula to send an army under the command of some leading general, as Ustādh Hurmuz was an old man and had lost his energy. Accordingly al-Muẓaffar Abu'l-'Alā

[1] Khwāja b. Siyāhajīk died later from his wounds, just as arrangements were being made for his ransom (fol. 49*a*). Abu Muḥammad (al-Qāsim b. Mahdar Farrūkh), after Ṭāhir's death, managed to escape to Shīrāz, where he was made an 'Ārid and subsequently became vizier (fol. 51*a*). His name occurs once earlier in the narrative. On fol. 29*a* it is stated that the reason why al-Muwaffaq, after the defeat of Ibn Bakhtiyār, dismissed Ustadh Hurmuz from Kirmān, was his having previously arrested this Abu Muḥammad without al-Muwaffaq's permission.

[2] On the spelling see Iṣṭakhri (160, note *e*), who says it is situate two Marḥalas distant from Sīrjān (ib., 169).

'Ubaid Allah b. al-Faḍl[1] was sent, and with him the leading Dailamite and Turkish commanders.

Hilāl's informant goes on to say that he had heard from one who was visiting Ustādh Hurmuz on the very day when the news of this arrived — and several Dailamites were present at his table—that he was greatly disturbed, and, quitting the table, ordered the trumpets to sound an advance. A leading officer remonstrated with him for his imprudence, but he paid no heed to him. Thereupon the officer said he would not follow him. He replied that if Abu'l-'Alā reached them and won a victory they would cut a sorry figure on their return to Shīrāz. These words acted on the officer like a spur, and he exclaimed that it was for Ustādh Hurmuz to issue orders. They accordingly went on together. Now Ṭāhir had treated his prisoners very well, and had invited Abu Muḥammad to become his vizier. But he put him off with excuses, and availed himself of his position to keep Ustādh Hurmuz informed of Ṭāhir's concerns and projects. For instance, on Ṭāhir meditating an attack on Bamm from Jīraft, he advised Ustādh Hurmuz to intercept him at Dārzīn, where he accordingly posted an ambush, who fell on Ṭāhir's troops when in loose marching order and took many prisoners, after which they rejoined Ustādh Hurmuz and Sarwistān, twelve farsakhs distant from Bamm. Ṭāhir advances to this latter place and Ustādh Hurmuz prepares to attack him.

The news of Ṭāhir's advance creates much alarm at Dārzīn, and the troops become excited and protest against their commander going forward without awaiting the reinforcements, complaining that he was exposing them to danger from his jealousy at the coming of the Isfahsalār (al-Muẓaffar). Some of the Turks and Kurds, in riding up to see what was going on, encountered Ṭāhir, who had come out of Bamm with a small scouting party, and drove

[1] In command of the troops of Bahā ad-Daula in 380 and 383 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 53 and 68). In the latter passage his name is given as 'Abd Allah, but the reading in the text is confirmed by the Dīwān of al-Ḥajjāj (B.M. Add. 7,588, 140*b*).

him back to Bamm. The troops of Ustādh Hurmuz still continued insubordinate, and he was engaged in trying to appease them when a man was brought in by the Kurds on suspicion of being a spy of Ṭāhir, but who asserted on the contrary that he was the bearer of a letter to Ustādh Hurmuz from a native of Bamm telling him that Ṭāhir had departed for Sijistān. This news led to the troops calming down, and Ustādh Hurmuz, after stationing troops at the gate of Bamm to prevent anyone entering the place, went on towards Narmāsīr, where a number of Dailamites who had joined Ṭāhir came in and submitted. Here he was importuned by many of his leading officers to pursue Ṭāhir in order to rescue the prisoners, and it was not without difficulty that he managed to dissuade them from this step by urging that they ought to rest content with their success, and not drive their foe to fight desperately. He would do so if caught between them and the desert, and it might result in their being defeated. Ṭāhir retired accordingly to Sijistān with his prisoners.

Whilst at Bamm. Ustādh Hurmuz has notice of the approach of al-Muẓaffar. The latter, on reaching the village of Jūz, sent off two of his chamberlains with a letter suggesting that the two forces should meet at Bamm. His real object in doing this was to test the general feeling as regards a project he had of sending Ustādh Hurmuz with his partisans back to Shīrāz, and remaining himself in Kirmān as Governor. But Ustādh Hurmuz convokes the leading Dailamites, and they, by arrangement with him, declare to the two envoys that the land was theirs by conquest and Ustādh Hurmuz their general; that they would tolerate no other, and that they had better advise their Magian master not to unsettle things. They held to this attitude until the departure of the envoys, who made their report to al-Muẓaffar, and he, in turn, reported to Bahā ad-Daula that it was useless for him to remain where he was, so he returned with his troops to Shīrāz.

Now the vizier Abu Ghālib, having a great dislike towards both ʿAmīd al-Juyūsh and his father, Ustādh Hurmuz,

raised objections to the way in which the latter had disposed of the vacant land allotments in Kirmān to the advantage of himself and his relatives, and advised that someone should be sent to make an equitable settlement as between individuals and the claims of the State. Accordingly the 'Āriḍ Ibn Sūdmandh[1] was despatched to Jīraft. On his arrival there Ustādh Hurmuz incited the Dailamites to rise in revolt, and they did so, killing a Kātib and pillaging the offices. But Ibn Sūdmandh thereupon caused a chamberlain and friend of Ustādh Hurmuz to be arrested and beaten, and ordered Ustādh Hurmuz himself back to Shīrāz under penalty of being arrested if he disobeyed. And he departed accordingly.

Ibn Sūdmandh conducted his mission with firmness and dignity, fixing the stipends of those Dailamites whose services were retained and discharging others. He arrested, too, a certain al-Isfahbadh Ibn Dhakī with another person, both of whom had come with him from Shīrāz. It was said, indeed, that Bahā ad-Daula's chief motive for sending Ibn Sūdmandh to Kirmān was his hatred towards al-Isfahbadh, from whom he had received great discourtesy at Ahwāz. By this means he got rid of him. Later, Ibn Sūdmandh returned to Shīrāz by way of Rūdhān, bringing with him half a million dirhams besides weapons and stuffs.

The remainder of Ṭāhir's story is told on fols. 49–51,—how his Dailamite prisoners, on condition of getting their freedom, assisted him to defeat his father, Khalaf, and to become ruler of Sijistān; how Khalaf thereupon had recourse to stratagem, and by pretending a desire to abdicate in favour of Ṭāhir—he being his only son—and to live a life of retirement, lured him to a meeting, when he had him surprised and made prisoner; and how he then had him killed, washing his corpse with his own hands (a repetition of his conduct in the case of his son 'Amrū). The narrative concludes with a short statement that Khalaf's enemies kept watching their opportunity, and that after Ṭāhir's death Maḥmūd of Ghaznah attacked Khalaf and

[1] Successor to Abu Ghālib in 393; see infra.

seized his territory and fortress, removing him to Jūzjān, where he lived neither actually free nor a prisoner, with ample provision for his maintenance, and that subsequently he died there.

Ibn al-Athīr's account of Ṭāhir's expedition and death accords with the narrative of Hilāl. He concludes his account by saying that, as regards the reason for Maḥmūd's conquest of Sijistān, 'Utbi's story is different; and on p. 122 he proceeds to give an account of that conquest on the authority of 'Utbi, and in accordance with the narrative of the Kitāb Yamīni, pp. 197–201. The main differences in this narrative are, that Khalaf abdicates voluntarily in Ṭāhir's favour, his object being to make Maḥmūd believe that he had relinquished the world, and so divert him from his projects of attack; that afterwards, by pretending illness, he got Ṭāhir into his power and kept him a prisoner till he died, as Khalaf said, by his own hand; that the army then called in Maḥmūd, who forced Khalaf to surrender, and sent him in honourable captivity to Jūzjān. This was in 393. Four years later Khalaf was detected corresponding with Īlak Khān, whereupon he was confined in Jardīz (wrongly written 'Jardīn' in Ibn al-Athīr) until his death in 399, when his property was allowed to pass to his son Abu Ḥafs. Ibn al-Athīr's first account, therefore, is avowedly derived from some authority other than 'Utbi, and as that account accords closely with this MS., he may be presumed to have taken it, directly or indirectly, from Hilāl's history.

IV.

The appointment of Abu'l-Faḍl as Successor to the Caliphate.

Fols. 56–60 contain an account of the announcement by the Caliph al-Qādir billah to the pilgrims from Khurāsān of the appointment of his son Abu'l-Faḍl (Muḥammad) as his

successor (see Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 117). The ceremony is described (fol. 56*b*), and the form of the Khuṭbah is set out.

The motive for this is then explained, viz., that a certain al-Wāthiqi, a descendant of the Caliph al-Wāthiq billah (d. 232 A.H.), aided by a jurist, Abu'l-Faḍl at-Tamīmi, had induced Bughrā Khān, the ruler of Bukhārā, by means of a forged letter from the Caliph, to accept him as successor to the Caliphate. The Caliph, on hearing of this, repudiated al-Wāthiqi, and in his anger and alarm decided forthwith to appoint his son, then aged 8 years, as his successor, with the title of al-Ghālib billah. (He predeceased his father, in 409 A.H. according to al-Khaṭīb, op. cit., fol. 104*a*; in 410 A.H. according to Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 220.)

Hilāl refers us to a previous passage in his history for the story of al-Wāthiqi going to the court of Hārūn b. Īlak Bughrā Khāqān. This can be supplied to some extent from the Yatīmat ad-Dahr, where some particulars of the life of al-Wāthiqi are given in the chapter on the Poets of the Court of the Samanids (vol. iv, p. 112, translated by M. C. Barbier de Meynard in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1854, ser. v, vol. iii, p. 339). His name is there given as Abu Muḥammad 'Abd Allah b. 'Othmān al-Wāthiqi, and we are told that he settled at Bukhārā, left it in resentment at not obtaining a post suited to his rank as descendant of a Caliph, and went to the court of Bughrā Khāqān, whom he encouraged in his project of supplanting the Samanid dynasty. On the retirement of Nūḥ b. Manṣūr to Āmul as-Shaṭṭ, and the entry of Bughrā Khāqān into Bukhārā, he became a personage of importance, and aspired to be Caliph and to grant Khurāsān and Transoxiana as a fief to Bughrā Khāqān. But when the latter left Bukhārā and died, and Nūḥ returned, al-Wāthiqi fled to Nīsābūr, and thence to 'Irāq, and we are told in conclusion that he underwent vicissitudes of fortune in journeys to and from Transoxiana.

Hilāl gives the following account of al-Wāthiqi's doings at Naṣībīn, at some date prior to 372 A.H., and of his subsequent life in Baghdād and elsewhere up to his death,

(fols. 57*b* et seq., text B). "I was further informed by the Qāḍi Abu'l-Qāsim 'Ali b. al-Muḥassan at-Tanūkhi that this man, whose name was 'Abd Allah b. 'Othmān, a descendant of the Caliph al-Wāthiq billah, had filled the office of Shāhid to the judges at Naṣībīn and to Ṣadaqah b. 'Ali b. al-Mu'ammal (who acted as deputy there for the informant's father, the Qāḍi Abu 'Ali at-Tanūkhi),[1] and, in addition thereto, the office of Khatīb in the principal mosque; that he had behaved badly to Ṣadaqah, and had sought to supplant him in his post of deputy; that Ṣadaqah and the inhabitants of Naṣībīn then arranged to make an official declaration of his evil repute; this was verified before Ṣadaqah by evidence which he accepted, and gave effect to by a decree, a copy of which he despatched to the Qāḍi together with the declaration and its official attestation.[2] When the Qāḍi had received them he pronounced a final judgment and enforced the same. He had al-Wāthiqi brought to Baghdād, and on his arrival rebuked him and punished him by imprisonment in the police prison. Later on the poet Abu'l-Faraj 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad al-Babbaghā[3] interceded on his behalf, they being fellow-countrymen, and he was set at liberty. He then took up his abode in a room at the landing-place opposite the Dār al-Mamlakah.[4] This was in the reign of 'Aḍūd ad-Daula. My informant went on to tell how al-Wāthiqi used to be visited by Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Īsa al-Māliki, they being friends and fellow-countrymen, and that the latter had related how, when visiting him in his chamber one evening, he told him that he ought to conciliate the Qāḍi through the poet Babbaghā as an intermediary, and thus improve his position; that he went on urging this advice on him, but he did not attend; asked if he had heard

[1] 'Al-Muḥassan b. 'Ali' died in 384 A.H. See his life by Ibn Khallikān (Sl. Eng., ii, 567), where some particulars are given of the life of his son 'Ali, Hilāl's informant.

[2] In the list of Ṭabari's works given by Dhahabi in the Tārīkh al-Islām (B.M. Or. 48*, fol. 53*b*), is one entitled "al-Maḥāḍir wa as-Sijillāt."

[3] His life is given by Ibn Khallikān (Sl. Eng., ii, 147), and copious extracts from his works are given in the Yatīmat ad-Dahr, vol. i, 173.

[4] i.e., the Buwaihid palace on the eastern bank of the Tigris.

what was said, he answered: 'You are foolish, Abu'l-'Abbās. Whilst I am thinking of how to put out the light of this king whose dwelling faces us, and to seize his kingdom, you are advising me to make my peace with at-Tanūkhi,' and that on hearing this he bid him farewell and left at once, fearing mischief might ensue.

"The Qāḍi went on to say that subsequently to al-Wāṯhiqi's conduct in Transoxiana and Khurāsān, and when the appointment of Abu'l-Faḍl to be the Caliph's successor had discredited al-Wāṯhiqi and disproved his claim, the existence of the official declaration of his bad repute which had been sent to the informant's father from Naṣībīn, became known to the Caliph through someone who was acquainted with his story. And I (the informant) was accordingly summoned to the Palace in a sudden and unusual fashion. I went accordingly, and was admitted to the presence of Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Ḥājib an-Nu'mān,[1] who said: 'What has become of you? for you have been sought for incessantly.' I replied that I knew of no reason for this. Then after he had sent in a written announcement of my presence, an answer came from the Caliph that he had heard of the official declaration sent to my father from Naṣībīn on the bad repute of al-Wāṯhiqi and of its having been judicially recorded; and that he was to require me to produce it with the final judgment, to be read over to him. I replied that I would obey, and went away feeling some anxiety lest it should have got lost with other things, but a careful search discovered it, and on the following day I handed it in. When it had been conveyed to the Caliph's presence he returned it, and told the official to ask me if I remembered my father putting into writing his judgment. I replied, 'Yes; he put it into writing in my presence.' Thereupon

[1] i.e. Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Ali b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ḥājib an-Nu'mān, who was appointed Kātib to the Caliph in 386 (Ibn al-Aṯhīr, ix, 90). He is mentioned by Ḏhahabi as already in office in the reign of 'Aḍud ad-Daula (Or. 48, fol. 14*b*), and also as having read the Caliph's diploma of investiture on the accession of Bahā ad-Daula in 379, where he is described as Kātib (ib., fol. 17*a*). He is no doubt the person referred to in the Risālatu'l-Ġhufrān as looking for a poem in 'Adī's dīwān (J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 648). He was still in office in the year 421 A.H. (Ibn al-Aṯhīr, ix, 280*b*).

the Qāḍis and Shāhids and jurists were summoned, as also the public, amongst others the Qāḍi Abu Muḥammad b. al-Akfāni, the Qāḍi Abu al-Ḥasan al-Kharazi,[1] and Abu Ḥāmid al-Isfarāini,[2] and all the Shāhids. And a missive was drawn up in accordance with the judicial record of my father, on my statement of his judgment as I had heard it, and in the presence of the whole assemblage as witnesses. This was fatal to the credibility of al-Wāthiqi.

"The Qāḍi Abu'l-Qāsim also told me that al-Wāthiqi, after his adventure in Khurāsān, came to Baghdād and occupied a house behind his own in the Baṣrah gate quarter, whence he removed on his presence becoming generally known; also, that he had seen him one day in al-Karkh without his recognizing him, thus: 'I saw a man dressed in a garment with sleeves, and in long trousers, and wearing a turban of Shāhjān (i.e. Merv), walking feebly with his hands clasped behind him as they do in Khurāsān. With me was Abu'l-'Abbās al-Māliki, who on seeing him saluted and embraced him; but he, on the contrary, repulsed al-Māliki sharply, speaking in the Persian dialect of Khurāsān, at which al-Māliki said to him, "I saluted you

[1] At fol. 37*b*, under the year 390, is recorded the appointment of the Qāḍi Abu 'Abd Allah al-Ḥusain b. Hārūn ad-Ḍabbi (not to be confused with the vizier of Majd ad-Daula, Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm ad-Ḍabbi, whose story follows later) to Madīnat al-Manṣūr, i.e. Western Baghdad, in the place of Abu Muḥammad 'Abd Allah b. Muḥammad al-Akfāni, who was then transferred from that post to ar-Ruṣāfah and its district, i.e Eastern Baghdad.

In the same passage Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Aḥmad al-Kharazi is stated to have been appointed to Ṭarīq Dijla and Ṭarīq Khurāsān in addition to the office, عمل, he already held at the capital, i.e. Shīrāz. At fol. 65*a*, under 391 A.H., we are told that he died, and was succeeded in this office by his son Abu'l-Qāsim, who, however, was dismissed soon afterwards. And at fol. 69*b*, that the Qāḍi al-Akfāni succeeded to his office in Eastern Baghdād, "and thus got the whole of it," that is, the entire eastern side of the city. He died in 405 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 172). Ṣafadi, in the Wāfi bil-Wafayāt (B.M. Add. 23,358, 133*b*), calls him chief Qāḍi of Baghdād, and says he spent the sum of 100,000 dinars on learned men.

Al-Kharazi is said to have been an adherent of the Zāhiriyyah sect, i.e. the followers of Dā'ud b. 'Ali b. Muḥammad al-Iṣfahāni, whose tenets are described by Shahrastāni (ed. Cureton, *p.* 160, Haarbrücker's translation, Halle, 1850, pp. 241–2; see Ansāb, Sam'āni, B.M. Add. 23,355, 194*a*, and Dhahabi, Or. 48,227*a*). In Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 119, he is called al-Jazari.

[2] 'Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad,' died in 406 A.H.; see his life in Ibn Khallikān (Sl. Eng., i, 53), and a full notice of him by Dhahabi (Or. 49–52*b*).

believing we were friends and acquaintances, but if you deny this, why Allah be with you." Turning to me, he asked if I knew the man; I said "No," and he told me that he was that al-Wāthiqi who had pretended in Khurāsān to be the successor to the Caliphate.'"

His subsequent fate is related (fol. 60*a*) on the authority of the Qāḍi Abu Ja'far as-Simnāni.[1] He continued to enjoy the protection of Bughrā Khāqān, but on his death and on the succession of Aḥmad b. 'Ali Qarākhān, he lost ground at Court, and, in pursuance of a letter from the Caliph requiring his dismissal, was sent to Isfākand, where he was kept in easy confinement. He next came secretly to Baghdād, but being detected by the Caliph, he went to at-Tūthah,[2] where he was well received, and thence to al-Baṣra, and on to Fars, Kirmān, and the Khanian territories. But, pursued everywhere by the Caliph, he went on to Khwārizm, and thence to the court of Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, who kept him in confinement until his death.

Ṣafadi, in the Wāfi bil-Wafayāt (B.M. Add. 23,358, 84*b*), has a short notice of al-Wāthiqi, which, in places, corresponds verbally with Hilāl's narrative. He gives the further facts that al-Wāthiqi was fifth in descent from the Caliph al-Wāthiq, by a son named Ibrāhīm; that he had met with Abu'l-Faḍl at-Tamīmi in Abyssinia; and that the title given to him in the Khuṭbah was as-Sarī' bil-Ḥaqq. The notice concludes with fifteen lines of his poetry.

[1] 'Muḥammad b. Aḥmad,' Qāḍi of Mosul in 412 A.H. (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 229), and died in 444 A.H. (Dhahabi, Or. 49, 206*a*).

[2] A suburb of Baghdad on the Nahr 'Īsa canal.

(*To be continued.*)

Art. XXI.—*Tagara; Tēr.*

By J. F. Fleet, I.C.S. (Retd.), Ph.D., C.I.E.

For more than a century, Indian archæologists have been greatly puzzled about the identity of an ancient city named Tagara. The city is referred to in some of the Indian epigraphic records. Thus, a record of A.D. 997 describes the Śilāhāra prince Aparājita, of the Northern Koṅkaṇ, as *Tagara-pura-paramēśvara*, or "supreme lord of the town of Tagara,"[1] giving to him a hereditary title commemorative of the place which his family claimed as its original home. Another Śilāhāra record, of A.D. 1058, similarly applies to Mārasiṁha, of the Karhāḍ branch of the family, the title of *Tagara-puravar-ādhīśvara*, or "supreme lord of Tagara, a best of towns, an excellent town, a chief town;" and it further describes his grandfather Jatiga II. more specifically, but less accurately, as *Tagara-nagara-bhūpālaka*, or "king of the city of Tagara."[2] And a Western Chalukya record of A.D. 612 specifies Tagara as the residence of the person to whom the grant of a village, registered in that charter, was made.[3] The city is further mentioned, as Tagara, by the Greek geographer Ptolemy, who, writing about the middle of the second century A.D., assigned to it a certain latitude and longitude[4] which have the effect of placing it about eighty-seven miles towards the north-east from another place, mentioned by him as Baithana, which his details would locate about 270 miles on the east-north-east of Barygaza. And it is also

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 269, and p. 273, text line 43–44.
[2] *Cave-Temple Inscriptions* (No. 10 of the brochures of the Archæological Survey of Western India), p. 102, text line 5–6, and p. 103, line 26–27.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 73, text line 14.
[4] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiii, p. 366.

mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, written during the period A.D. 80 to 89: this work, after introducing us to Dakhinabadēs, *i.e.* Dakṣiṇāpatha, "the Dekkan," which it defines as the country lying to the south of Barugaza, inland right across to the Ganges, as well as along the coast, says that "in this same Dekkan there are two pre-"eminent trading-centres,— Paithana, indeed, distant from "Barugaza twenty days by road towards the south, and "another very great city, Tagara, about ten days towards the "east from that; from them, there are brought down to "Barugaza,— by wagon-roads, and through vast places that "have no proper roads at all,— from Paithana, a great "quantity of onyx-stone, and, from Tagara, a plentiful "supply of fine linen cloth, and all kinds of muslins, and "mallow-coloured stuffs, and several other kinds of "merchandise, pertaining to various places, which are taken "thither from districts bordering on the sea." [1]

It was easily recognised, partly because the *Periplus* locates Barugaza on a river which it calls Namnadios, that the name Barygaza, Barugaza, denotes the modern Bharuch, *vulgo* Broach,— the ancient name of which is met with as Bhṛigukaccha, for instance in a record of A.D. 866 or 867,[2] and, more frequently, as Bharukaccha, for instance in a record of A.D. 736,[3]— the chief town of the Broach district in the Gujarāt division of the Bombay Presidency, on the north bank of the Narmadā, *vulgo* Nerbudda, in lat. 21° 42′, long. 73° 2′. And it was found, with almost equal ease, that Baithana, Paithana, is Paiṭhaṇ,— the ancient Pratiṣṭhāna, — in the Auraṅgābād district of the Nizam's Dominions, in lat. 19° 28′, long. 75° 27′, on the north bank of the Gōdāvarī. And, since Paiṭhaṇ, so far from being towards the east-north-east from Broach, or even anywhere nearly due south from Broach, is about 220 miles almost due

[1] The text of this passage is given in *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 54, note. For translations, see *ibid.*, and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. viii, pp. 143 f., and vol. xiii, p. 366.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii, p. 185, pl. ii *b*, text line 18.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. v, p. 114, text line 11.

south-east from Broach,[1] it was also recognised that, in seeking for Tagara, we were not exactly bound by the bearings given by either of the Greek authorities. But, for some incomprehensible reason, the idea was formed, and has existed ever since, that Tagara was not to be found under that same name or any close approximation to it, but was to be identified with some place now bearing a different appellation.

The first proposal for the identification of Tagara appears to have been made in 1787 by Wilford,[2] who expressed the opinion that it is Daulatābād, the ancient Dēvagiri, in the Aurangābād district of the Nizam's Dominions, about thirty-five miles towards the north-by-west from Paiṭhaṇ. Since that time, various other speculations have been indulged in. It has been proposed to identify Tagara with 'Rozah,' about four miles on the north of Daulatābād,— with 'Bheer,' 'Bhir,' 'Beer,' 'Bir,' or 'Bid,' the chief town of the district of the same name in the Nizam's Dominions, about forty-five miles towards the south-east-by-south from Paiṭhaṇ,— with 'Darur,' 'Dārur,' 'Dharur,' or 'Dhārur,' in the district just mentioned, about seventy miles almost due south-east from Paiṭhaṇ,— with Kalbarga, the chief town of the district of the same name in the same territory, about 175 miles towards the south-south-east-three-quarters-east from Paiṭhaṇ,— with 'Dhārur' in the Atraf-i-Balda district in the same territory, on the railway from Haidarābād to Wādī Junction, about 220 miles almost due south-east from Paiṭhaṇ,[3]— and with

[1] I take the distances and bearings, here and throughout, as closely as I can take them, from Thacker's Reduced Survey Map of India by Bartholomew (1891).

[2] See *As. Res.*, vol. i (1788), pp. 368 ff.

[3] It would appear, however, that this 'Dhārur' is nothing but a railway station, and that the name of it is of quite recent invention. The station is about two miles south-west from a small town which is shewn in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 57 (1854) as 'Doraveed,' and is mentioned as "Doraveed, a town," *etc.*, in Thornton's Gazetteer of India, vol. ii (1854), and as "Doravid, a town." *etc.*, in the abridgment of that work published in 1886. Neither does the Indian Atlas sheet, nor does the Hyderabad Survey sheet put together in 1886 from the older sheets Nos. 102, 103, 126, and 127, give any indication of the existence here of a village named 'Dhārur,' or of any place-name at all like 'Dhārur.' This 'Dhārur' is not mentioned in Thornton's Gazetteer, either in the original edition or in the abridgment. I trace the appearance of it first in the reissue of the Atlas sheet No. 57, "with additions

Junnar, the head-quarters of the Junnar subdivision of the Poona district, Bombay Presidency, about one hundred miles towards the west-by-south from Paiṭhaṇ. And I myself have published the opinion that it is Kōlhāpur, otherwise known as Karavīra, the chief town of the Kōlhāpur State in the Bombay Presidency, about 210 miles towards the south-south-west from Paiṭhaṇ.

To all of these proposals there was one leading objection, among others; namely, that none of the names answered to the name Tagara, either as corruptions of the ancient name, or as translations of it or similar substitutes for it, except, perhaps, in the case of Karavīra-Kōlhāpur. There is no sound reason for the suggestion [1] that the name Tagarapura may have passed, through such intermediate forms as Taaraura and Tārur, into 'Dārur' or 'Dhārur.' And still less is there any solid reason for the suggestion [2] that the name Tagara, itself a Sanskṛit word, should be Sanskṛitised as Trigiri, "three-hill," and should thus be applied to Junnar as standing on a high site between three hills. In the case, however, of Karavīra-Kōlhāpur, there were the facts that the word *karavīra* means, among other things, the *Nerium Odorum*, the fragrant oleander, and that the word *tagara* denotes, in Sanskṛit, the shrub *Tabernæmontana Coronaria*, which belongs to the same family with the oleander,[3] and

to 1875," which shews the railway, gives 'Doraveed' as before, and presents the name of the station as 'Dharoor.' From that time, 'Dharur' appears in nearly all the maps that I have looked at, and 'Doraveed' is absent from them. But it is first (as far as I can find) put forward as a town, as well as a railway station, in Philip's Gazetteer of India by Ravenstein (1900), which, also, omits 'Doraveed,' but which does not assign any population to 'Dharur.' I have not succeeded in obtaining any explanation of the matter, or any hint in the direction of 'Doraveed' being a mistake for 'Dharur' (which, in fact, does not seem to be the case), or of there being any change of name in recent times. And I can only conclude that the railway authorities, in making a station which was evidently intended to serve the town of 'Doraveed,' for some reason or other invented a new name for it, which they perhaps evolved out of 'Doraveed,' instead of styling it "Doraveed Road," in accordance with their practice in other parts of the country.

[1] See the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. xiii, Thana, part ii, p. 423, note 4.

[2] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiii, p. 366.

[3] From the Rev. F. Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary it appears that, in addition to the word *tagar*, *tagaru*, *ṭagara*, *ṭagaru*, 'a ram,' we have, in Kanarese, *tagara* as a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskṛit *tamara*, *trapu*, 'tin.'

that the flowers of both these shrubs are used in the worship of gods. It was chiefly this similarity of meaning and use that led me to find the ancient Tagara in the modern Karavīra-Kōlhāpur.[1] But I was never quite satisfied with the identification. And I was always prepared to find, or accept, a better one.

Now, not very long ago I was searching closely the sheets of the Indian Atlas with a view to identifying the village of Mākarappi, which the record of A.D. 612 registers as granted to a resident of Tagara. It is obvious that, for such a gift to be of practical use to a grantee, the village given to him must be within a reasonable distance from his place of abode, in order that he may visit it from time to time, to superintend the cultivation of it and collect his dues. I was not expecting to find Tagara actually under its own name. I was only hoping to discover Mākarappi, and so to go perhaps a step further towards identifying Tagara with, more finally, any of the places mentioned above, or with some fresh place. But, in the course of scrutinising, one after the other, all the sheets of the Atlas in which I might expect to find Mākarappi, I came at last to sheet No. 56, published in 1845. And there, almost at once, I found the town which unquestionably gives us the ancient Tagara by its own name. It is shewn in that map as 'Thair,' on a small river named 'Thairna,' in the Naldrug district of the Nizam's Dominions.

[1] See my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. i, part ii), p. 538, note 8.—It is only since beginning to put together this article that I have become aware that the identification of Tagara with Kōlhāpur was proposed long ago, in 1845, by Bal Gangadhar Shastree, who said:—"Kolapur, called in Sanskrit Karavirapura, or Tagarapura, holds an exalted station among the holy places of the Hindus" (*Journ. Bombay Branch Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. ii, p. 268). To this he added the footnote:—"The word Kolapur itself probably meant the same thing as Tagarapura. It owes its origin either to the Sanskrit word Kulhar or to the Canarese word Kolihu, both of which signify a lotus." I do not recognise either the Sanskrit word, or the Kanarese word, which the Shastree had in view. Nor do I find any authority for the word *tagara* having the meaning of 'a lotus.' And the Shastree seems to have been guided only by finding the hereditary title "supreme lord of Tagara, the best of towns," in two of the Śilāhāra inscriptions at Kōlhāpur (for one of them, of A.D. 1143, see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 207).

It lies in lat. 18° 19′, long. 76° 12′. And it is about ninety-five miles towards the south-south-east-three-quarters-east from Paiṭhaṇ.

It is no very wonderful thing to have thus discovered the modern representative of the ancient Tagara.[1] The matter only required a careful examination of the maps, and a knowledge of the modern forms into which the ancient name of the city might pass, and an acquaintance with the peculiarities of early transliteration. And the marvel simply is that, for more than fifty years, the place should have stared us in the face, in maps and gazetteers, unrecognised. But it is a satisfactory thing to have done. And it only remains to establish the correctness of the identification.

And, in the first place, as regards the identity of the two names Tagara and 'Thair.' The word *nagara*, 'a city,' corrupts into *nēr*, or occasionally *nar*; evidently through an intermediate form *nayara*.[2] And so, from Tagara we

[1] The discovery might have been made long ago, if a hint given to Sir Walter Elliot, and published by him, had been followed up by a proper examination of maps. On the subject of Tagara, he wrote:—"A native trader once told me he had passed through a town of this name on his way from Dharwar to Nagpur, four kos beyond Kalburga. He described it as a good-sized town, with a bazaar, and a nala near it. But it was most probable he was mistaken, for had it been in that position it must have been observed by some European traveller who must have frequently passed that way" (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, F.S., vol. iv, 1837, p. 35, note 1). The maps do not indicate any direct route from Kalbarga to Nāgpur; and evidently there has not been any such route, because too many rivers intervene. They show two routes, northward from Kalbarga. The routes diverge at Aland or Alande, a famous place in the history of Śaivism (see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. v, p. 243, and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxx, p. 2), about twenty-three miles north-west from Kalbarga; and they meet again at the town 'Darur,' 'Dārur,' 'Dharur,' or 'Dhārur,' which has already been mentioned, about thirty-three miles on the north of 'Thair.' One of them goes through 'Ausa,' about twenty-two miles east-by-south from 'Thair.' And the other goes *viâ* Tuljāpur, 'Dharaseo,' and 'Kallam,' passing about six miles on the west of 'Thair.' It is evident, now, that Sir Walter Elliot's informant was referring to 'Thair.' And it is equally plain that the "four kōs," which was the misleading factor in the matter, must be a mistake for "forty kōs;" 'Thair' being about eighty miles towards the north-west-by-west from Kalbarga.

[2] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xvii, p. 118, and notes 4, 6. With this passing of *g* into *y*, compare the interchange of *g* and *v*, of which I have given instances in showing the identity of the names Sivuṇūr and Jigaḷūr or Jigalūr; see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxx, p. 258.

should expect Tēr; or from Tagarapura, Tērūr; or from Tagaranagara, Tērnēr or Tērnar. And Tēr is certainly the name which we have in the disguise of the 'Thair' of the map. By anyone familiar with the old methods of transliteration, the *ai* of the form 'Thair' is recognised at once as one of the early devices for representing the long *ē*; another of them was *ei*, which we have, for instance, in 'Jamkheir' for Jāmkhēḍ, and 'Parneir' for Pārnēr, in the Atlas sheet No. 39 (1855). It would, perhaps, be rather peculiar that the initial *t* of Tagara should have become the aspirated *th*. But it is a question whether that has really happened. It is a detail that may perhaps have been brought about by the Musalmāns, who, apparently, have been responsible for turning Kalbarga into Kalburga, Kulbarga, Gulbarga, and Yelbarga into Yelburga, and, I think, have played mischief with other Hindū place-names also. On the other hand, it is at least equally possible that the aspirated *th* in the maps and gazetteers is due to nothing but a mistake by the surveyor or chartographer who first transliterated the name, and who perhaps heard it pronounced with a rather marked sound of the dental *t*, to distinguish the initial from the lingual *ṭ*. A searching of the maps would probably produce plenty of instances of the introduction of a superfluous *h*. But it will be sufficient if I adduce, in addition to the form 'Bheer,' 'Bhir,' in the case of a town mentioned above, which seems certainly to stand for Bīḍ, "a camp," three cases which present themselves to me off hand. (1) About twenty-seven miles towards the west-north-west from Bijāpur in the Bombay Presidency, there is a town, the chief town of a Native State, the name of which is Jat, or more strictly Jatt. I have been at the town, more than once. And I know that its true name is Jat, Jatt. Also, I have its ancient name, "the *agrahāra* Jatte," in a record, at the town itself, which refers itself to A.D. 1077. In the Indian Atlas sheet No. 40 (1852), its name is given, quite correctly according to the custom then prevalent, as 'Jutt.' But somehow or other, since then, its name has been transformed by official usage into 'Jath.' And this erroneous

form of it has become so thoroughly well established, officially, that, not only does the Deccan Topographical Survey sheet No. 66 (1883), shew the name as 'Jath,' but also the name is actually certified as 'Jath,' in Nāgarī characters as well as in transliteration, in the official compilation entitled *Bombay Places and Common Official Words*, issued in 1878, which was intended to give us the correct and authoritative spelling of the names of all important places in the Bombay Presidency. (2) The Indian Atlas sheet No. 57 (1854) shews, about twenty-one miles towards the east-south-east from Shōlāpur in the Bombay Presidency, 'Ankulkhoot,' by mistake for Akalkōṭ or Akkalkōṭ, the chief town of the Native State of the same name. (3) The name of Parigi, a small town in the Hindupur subdivision of the Anantapur district, Madras Presidency, is shewn, with sufficient correctness, as 'Purrygee' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 59 (1828); but it figures as 'Parghy,' according to official usage, in the *Madras Manual of the Administration*, vol. iii (1893), p. 343. We may further note that, while the Atlas sheet No. 56 shews the name of the place with which we are actually concerned as 'Thair,' it shews, near the sources of the 'Thairna' river, about twenty-one miles towards the west-north-west from 'Thair,' a village, obviously connected in some way with 'Thair' itself and with the river, the name of which it gives as 'Tairkedda,' with the unaspirated *t*.[1] We may further notice the facts that the map opposite the title-page of the *Madras Manual of the Administration*, vol. i (1885), gives the name of the town as 'Tair' and the name of the river as 'Tairna,' both with the unaspirated *t*, and that map 81 in Cassell's Universal Atlas (1893), while giving the name of the river as 'Thairna,' with the *th*, similarly gives

[1] The name stands, no doubt, for Tērkhēḍēñ. And it probably means "the small village Tēr;" *khēḍēñ* being a word which signifies, according to Molesworth and Candy's Marāṭhī Dictionary, 'a hamlet or small village (chiefly of husbandmen).' But the same sheet shews a village named 'Towrajkhaid,' near the sources of the 'Towraj' river, eight miles east-north-east from 'Thair.' And it is thus possible that the '*kedda*,' '*khaid*,' may here stand for some local word having a meaning connected with the source of a river.

the name of the town as 'Tair,' with the unaspirated *t*. And, finally, we may remark that Dr. Burgess, who travelled through this part of the country in 1875–76 but happened not to visit the town with which we are concerned, has written the name of the river as 'Terṇā,' with the unaspirated *t*.[1] Of the two explanations which I have suggested, either may be adopted. Personally, knowing as much as I do about the vagaries of official spelling in maps and gazetteers and other compilations, I believe that the form 'Thair' is due to nothing but a mistake in transliteration, and does not really exist even in local official usage. But, be the case as it may be on that point, I am so sure that local inquiries, addressed to the cultivators and other native inhabitants of the place, would result in proving that the name of the town really is Tēr, and not Thēr, that I do not hesitate to adopt finally the form Tēr. It may be added that, as the Atlas sheet marks the town as having three "pagodas," it is not at all unlikely that the place possesses a *Māhātmya* or local *Purāṇa*, which would in all probability present the ancient name Tagara under some pretext or another, just as the *Māhātmya* of Mahākūṭa, close to Bādāmi in the Bijāpur district, localises there the story of the destruction of the demon brothers Vātāpi and Ilvala by the sage Agastya, because the ancient form of the name of Bādāmi was Vātāpi.[2]

Secondly, as regards the present importance of the town Tēr. It is shewn in the Atlas sheet No. 56 in such a manner as to stamp it, not as a village, large or small, but as a minor town.[3] And it is treated as "Thair,

[1] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 4.

[2] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. viii, p. 238 f. It is in accordance with the general opinion about such matters, that I have said that the *Mahākūṭamāhātmya* localises the story at Mahākūṭa because the ancient name of Bādāmi was Vātāpi. But I am much inclined to believe that the name of Ilvala represents the town of Aihoḷe, in former times a famous place, close to Bādāmi and Mahākūṭa, and that the story was evolved out of some historical occurrence in which these two towns were concerned.—For the story, reference may be made to Muir's *Sanskṛit Texts*, vol. ii, p. 414 f. The currency of it is carried back to the period A.D. 655 to 680 by the Kūram copper-plate record; see *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, vol. i, p. 152.

[3] It may be noted that the Atlas sheets show a 'Theirgaon' sixteen miles towards the north-by-west from Karjat in the Ahmadnagar district;

a town," *etc.*, in Thornton's Gazetteer of India, vol. iv (1854). The information given to Sir Walter Elliot represents it, no doubt correctly, as a market-town.[1] It has a population of 8,015, according to Philip's Gazetteer of India by Ravenstein (1900); and, in this respect, it compares well enough with Paiṭhaṇ, the representative of at least an equally great ancient city, which has now no more than 8,788 inhabitants, and it surpasses various up-country subdivisional head-quarters and other towns known to me as trading-centres. It has been treated as of sufficient importance to be shewn,—sometimes as 'Thair'; sometimes, by a slight improvement on this form, as 'Ther,' and then the river is usually shewn as 'Therna;' and twice, as already remarked, as 'Tair,' with the river in one case as 'Tairna,'—in every map of India, except the Railway Maps of 1886 and 1890,[2] that I have looked at, since finding it in the Atlas sheet. And it has perhaps played a part in later history, as it is shewn, as 'Ther,' in the map given by Major King to illustrate his account of the Muhammadān dynasties of the Dekkan.[3]

We have thus found a town, which presents the required identity of name, and is still of sufficient importance to be reasonably taken as the representative of an ancient city. And it only remains to shew that this town, the modern Tēr, answers properly in other respects, also, to what we learn from the *Periplus* about the ancient Tagara. Exactly in accordance with what is indicated in respect of Tagara, Tēr

a 'Thairgaon,' thirteen miles towards the east-north-east from Paiṭhaṇ; a 'Tagurgaon,' sixteen miles west-half-north from 'Bheer'; and a 'Tairgaon,' forty-one miles east-a-quarter-north from 'Thair.' These, however, are merely ordinary villages. And it would be only as a last resource that one would think of identifying an ancient city with a small village. But the finding of the first three of these places first indicated to me that I might, after all, possibly find Tagara itself under something like its own name. It is questionable whether 'Tagurgaon' may have any connection with Tagara. It is probable, however, that the three other places have some such connection, and were founded by emigrants from Tagara after the time when its name had passed into Tēr.

[1] See note 1 on page 542 above.

[2] These maps, however, do not aim at shewing any very full details, except in the vicinity of the actual routes of the various railways. And it was only by accident that I looked at them, in this matter, at all.

[3] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxix, p. 4.

is just about half as far from Paiṭhaṇ as Paiṭhaṇ is from Broach. According to the *Periplus*, Paiṭhaṇ was a twenty days' journey by road from Broach, and Tagara was "about" ten days by road from Paiṭhaṇ. As the crow flies, Paiṭhaṇ is about 220 miles from Broach, and Tēr is about ninety-five miles from Paiṭhaṇ. If we allow one mile on every ten miles for deviations from the straight line in actual travelling, the distances to be traversed come to, respectively, about 242 and 104 miles. This distance from Broach to Paiṭhaṇ, as a twenty days' journey, gives the very appropriate average of twelve miles as a day's journey.[1] And the same daily average makes Tēr a nine days' journey, or "about ten days," from Paiṭhaṇ. Though not literally to the east from Paiṭhaṇ, Tēr is further towards the east than Paiṭhaṇ is, by about fifty miles; and this amount of easterly bearing, on an actual distance in a direct line of rather less than twice as much, is quite enough to account for the person who gave the information about Tagara to the author of the *Periplus*, describing it, roughly, as "towards the east" from Paiṭhaṇ. And Tēr stands, just as the *Periplus* says Tagara stood, on the route for the carriage of goods to Broach from districts bordering on the sea. There has been a misunderstanding, which affected some of the previous proposals for the identification of Tagara, to the effect that the *Periplus* refers to merchandise taken up to Tagara in the course of transit to Broach from parts along the western coast. But, for the traffic with Broach from those parts, the sea itself, or even a track along the coast, would

[1] I should think that everyone will agree that the *Periplus* is very correct in indicating twelve miles as the average day's journey for laden carts. I have found that, along a good and well-kept high-road, the Indian bullock-carts, on two wheels and drawn by two oxen, can cover even as much as twenty miles during the night, in ample time to get the tents pitched and the other camping arrangements completed before about nine o'clock in the morning. But my experience has been that, along cross-country tracks and even second-class made-roads, twelve miles is quite as much as can be done comfortably. And the ancient roads, even the best of them, can hardly have been superior to the second-class made-roads of the present day. The drivers of carts travelling according to their own convenience would, of course, do the day's journey either all during the night, or part in the evening and part in the early morning, according to the season of the year.

present far greater facilities than roads which would have to climb the Western Ghauts, pass through much difficult country at the back of them, and then eventually traverse the Ghauts again. Sir James Campbell suggested long ago, in 1883, that it was the eastern coast, on the Bay of Bengal, that was concerned.[1] And it is a matter for regret that more prominence was not given to his suggestion, and that the inquiry about Tagara was not pushed more closely then. A study of the maps has shewn to me the former existence of an early trading route, of which well-marked traces still remain, from the east coast through Golconda or Haidarābād, Tēr, and Paiṭhaṇ, to Broach, of so ingeniously devised a nature that one might almost think that it was laid out, not from constant trials and experiments at intermediate points, but from actual maps, such as the sheets of the Indian Atlas, which shewed at a glance the obstacles to be avoided and the means of avoiding them. There were two starting-points. One was Masulipatam, on the coast, in the northern part of the Kistna district; and the road from this place took, not only the local traffic from the coast districts on the north of the Kṛiṣṇā, but also the sea-borne traffic from the far east. The other starting-point was probably Vinukoṇḍa, inland, in the southern part of the same district, which would serve admirably as a collecting centre for the local products of the sea-side country on the south of the Kṛiṣṇā. The roads from these two places joined each other at a point about twenty-six miles towards the east-by-south from Haidarābād, or perhaps at a point about twenty-three miles further in the same direction. And from that point the single road ran in the most natural manner, through easy country, *viâ* Haidarābād, Kalyāṇi, Tēr, Paiṭhaṇ, and Daulatābād, to 'Chandore' and Mārkiṇḍa in the west of the Nāsik district. And only there, in the Western Ghauts, within about a hundred miles of Broach, commenced the real difficulties of the journey,—the "vast places that had no proper roads at all."

[1] *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. xvi, Nasik, p. 181, note 2; see also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiii, p. 366.

It will be interesting to exhibit the whole route, stage by stage. And it will be useful to do so; because the route throws a light on various historical and geographical points which have hitherto been obscure. But the matter would occupy more space than can be spared in the pages of this Journal. And I will finish this note on Tagara by making some brief observations on the general question of the identification of ancient and modern places. The chief obstacle in many cases,— and in some it is a factor which leads to erroneous results,— is the difficulty of ascertaining the real forms of the modern place-names. I have referred above to peculiarities of early transliteration, and to vagaries of official spelling. And I have had occasion to make remarks elsewhere, also, in connection with specific points, on unsatisfactory features in the official system of spelling Indian place-names, and on the only reliable method of determining the true forms of the modern names in some cases, namely, by personal inquiries addressed, not to the district and subdivisional officials and their clerks, but to the cultivators and the hereditary officials and the other native inhabitants of the villages themselves.[1] When it is not possible to make local inquiries, or to deduce a reliable result with the help of an ancient record, very often the original sheets of the Indian Atlas are the best guide, in spite of their various shortcomings. Occasionally, we may obtain more help from the revised quarter-sheets of that Atlas, and from the various Survey and Topographical maps, in all of which the spelling of place-names is given in a more uniform manner and according to what is, to a certain extent, a more fixed and scientific system. But not in either case are any of the maps a final and reliable guide; partly because the official system is an imperfect one, and partly because there is no one to exercise a general control over it, in the way, even, of seeing that the system is followed with the absolute uniformity that is necessary, and still less in the important preliminary of seeing that the true names are obtained correctly before they

[1] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxix, p. 274, note 5, and *Ep. Ind.*, vol. vi, p. 100, note 3, and p. 254, note 1.

are transliterated for inclusion in maps and gazetteers. We cannot by any means place implicit reliance even upon the official compilation *Bombay Places and Common Official Words*, issued in 1878, which purports to certify, in the Native characters as well as in transliteration, the actually correct forms of the names of all the most important places, rivers, *etc.*, in the Bombay Presidency. And still less can we rely upon the derivations of place-names presented to us officially in the *Madras Manual of the Administration*, vol. iii (1893). But the work *Bombay Places* illustrates very well the kind of authority that we need for reference. For many practical purposes besides the inquiry into the ancient geography of India, we require, for the various Presidencies and other territorial divisions, compilations similar to *Bombay Places*, but containing certain additional details, and prepared more scientifically under the direction of some one person who will be interested in the matter and will have the knowledge that will enable him to superintend it on critical and uniform lines. The compilations should be as brief as is possible, consistently with their including all that is absolutely necessary. Etymological suggestions should be rigorously excluded. But ancient names obtained from early records should be given; and Sanskṛitised names, really in use and not simply deduced, should be given whenever they can be obtained from a local *Purāṇa* or similar authority: and, in both cases, the entries should be accompanied by notes as to the sources from which the information is derived, for verification if needed. Original identifications with ancient names should not be attempted. But identifications actually made and published within the last twenty-five years or so should be given, if the authority is *primâ facie* sound, with, similarly, the necessary references. And finally, the present official system of transliteration should not be made intricate by the introduction of any diacritical marks, beyond the sign for the long *ā* which is already in use; and no alteration need, apparently, be made in the present official system of representing the consonants and vowels in Roman characters. But the forms presented to

us in the Native characters must be critical representatives of the absolutely true and correct modern forms, as determined by local inquiries, or by an examination of such village-records as the *Jamābandīciṭhṭhās* of Bombay, or of such publications as the *Extracts from the Pēshwās' Diaries* which are now being compiled and issued at Poona. Such a compilation is what we require in respect of all the more important place-names. To supplement it in respect of the smaller places, we need compilations similar to, and arranged like, the *Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle* (1879), which will shew, in alphabetical order and in transliteration only, the name of every town and village in each Postal Circle, with its district, subdivision, and post-town. Such compilations, however, must also be made complete and exhaustive. The Bombay Directory is often of use, in finding places mentioned in ancient records which belong to that part of India. But, comprehensive though it is, it does not include all the places in the Bombay Circle ; nor does the similar compilation for Madras include all the places in the Madras Circle.

I will, in conclusion, cite the following as a rather curious instance of the way in which a mistake, once introduced officially, is liable to be perpetuated and even enhanced. About eleven miles south-west-by-south from Tēr, there is a small town, with a population of 10,511 and with some ancient cave-temples, the name of which is given in various maps, of dates ranging from about 1879 to 1900, as 'Daraseo' and 'Dharaseo.' The name has been given elsewhere as 'Dhārāsiṅva,'[1] 'Dhārasinwā,' 'Dhārasinwa,' and 'Dhārāsiṅwā.'[2] And we infer that the real name may be something like Dhārāśiva, or possibly Dhārāsiṁha. In the original Indian Atlas sheet No. 56 (1845), the name was given as 'Darasco ;' simply, as we can now see, through the omission to notice and correct a printer's mistake of *c* for *e*. The mistake was detected subsequently. And in the reissue of the same sheet, "with additions to 1882," there

[1] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.*, vol. iii (1878), pp. v, vii, 1, 4, 12.
[2] *Cave-Temples of India* (1880), pp. 169, 417, and index.

was substituted 'Dharashev.' Meanwhile, however, the mistake had evidently crept from the original Atlas sheet into some other maps; for, map 81 in Cassell's Universal Atlas (1893) presents the name as 'Dharasco.' And the map given by Major King to illustrate his history of the Muhammadān dynasties of the Dekkan,[1] following some map in which this name stands spelt in accordance with the original printer's mistake, but substituting *k* for *c* according to the present rules of transliteration, has finally presented us with the fully developed, and apparently critical and authentic but really spurious, name of 'Dārāsko.'

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxix (1900), p. 4.

Art. XXII.—*Philo's δυνάμεις and the Amesha Spenta.* By Professor Lawrence Mills.

There is one well-known place in Philo (*De profugis*, 18, 1,560) where the 'powers' seem for the moment to be limited to six. And this has naturally struck the attention of those who have been looking for coincident similarities between the philonian pieces and the documents which mention the Amesha Spenta of the Zend Avesta. For, as one commentator, Siegfried, has supposed, some of us might consider his treatment of these six cities to be equivalent to the citation of seven (as to which see below), this equalling the number of the 'immortals' of the Avesta.[1]

Let me first cite the passages, for they differ naturally from Philo's method of arrangement elsewhere, as he, in common with all authors of his class, differs from himself at different times in his life and at different phases of his experience.

The matter in hand is Philo's treatment of the passage at Numbers, xxxv, 6, where the names of the six cities of refuge occur. He allegorises as usual, keeping up his reputation as being the boldest of all writers, we might almost say, who have ever indulged in that method of procedure. The first 'city of refuge' which he mentions is a 'metropolis' rather than a 'city.' It is the θεῖος λόγος. This has been supposed by some to correspond to the zoroastrian *vohuman* (*vohu manah*). But I beg to say that even if the entire delineation were purely zoroastrian, yet this would be a mistake, for the θεῖος λόγος is only to be classed with an *asha* = *ṛitá*, the 'rhythm of law' in

[1] The Amesha Spenta (Amshaspends) are the 'bountiful immortals'; some render the 'holy.'

universal nature; see the logos of Heraclitus and the Stoics. The other five cities he calls rather 'colonies,' and chief among these was the formative power, the ποιητικὴ δύναμις. This could make a far better *vohu manah* than the 'city' just mentioned, for the idea of creative formation in itself implies 'benevolence,' and a good many expressions in consonance with this appear in connection with this ποιητική (see below, where I endeavour to recapitulate).

The third is the βασιλική, the 'kingly power,' according to which the one "who has created governs what has been brought into existence." This certainly, at first sight, looks like Khshathra, but see below. The fourth, the δυνάμις ἵλεως, is the power of 'mercy,' through which the "constructor is tender towards and pities his own work," and this ought to correspond to *ārámaiti*. The fifth 'power' conceived of as a 'city' is the 'legislative,' the νομοθετική, through which he forbids what ought not to be done; and this should correspond to *haurvatāt*, 'healthful weal.' The sixth is the κόσμος νοητός, not mentioned in *De profugis*, 18 (1,560), from a loss of text, but legitimately supplied from *De confus. ling.*, 1,431, and from elsewhere, and this should correspond to *ameretatāt*, 'deathless long life!'

Now let us ask what is the truth as to the whole matter; and first we may recapitulate the particulars and enlarge upon them. I was for some time inclined to regard any objection to the figure made use of as a quibble, unworthy of the discussion. But we should not be too hasty even here. The Gāthas make no use of such an illustration as that of 'cities,' whether as 'refuges' or otherwise; nor are 'cities' much more familiar to the later Avesta than they are to the older Veda.

Ragha (Rages, Ῥάγα, etc.) is the only one that is really prominent, and that occurs in the later Avesta; Bawri, which is Babylon, is mentioned incidentally merely, while the list at Vendīdād I, also very late, is not at all in analogy as to the number 'seven,' or as to any other particular; and I naturally dismissed the association as possessing little influence upon our results one way or the other.

But we are searching for mere *signs of origin*, for graphic items which indicate literary relation. Such details would be of greatly more importance for our purpose than others which possessed in themselves far more significance, and this feature is wholly lacking in the Avesta. We have no 'six,' nor indeed any 'seven,' cities of the kind depicted. But what have we to say to this supposed number as here present in Philo? First of all, it really does not exist at the place; the cities are six, not seven. To be sure, the Amesha Spenta (as distinct from the Supreme Being), i.e. the archangels, were also six. The number 'seven' as involved with them is, indeed, not insisted upon in the Gāthas, nor had the name Amesha Spenta (Amshaspends) been applied to either the 'six' or the 'seven' personified attributes in those early hymns. But when the name was invented Ahura became immediately included with the 'six,' under the general designation, and the 'seven' became a most marked, if not a supreme, element in the general concept, as it appears in the later Avesta, yet here we have but six.

It struck Siegfried, indeed, that Philo intended to play upon the number 'seven' here; and that we should supply the ὤν with which he represented the Supreme Being, otherwise designated by the tetragrámmaton *y-hw-h*,[1] so making up the six to seven; but the ὤν does not seem to occur in the vicinity of the passage, and the point did not strike Heinze, who has searched the expressions closely. The author of the Book of Numbers may have retained in his mind some idea of the 'six' days of creation with unexpressed allusion to the seventh. We are, however, in search of *expressed analogies* in mere external diction, and this 'six' of the refuge cities makes but a lame 'seven.'

Yet let us concede the matter freely, even throwing in the ὤν, as I do not wish to push any accidental advantage. Philo's cities, let us suppose, were indeed 'seven'; and so we may call his δυνάμεις 'seven,' notwithstanding the harsh violence necessarily present, if we include the ὤν

[1] "Philo von Alexandria als ausleger des alten testaments," s. 215.

within the number of his own 'powers.' What, then, does the analogy amount to?

The mention of it even should be censured. 'Seven' is everywhere absolutely common property in similar religions, chiefly on account of the natural divisions of time, while from the three here involved it would be especially difficult to exclude it. Whole masses of a discussion in Philo abound in occurrences of 'seven' (this in allusion to Genesis), while 'seven' is as marked in the indian as it is in the iranian; cf. the seven *dvīpas* of the indians corresponding to the seven Karshvars of Avesta (regions of the earth). Then there are the seven *hótṛi's* (or *hotars*), the seven-wheeled car, the seven tongues of Agni (fire), the seven-horsed sun, etc., etc. 'Seven' is even used for 'many,' see *saptá-pada*. 'Seven' could not well, or even possibly, be absent; and its occurrence, even if it really were genuine (at *De profugis*, 18, 1,560), would possess no force whatsoever as a factor in the analogy between the 'cities' and the Amesha Spenta. Let us pass to the θεῖος λόγος. At first sight this concept seems to make an excellent Asha, for 'Asha' as *arshá* and *ṛitá* is, in fact, an indo-iranian logos, as I would hold, of a certain sort. But it is conceded that the θεῖος λόγος, like its predecessor among the Stoics, generally included all the lesser logoi, the ideas, or the δυνάμεις. He, this θεῖος λόγος, is here the 'metropolis,' not one of the 'cities' without qualification.

Wishing to help out the argument that I am opposing, I will recall that Asha is exceedingly prominent among the Amesha in the Gāthas; compare the expression 'with Asha consenting,' etc., a point lost sight of by those whom I am opposing.

But he, or it, so little included the others that *vohu manah*, owing to a mistake in the pahlavi translation of a certain passage, really elbowed itself, or himself, into the foremost place within the later citations; but let us concede this too, and call the θεῖος λόγος a good analogon.

Can we forget that Philo's λόγος, θεῖος, or otherwise, though arising from his greek predecessors, had just been

seized by him (amusingly enough) as a product of his own holy lore (stolen property recaptured)? Remember even Zeller's perhaps extreme remark that his "Lógos was hebrew under a greek dress," for his logos was the 'Word,' that "word of the Lord by which the heavens were made," such as "let there be light" and "there was light."

What trace is there of any such 'logos' anywhere in the Gāthas, or even in the later but still genuine Avesta? Surely no one will seriously recall the time-honoured allusion to the *honover* (*sic*), a singular mistake which curiously illustrates the total absence of even incipient study on the part of so many who make allusions to the Avesta. That *honover* is, indeed, referred to in the late piece, Y. xix, as "It was that word which was before the sky and before the water, before the plants, and before the fire, and before the saint and before the demon-gods," etc. (see Y. xix at S.B.E., xxxi, 260 ff.).

Surely people should 'look' at a time so late as this before they make their points in argument. This wonderful logos at Y. xix is the mere corrupted name for the post-gāthic piece, the *yathā ahū-vairyō*,[1] *ahū-vairyō* having become *hono-ver*. It has nothing whatever to do with a logos in any interior or exterior sense whatsoever, either in the Avesta or elsewhere, or with anything analogous to one save the name 'word'; moreover, it may be very late Avesta, as it is *zand*, or 'commentary' as well. How is it possible that either the gāthic or the later logos could derive its origin from the jewish-greek philonian one, and so soon after Aristobulos (-bulus) or Philo, and yet show no trace anywhere of such an origin, all the shreds and fringes of resemblance being lost?

The one which is "above all of them, the θεῖος λόγος," says Philo, "did not come into any visible manifestation, as not being like anything visible to the senses; but it is itself the image of God." How does this accord with even

[1] A short formula in the gāthic metre of Y. xxviii–xxxiv. The later name by which the earlier Y. xxviii–xxxiv was known was taken from that of this piece. Y. xxviii–xxxiv is called the Gātha *ahuna vaiti*; i.e. like the *ahū-vairyō*.

the *asha* of the Gāthas, which is sometimes so 'incarnate' that the word actually represents the 'holy people' in their entirety, the 'congregation,' while in the later Avesta and later zoroastrianism it actually often means the 'Fire'? Was not that a manifestation 'visible' enough? One expression occurs (but not just here, with reference to the 'cities') which recalls a strophe in the Gāthas, as it would recall strophe upon strophe in all anthologies or poetry. The logos is named the 'charioteer,'[1] and the 'God' gives orders as to what concerns the straight charioteering of the 'all.' The Gātha place speaks of "the 'yoking-on' of the mighty steeds with the law (*asha*) and driving to our help." And in the later Avesta the sub-deities, some of them, drive in chariots. What is the force of this as an analogon? I ought not to have introduced the point, as it deserves no answer.

The image is universal; moreover, the colouring of the Gātha at this place is all vedic (see below), the most so in all the hymns.

Then the ποιητικὴ δύναμις, which, be it understood, is ranked among the 'colonies,' so coming second and not first as in the later Avesta, might still make a tolerable *vohumanah*. That is to say, at our first glance at it (though *vohumanah* is supposed by my opponents to be the first and the θεῖος λόγος), for the ποιητική, as representing the 'formative power,' naturally calls up creative beneficence. See also the expressions made use of in allusion to it, ἀγαθότης, χαριστική, εὐεργετική; they certainly apply well to *vohu manah*, but this curious *vohu manah* and λόγος (as some will have it) is actually called 'God' by Philo in one especial place; see below on p. 563; see also Heinze, 247,[2] where our place is followed up. Where is *vohumanah* called *ahura* in the supreme sense in Gātha or late Avesta? He was included, of course, as one among the minor *ahuras* in the inferior sense at Y. xxviii, 8 or 9, but so are all the others. Even the

[1] *De profugis*, xix, 1,561, ὥσθ' ἡνίοχον μὲν εἶναι τῶν δυνάμεων τὸν λόγον.

[2] "Die Lehre vom Logos in der griechischen Philosophie," von Dr. Max Heinze, Oldenburg, 1872.

human prophet was a lord *ahura*; but neither it, nor any of the six, is termed *ahura* quite alone, and in that highest sense which alone is applicable here.

And surely no one intends to ignore such features as the human side of *vohu manah*; he (or 'it') not only often represents the orthodox citizen very seriously at times in the Gāthas themselves, but he is so closely used for the 'church member' in the later Avesta, the Vendīdād, that he is actually spoken of as being 'defiled,' precisely as one would speak of a mahommedan or a brahmin being 'ceremonially unclean.'

Where does the ποιητικὴ δύναμις appear in any such a light in Philo? There is no telling what odd occurrences may be noticeable in obscure passages, but in the Avesta the occurrence is not odd, or indefinite, where it really exists.

The third δύναμις, the βασιλική, might be thought to be a good Khshathra, and according to *De Cherub.*, 1,144, it possesses 'justice' and becomes 'legislative.'

Khshathra has governing power indeed, or, rather, he is 'governing power,' and would be by implication punitive, but he is nowhere legislative; it is *Asha* who is *par eminence* the 'law' in his leading rôle. Still, let us not be too exacting; let us pass the βασιλική, together with the ποιητική and the θεῖος λόγος. I will not even insist upon the fact that Philo might have omitted his βασιλική altogether if he had not blundered with the Targum on Psalm lxv, his hebrew being rusty, for it is Elohīm there who is (*sic*) 'legislative,' and he, Philo, makes use of κύριος—cf. the βασιλική (thinks Siegfried, p. 214)—under the impression that it was the best word for the Elohīm as 'legislative,' not noticing, or being aware, that the Septuagint use it for the tetragrámmaton *stehend*,[1] while they translate Elohīm with θεός.

It is indeed true that we might have had no βασιλική had Philo been a better hebraist, or one at all. But then, again,

[1] Do they?

the βασιλική was greek fast enough and good platonic,[1] entirely aside from either the tetragrámmaton, which he represents as the ὤν, or this Elohīm, which is his (Philo's) κύριος.

And our point, let us distinctly recall, is literary colour. We are not discussing here (at this place) the history of the doctrine at the philonian stage, but the strange question of philonic influence upon the authors of the Avesta, even of the old Avesta, the Gāthas.[2]

In this light we do not care where or how Philo arrived at his βασιλικὴ δύναμις, except to look for the traces of this origin in what was said to be its echo.

But, again, where is the βασιλική taken to represent 'metals,' for which Khshathra came to be used sometimes, even in the later but still genuine Avesta, and in the later zoroastrianism almost predominantly? And with these three, or (with the ὤν dragged in) with these four, even such a halting analogy as might be supposed to exist comes utterly to an end, the ὤν being before all of them the flimsiest representative of its impossible successor; for the ὤν was, of course, the 'being,' but still the 'non-existent[3] God' (*sic*). What parsi would like that said of Ahura?

The δύναμις ἵλεως, "in accordance with which the Creator is tender toward His own creatures," should correspond to *āramaiti*, but *āramaiti* is thought to be a feeling of reverence from the creature toward the Creator by some, and by others (so better) it is rendered 'zeal'; while at the next stage in the historical development it represents the earth, owing to the just sanctity of early agriculture; for, as I would hold, the *ar* of *āramaiti* is the *ar* 'to plough,' cf. *aratrum*, etc., and *āramaiti* was originally perhaps the 'ploughing zeal.' This

[1] Cf. Phileb. 30, C.: οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς ἐρεῖς φύσει βασιλικὴν μὲν ψυχήν, βασιλικὸν δὲ νοῦν . . . See also Hirshig, p. 412.

[2] Let me say that for a long time I considered these suggestions as to the later ages of the Gāthas and philonian influence upon them as being not at all worth an answer. It is only now, and at the especial request of respected friends in Bombay, that I enter upon it. I seriously fear that I encourage the view by giving it the dignity of a discussion.

[3] He was among other things "everywhere and nowhere"; see *De confus. ling.*, 1,425, quoted by Heinze.

may shock some tastes, but we must endeavour to freshen our suggestions, and explain this idea of the 'earth.' Where does the 'δύναμις' ἡ ἵλεως represent any such object? It comes direct from the jewish ἱλαστήριον (mercy-seat); where is there a trace of this in its supposed descendant?

Siegfried justly thinks that the ἵλεως was included under the 'goodness' of the 'formative power'; see the abstracts applied to this latter concept as cited above. And I for one, among others, have little doubt that Philo was merely spinning[1] out the number of the 'cities' to the required 'six' (by no means 'seven'), and that his ἵλεως has no significance in the supposed analogy. Then, as to the νομοθετική, the 'legislative power,' it hardly deserves more notice, being clearly an after-thought included under the βασιλική, which itself only by an error (see above) was made so 'legislative.'

Yet it should correspond to *haurvatāt*, 'healthful weal, freedom from illness,' the supreme desire of so many then as now. Still more pointedly, let us ask: "What has 'legislation' to do with 'water'?" Even supposing that they thought of 'water' as a source of health, hydrostatics at that period did not occupy the attention of governments local or more general; but the *haurvatāt* of the date of Philo was most used for 'water.'

Where is the point of junction? The last δύναμις, the κόσμος νοητός (*De confus. ling.*, 1,431), seems to be intended to include all the other five retrospectively *a parte post* (so), as the θεῖος λόγος included them prospectively *a parte ante* (so), who would ever assert that *ameretatāt*, even if it were otherwise fully in analogy, *included all its preceding colleagues.*

[1] And let us never forget that the powers in general 'streamed forth from God,' sometimes just as 'light' does. They were, as elsewhere, viewed 'infinite.' Zeller, for one, attaches little importance to this sixfold or sevenfold delineation; see p. 369 on Philo. He dwells upon the two first only, the ποιητική and the βασιλική, with the λόγος between as a bond of union, to which last Heinze justly takes exception. The λόγος was indeed a bond uniting those two most prominently, and as 'a bond' he is momentarily spoken of as intermediate; but it is inconceivable that Philo could have meant to refer to the logos as occupying an inferior position even just here.

And what has the *κόσμος νοητός* to do with 'deathless long life,' the hope to 'live a hundred autumns,' as we have it in the other lore (the Veda)? And what has the 'ideal world' to do with *fuel*? For *ameretatāt* actually means 'firewood' in certain places in the later but still genuine Avesta, just as *haurvatāt* means 'water,' and both are used together in this sense in the peculiar dual construction.

Yet, supposing for a moment that a relation existed, what could that prove? This thought of an 'ideal world' is pretty nearly universal in religions. I would even volunteer to hunt up analogies; if there is none between the 'ideal' world and 'good old age,' or 'firewood,' there certainly is many a trace of an 'ideal world' in the Avesta. Recall our very striking *summum bonum* at Y. xliii, 2, the 'better than the good'; see also the state called 'best mind' at Y. xxx, 4, which gave the persians their name for heaven as the 'best.'

If we understand Philo's *κόσμος νοητός* as an ideal state free from illness, thirst and hunger, etc., there was indeed enough of it in the Avesta, as in every religion of the kind. But we are looking for definite analogies as signs of parentage; and these should be incisive and unmistakeable; and the *κόσμος νοητός* had none such with the 6th or 7th *amesha*, 'immortal,' *ameretatāt*. It is in spirit a thoroughly platonic concept. These 'six' cities, or 'seven' if you will, have absolutely nothing to do with the Avesta either as cause or as effect, except in so far as the Avesta, in common with the Veda, and more closely than the Veda (because geographically nearer), exercised an original influence upon the entire Greek development through the school of Heraclitus as well as otherwise. In fact, as Zeller says (see above), of all these six or 'seven' *δυνάμεις* only the two which correspond to the 'goodness' and 'might' of another passage have significance as united by the logos, *De cherub.*, 112 D., 144 M. Qu. in Gen. i, 57; iv, 2, etc. (Zeller's figures; see Siegfried); cf. also the 'goodness and severity' of God in Romans, xi, 22 ff.; see also ix, 22 ff.

The eschatology of Philo is, of course, fully developed in many respects, as much so as that of the Avesta, if not as much so as that of the New Testament. He lived at the very moment when jewish thought was ripe for the logos of St. John.[1] His remarks about these symbolical cities of refuge are very evangelical in the moral-spiritual sense. They (the cities) are "in every way beautiful as refuges for souls that are to be saved, having the best of walls." "They are effectively useful and philanthropic, for they arouse men to hope for the good." "He (God or the author of the Numbers) urges the fleetest to make breathlessly for the highest city (i.e. the furthest in the territory of grace), the θεῖος λόγος, that, drinking of this fountain (*sic*) of wisdom, he may find eternal life as his reward in place of death." Here we have 'eternal life,' as in the Avesta; but the idea was by that time entirely jewish also, and, if we must take notice of it, it should belong to *ameretatāt*, 'deathless long life,' and not to an *asha* like this θεῖος λόγος, nor, indeed, to a *vohu manah*; whereas, against the *ameretatāt* of the Avesta, we had the utterly dissimilar κόσμος νοητός (see above).

The "sinner not so fleet was to try to reach the next highest or 'farthest' city, the ποιητικὴ δύναμις, which Moses called God" (see above); "for when a man comprehends that the 'all' has been created, he acquires a great possession of good, and this good is the understanding, or knowledge, of the one who has made him. And this immediately persuades the created thing to love the one who has brought him into being." I am not aware that the 'good mind,' *vohumanah*, was particularly speculative; its interior sense was pietistic, or moral, at best orthodox; though Philo's wording here is well enough in point if we wish to trace analogy, but see what has been said above. "The sinner flying from vengeance, but still less swift (than the one in the state just mentioned), has the 'sovereign power' as his city of refuge, the βασιλικὴ δύναμις, so Philo proceeds; for by the fear of his ruler a subject is

[1] Whether it appears so early, or whether later.

admonished; even if as a child he is not admonished by his father's kindness, still this fear will do him good." This is all excellent and sufficiently near the New Testament, cf. St. Paul's "behold, therefore, the . . . 'severity' of God," but it bears no literary resemblance to anything in the Avesta, certainly not to the migrations in the Vendīdād, which present a picture totally dissimilar (see above). The "still slower fugitive is to head for the δύναμις ἵλεως, which enjoins what we should do and forbids what we should not do, for he who understands that the Deity is not implacable but benevolent will repent of his sin, influenced by the hope of pardon." Here we have St. Paul's "(Behold the) goodness . . . of God."

Once more very excellent, but not exactly *āramaiti*, which was 'zeal' in the old Avesta, and the 'earth' in the new. "And he who accepts the opinion that God is a legislator, νομοθέτης ὁ θεός (probably thinking of τίθημι as a root for θεός, which some might ridicule), obeying whatever he prescribes, will be blest." All very well again, but not very similar to 'healthful welfare,' the genius of good luck, plus the 'waters.' While the last of the fugitives will strive for the κόσμος νοητός, which Philo neatly defines as an "escape from evils, if not, indeed, a participation in the more preferred advantages" (*sic*). This, indeed, is far enough from either 'long life' or our 'fuel.'

Above I have emphasized the very singular usage in accordance with which *asha* represents the 'people,' *vohumanah* the 'saint,' etc. I did not mention at that point a similar development among the devices of Philo. These δυνάμεις are in a sense personified; they are "servants surrounding God's throne," they are "ambassadors making known His will, they are mediators between Him and finite things." And they are especially called 'angels.' This looks like the Amesha; nay, they are actually called 'souls.' The historians only accede cautiously to a true personification here, and Zeller, with Heinze, adds a last word in query as to whether Philo, or, indeed, his earlier greek master, had really ever reached a full idea of

personality at all (as understood under the usual terms); surely the 'soul of the world' was not a person. But what of the analogy? Beyond any question it exists. The Amesha Spenta are first abstracts expressing the quality of the actions of the Deity, then those of His saints, and at the next stage they become archangels, and at a still later one the community and the saint, and finally the genii presiding over metals, over the earth, the waters, and plants. And what of this? We must firmly answer as before that a similar hypostatisation, whether rhetorical (as a figure of speech) or positively believed in, was and is universal in every known or conceivable religion of the sort. *Moreover, the entire body of the philonian and of the platonic concepts here is wholly excluded in one compact mass by the simple fact that the philonian logos was first introduced to bridge the supposed gulf between God and impure matter; for the idea of the impurity of material substance was abhorrent to the iranian mind* (see the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July).

And it is really time that we should close up this debate and recall at once what every freshman ought to know, which is that this process of personification, and the development of such ideas themselves as well, regularly appear as an inevitable growth in the sister lore.

The Veda, far off in the indian east, beyond all reach of Egypt, was near akin to the Avesta; nay, we might almost call it the same lore in its extreme south-eastern home. Everywhere there we have abstracts appearing, and everywhere soon personified, not always all of them, but a great mass of them. Take the very *ādityá* with their 'mother,' as we might indeed so call it, or her. *Áditi* is first the abstract 'unboundedness,' 'infinitude,' 'unfettered power,' and then the 'mother goddess'; so *bhága* is 'good luck,' and then personified; *dáksha* is 'cleverness,' and then the god of it; *áṅça* is 'property,' the 'sharing,' and then its god, etc. So, where it is not the abstract, but a material object which meets us, *váruṇa* is the 'enfolding heaven,' and then *Váruṇa* its god; *sū́rya* is the sun, and then *Sūryā́* its goddess; *agní* is the fire, and then *Agní* its endeared protector. So,

also, where the word is first a common descriptive (of a living person), as *mitrá* 'the friend,' and *Mitrá* 'the god'; *aryamán* 'the ally,' and *Aryamán* 'the god,' etc.

And, to make an end of it, all of our Amesha Spenta, instead of being the recrudescence of Philo's cities, are some of them even more familiar to the indian Veda than to parts of the iranian book; of course, as abstract there as here, in fact, sometimes not yet personified like those just named.

The *ṛitá* of the Veda is the *asha* of the Avesta, as no one doubts, a true indo-iranian lógos; and it, or he, occurs close on three hundred times in the Veda and in its very ancient parts, say some of them as old as 500 to 800 years before Philo lived in the egyptian town. *Kshatrá* is *Khshathra*, and it occurs some forty-four odd times; *arámati* is *āramaiti*, and it occurs about eleven times, and often (as Sāyaṇa understood it) even of the 'earth.' *Sárvatāti* is *haurvatāt*, and it occurs some score of times; while *vasumamas*, which is *vohu manah*, is the name of a vedic seer.

Here are all the Amesha Spenta, which some would trace to Philo's cities. They thronged as household words (some of them) for centuries before even Plato, Philo's real instructor, weaved his theories.

There was no greek school in Egypt anywhere when indian ṛishis first sang these ancient names—see, too, how far away. The whole suggestion of philonian parentage or influence seems to be puerile in the extreme, unworthy of the source from which it came—the slip of a gifted brain, preoccupied. The Avesta and the Veda are ancient sisters, and if Philo inspired the abstracts of the one, he inspired those of the other; and this would be a clear 'reductio' to the 'silly,' for it would be a 'reduction' to a joke. Both the iranian and the vedic concepts go back till they are lost in the mists of the ancient east; and as far back as we can trace them they are wonderful indeed, some of the deepest and most beautiful that the human mind has reached. If it were not simple fact, it would indeed be hard to credit. And those which appeared in the iranian Veda (the Avesta)

became personified, just as those sister concepts did which I have named. Philo drank in his iranian lore from the pages of his exilic Bible, which recorded iranian edicts by persian kings, and was itself half made up of jewish-persian history. Surely it is singular that so many of us who search the Scriptures should be unwilling to see the first facts which stare at us from its lines. The religion of those persians, who saved our own from an absorption (in the babylonian), is portrayed in full and brilliant colours in the books of the Avesta, because the Avesta is only the expansion of the religion of the sculptured edicts. The very bywords are strikingly the same, and these inscriptions are those of the very men who wrote the Bible passages.[1] This religion of the Restorers was beyond all question historically the first consistent form in which our own eschatology appeared.[2]

Before the Exile the jewish creed was very dim as to resurrection, immortality, forensic judgment, and all we hold most dear;[3] the people of Ragha (Rages, Ῥάγα, etc.), whose name the alexandrians knew so well from their Tobias, lived and died under the strong personal influence of these beliefs, with other elements beside them so searching that we can scarcely trust our eyesight as we read. Even the harsher features are recalled; the very demon[4] of the Gāthas figured in the tales of Philo's youth.

And these facts no serious expert will dispute. It is a case of simple record. The irano-vedic lore developed in Iran the first definite form of our own ideas as to the future state, according to the obvious data in the case. There are more traces of the doctrines named above, with heaven and hell, as orthodox Christians hold to them, in the texts of the Avesta than in all the pre-exilic books

[1] Sceptics, indeed, might doubt the Scripture passages, but what sceptic can doubt the sculptures of Behistān, not that all they say is accurate.

[2] Not that ours was derived from it, but only matured and ripened through its influence under the providence and will of God.

[3] See the dogmatik of the Old Testament.

[4] Ἀσμοδαῖος is, however, really not more original than the hebrew form, though the book itself was probably first worked in greek.

combined; and the history of zoroastrianism is one living witness to their perpetuity. What, therefore, Philo believed about these doctrines, if indeed he believed at all, he got from his native documents, which in these respects are almost persian lore, nearer to the Avesta, indeed, than they are to the tablets of Persepolis or the polished squares of Behistān.

ART. XXIII.—*Archæological Discoveries in the Neighbourhood of the Niya River.* By M. A. STEIN, Ph.D., M.R.A.S.

SINCE effecting the exploration of ancient sites around Khotan and in the Taklamakan, of which a brief preliminary notice was given in the last number of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, I have moved eastward to *Keriya* and *Niya*. Certain indications had led me to look for archaeologically interesting remains in the desert north of the shrine of Imām Jafar Sadik, where the *Niya* River loses itself in the sands. The excavations I have been able to carry on there for the last three weeks have more than justified my expectations.

Over an area of several square miles, once irrigated from the *Niya* River and still showing the traces of ancient orchards and poplar avenues, there lie scattered ruins of wooden structures, old dwelling-houses, and Buddhist monasteries, now half-buried in the sand-dunes. They have yielded an abundant supply of epigraphical and other relics, which are likely to prove of considerable importance, both for the Indologist and the student of early Central-Asian history.

The largest and perhaps most interesting part of these finds consists of over half a thousand documents written on wooden tablets in the *Kharoshṭhī* script, peculiar to the extreme North-West of ancient India. The palaeographic features of the writing agree closely with those exhibited by the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions of the time of the Indo-Scythian or *Kushana* kings, who ruled the Punjab and adjoining regions during the first and second centuries of our era. Numismatic and other evidence helps to prove that this ancient settlement must have been abandoned about that

period. The language of the documents is an early form of *Prakrit*, similar to that which appears on the earliest known coins of Khotan with bilingual (Indian and Chinese) legends, and also in the famous fragments of an ancient birch-bark manuscript from Khotan called after that ill-fated traveller, M. Dutreuil de Rhins.

Owing to the cursive character of the writing and for other reasons, the thorough decipherment of these records will require much time and patient labour. The necessarily rapid examination I have so far been able to make of them suffices, however, to show the great variety and historical interest of the contents. Tablets containing correspondence, private or official, prevail. They are wedge-shaped or oblong, and of varying sizes. Very often they still retain the clay *seals* attached to them and the *strings* with which they were fastened. Ingeniously fitted covering tablets, which served the purpose of envelopes, bear the address or 'docket' entries. Besides the mass of such tablets, there have come to light numerous tablets evidently containing Buddhist religious texts, prayers, votive records, etc. These tablets often unmistakeably imitate in shape the traditional form of Indian palm-leaf manuscripts, and accordingly show a respectable length, in some instances close on three feet. In addition, there has been found in the different buildings a mass of miscellaneous 'papers' (to use an anachronism), with memoranda, accounts, and similar contents. Many of the tablets bear exact dates, the years being indicated with reference to different reigns.

The great majority of the tablets, having been buried sufficiently deep in the sand, are in a state of very fair preservation. Only those uncovered by the fierce Summer storms have been bleached or withered. The use of wood as writing material is attested in India by references in very old texts, but only the extreme dryness of a Central-Asian desert could preserve for us these earliest specimens. Previous to the introduction of paper (of which not even the smallest scrap has turned up at this site), wood was undoubtedly the most readily available material in the

region north of the Karakorum mountains, where the import of both palm-leaves and birch-bark from India must have been comparatively expensive.

But from one ancient rubbish-heap particularly rich in documents of all sorts there has come to light another writing material little suspected among a Buddhist and Indian-speaking population. About two dozens of Kharoshṭhī documents on parchment, mostly dated and apparently of official nature, prove that the Buddhists of this region had as little objection to the use of leather for writing purposes as the pious Brahmans of old Kashmir had to the leather bindings of their cherished Sanskrit codices.

The use of an Indian language in the vast majority of the documents discovered, when considered together with the eminently secular character of most of the latter, affords a striking confirmation of the old local tradition, recorded both by Chinese and Tibetan authorities, that the Khotan territory was conquered and colonized at an early time by immigrants from the North-Western Punjab. But the finds offer at the same time equally convincing proof of that early assertion of Chinese supremacy and influences at Khotan of which those records tell us. In clearing the rubbish-heap already referred to, a series of small Chinese tablets was discovered, as well as a Chinese seal impression. If the former prove to contain dates, their evidence will be particularly useful.

We have had already ample reason to assume that the direct or indirect influence of Greek art had spread far to the East from *Bactria* and the ancient *Ariana* or Afghanistan. But there is as yet little evidence available that would permit us exactly to fix the period of this influence. From this point of view the clay seals still found intact on a number of tablets are of great interest. One frequently recurring seal, apparently of an official, shows a well-engraved *Pallas Athene*, with shield and Aegis; another, and larger one, a seated *Eros* of good Greek workmanship. On others, again, appear well-modelled portrait heads, etc.

In the ruins of more pretentious dwellings numerous specimens have been found of decorative wood-carving. Their style shows a close connection with that of the so-called Graeco-Buddhist sculptures from the ruined monasteries of *Yusufzai*, or *Gandhāra*, and the neighbouring trans-frontier tracts. These carvings, as well as the remnants of elaborate woven fabrics, still retaining their harmonious colours, attest the high development of local art industry. Household implements, samples of old pottery, glass and metal ware, and other finds of this kind will help to illustrate the culture which these regions, now partly overwhelmed by the desert, enjoyed about the commencement of our era. It was a culture mainly Indian, but bearing the impress of manifold influences, both from the Far East and the Classical West.

Camp, Taklamakan.
February 14, 1901.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. The Sūtra of the Burden-bearer.

Würzburg.
April 22.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—It will probably not have escaped your notice that the "Sūtra of the Burden and the Burden-bearer," which Professor de la Vallée Poussin, in his letter in your last issue (p. 308), refers to as quoted by the Pudgalavādins as an authority on their side, is actually to be found in our Pali Pitaka, at vol. iii, p. 25, of the Saṃyutta Nikāya.

The manner in which this ancient sutta was appealed to by the opponents of the Bauddhas as being against the Bauddhas' doctrine of the *non-ātman* is very instructive.

Far from being entitled, on the ground of this sutta, to consider the *pudgala-vāda* as a genuine portion of the ancient doctrine, it is just the other way. For we have in it a proof that *puggala* in the sense of a soul (*attā*) was unknown to the author of the sutta. He uses the word quite clearly as referring simply to the five skandhas, and indeed states so in so many words. To him *bhāra* and *hāra*, Burden and Bearer, form one inseparable unity, and the laying down of the Burden, that is of the skandhas, is synonymous and simultaneous with the laying down of the Bearer (Bhāranikkhepana = hāranikkhepana).

Uddyotakara, in his use of the sutta, is guilty of what we call, in logic, a *subreptio*.—Yours sincerely,

E. Hardy.

[M. Poussin has already informed me, since he wrote his letter, that he has found the sūtra in the Saṃyutta. It has been translated by Warren.

The 'last words' of Uddyotakara, quoted by M. Poussin, seem to mean merely that, in his opinion (which, as Professor Hardy points out, is wrong), the conclusion to be drawn from the sūtra is that one who denies the existence of the soul is heretic from the Buddhists' own point of view.—Ed.]

2. On a Passage in the Bhabra Edict.

Gwynfa, Cheltenham.
April 30, 1901.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—Permit me to point out that Professor E. Hardy, when writing his letter about the Bhabra Edict which appeared in our Journal for April last (p. 311), was to some extent misled by overlooking the amended reading and interpretation of the Bhabra Edict published by Messrs. Grierson and Senart in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx, pp. 165–168 (1891).

M. Senart, when writing in 1891, was able to avail himself of a rubbing taken by Dr. Burgess, and an imperfect rubbing taken by Dr. Hoernle. The amended reading, instead of *diseyāṁ*, is *diseyaṁ*, but for the interpretation this is immaterial. The correction *taṁ vatave*, instead of *tavitave*, the form which Dr. Hardy discusses, is material, and supplies the needed infinitive to be constructed with *alahāmi hakaṁ*. M. Senart expressly notes that *vatave* "is equivalent to Sanskrit *vaktuṁ*." *Taṁ* corresponds to the relative *e*. Dr. Hardy's ingenious identification of *tavitave* with *ṭhapetuṁ* thus disappears. M. Senart, in 1891, agreed with Dr. Hardy in regarding *sadhaṁme* as equivalent to *saddharma*.

On the other hand, the principal point of Professor Hardy's contention, viz. his taking the words "*hevaṃ sadhamme cilaṭhitīke hasatīti*" as a quotation, seems, so far as I can judge, to be established, and is of considerable importance.—Yours truly,

Vincent A. Smith.

3. A Buddhist Inscription in Swat.

Göttingen.
May 8, 1901.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—In the last number of the Journal (pp. 291 ff.) Mr. E. J. Rapson has published the impressions of some inscriptions collected by Captain A. H. McMahon in Swāt and the adjacent country. Among these there is one (No. 5) from a rock at Shakōri,[1] which, as recognized by Mr. Rapson, is written in Brāhmī characters. Mr. Rapson states that "nearly every *akṣara* can be read with more or less certainty," and he has succeeded in deciphering the words *sa*[*ṁ**]*skāra* and *niruddhyate*; "but," he adds, "all attempts to give an intelligible translation of the whole, on this hypothesis, have hitherto been in vain, and Dr. Stein was of opinion that it was neither Sanskrit nor Prakrit." I consider the task of deciphering this inscription not quite as hopeless as Mr. Rapson and Dr. Stein seem to think. I would read it:

(1) anītyā[2] vata sa[ṁ*]skārā utpādavya[ya*]-
(2) dharmiṇa[ḥ |*] utpadya hī nīruddhya[ṁ*]te[3] [teṣāṁ*]
(3) vy[u*]paśamas = sukham [||*]

This is the Sanskrit version of the famous Gāthā found several times in the Pali canon (Mahāparinibb., p. 252; Saṁyuttan., Sagāthav. 6, 2, 5, 6; Jāt. 95):

aniccā vata saṅkhārā uppādavayadhammino |
uppajjitvā nirujjhanti tesaṁ vūpasamo sukho ||

and, slightly differing, in the Kharoṣṭhī MS. of the Dhammapada[4]:

anica vata saghara upadavayadhamino |
upajiti nirujhati teṣa uvaśamo suho ||

[1] This is Major Deane's spelling of the name: see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iv, p. 133.
[2] Read *anityā*.
[3] Read *hi niruddhyaṁte*.
[4] See Senart, *J.A.*, ix, vol. xii, p. 300; Rhys Davids, *J.R.A.S.*, 1899, p. 428; Lüders, *Gött. Nachr.*, 1899, p. 494.

The stanza seems to have enjoyed great popularity among the Buddhists of North-Western India. The Sanskrit version occurs, in exactly the same form, in another inscription at Shakōri, edited, together with two similar inscriptions, by the late Professor Bühler in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. iv, pp. 133 ff. Although no facsimiles have been added to Professor Bühler's edition, it is sufficiently clear from his description of the alphabet of those three inscriptions that it is about the same as that used in the present one. Here, also, we have the initial *a* with the cursive loop in the lower half of the left portion, the archaic *na*, the *ra* with the curve to the left at the lower end, the *ma* with the knob on the left, and the quite peculiar *śa*. Only the signs for *ṇa* seem to show different forms. Professor Bühler speaks of "two verticals, to *each* of which clings one half of the original upper bar," whereas in the *ṇa* of the present inscription the right vertical has no appendant at all, just as the *ha* does not show here the characteristical curve at the right vertical. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that the writing of the four inscriptions is practically the same, and that it is closely allied to the North-Western Gupta type, as stated by Professor Bühler.

Although no historical information can be derived from these inscriptions, they are of some importance as possibly furnishing some clue to the deciphering of the numerous inscriptions "in unknown characters" discovered by Major Deane and Captain McMahon. Most of those epigraphic puzzles are rather short, and I think it not unlikely that some of them also may turn out to be such verses as the Buddhist monks engraved on the rocks at Shakōri.—Yours faithfully,

H. Lüders.

4. The Bhabra Edict.

Würzburg.
May 20, 1901.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids, — I am obliged to correct an error which slipped into my letter, "On a Passage in the Bhabra Edict" (J.R.A.S., 1901, pp. 311 et seq.). Already in 1887, in an article published in the *Journal Asiatique* (sér. viii, t. ix, pp. 498 et seq.), M. Senart had recognized *tavitave*, or, rightly speaking, *taṃ vatave*, as he now reads, to be an infinitive dependent on *alahāmi*. M. Senart was himself so kind as to remind me of this error, regrettable, as I frankly confess. We must, of course, accept *taṃ vatave* (= *taṃ vattuṃ*) as a better reading, and accordingly translate "I venture to adduce this (sc. word of the Buddha)," and so on. The difference in meaning between *tapitave* = *thapetuṃ* and *vatave* = *vattuṃ* is here a very slight one. Since now a correlate to *e* = *yaṃ* at the beginning of the passage is given, viz. *taṃ*, the relative *e* needs not to be taken adverbially, whereas *sadhaṃme* and NOT *sa dhaṃme* suits the context, the former standing for *saddhammo*, the latter for *so dhammo*. In this I disagree with M. Senart, and as to the words *hevaṃ . . . . hāsatīti*, the interpretation I proposed is more in harmony with the whole tenour of our edict than Senart's, to judge from his translation in the *Journal Asiatique* (l.c., p. 503): "Je juge utile de dire ces choses (de parler comme je fais dans mes inscriptions), afin que cette loi religieuse soit de longue durée."—Yours truly,

E. Hardy.

5. The Translation of *devānaṁpiyā.*

When pointing out in my article on "The Authorship of the Piyadasi Inscriptions" (*ante*, p. 485) that the predecessors of Aśoka must have borne the title of *devānaṁpiya*, because in Rock Edict VIII the plural *devānaṁpiyā* is used as a synonym of *rājāno*, I unfortunately

overlooked a note published by M. Senart in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1891 (vol. xx, p. 231), which shows that that distinguished scholar had to some extent anticipated my interpretation. M. Senart observes:—"In the first line of this edict at Khâlsî, Dr. Bühler's new materials allow him to read *atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ devânaṁpiyâ vihâlayâtaṁ nâma nikhamisu*; at Kapur di giri, also, the true reading is *devânaṁpriya*, instead of *java jaraya*. It looks as if *dêvânaṁpiyâ* corresponded here purely and simply to the *râjâno* of Girnâr and Dhauli."

But no room for doubt remains, as the comparison of the texts shows:—

Girnār.—*Atikātaṁ aṁtaraṁ rājāno vihārayātāṁ ñayāsu.*

Shāhbāzgaṛhi (Kapur di giri). — *Atikratnaṁ aṁtaraṁ devanaṁ priya viharayatra nama nikramishu.*

Manserā.—*Atikrataṁ aṁtaraṁ devana priya viharayatra nama nikramishu.*

Kālsī (Khâlsî).—*Atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ devānaṁpiyā vihālayātaṁ nāma nikhamisu.*

Dhauli.—[*Ati*]*kaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ lājāno vihālayātaṁ nāma . . . . khamāsa* (sic, leg. *nikhamisu*).

In each case the nominative plural, *devānaṁpiyā* or *rājāno*, as the case may be, is construed with the aorist plural, *ñayāsu* or the synonymous *nikramishu*.

May 16, 1901. V. A. Smith.

6. The Date of Kumāradāsa.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—In his interesting article on the Jānakīharaṇa of Kumāradāsa in the April number of this Journal, Mr. Thomas alludes to some five facts bearing on the author's date: his identification with Kumāradāsa of Ceylon, A.D. 517–526 (p. 254), his friendship with Kālidāsa (ibid.), his probable knowledge of the Kāśikāvṛtti (p. 266), the probable quotation in Vāmana's Kāvyālaṁkāravṛtti

(ibid.), and the clear reference in Rājaśekhara (p. 253).[1] He is inclined to accept the traditional date, and the difficulty *re* the Kāśikā, he suggests, may be solved by throwing doubt on I-tsing's dating of that work (p. 267). As against this view I would suggest that the traditional date is inconsistent with known facts, and that the evidence at present available tells decidedly in favour of dating Kumāradāsa in the period about 700–750 A.D.

The identification with King Kumāradāsa, or Kumāradhātusena, seems to rest partly on the reading *Anīśabhūpasya* in the colophon. But I learn from Don M. de Zilva Wickremasinghe's Catalogue of Singhalese MSS. in the British Museum, p. xiii, that this part of the text is mutilated and doubtful, while Leumann[2] shows the first part of the word is but a variant of *atiśaya°*, the reading of the sanne, which, however, is palaeographically very like *anīśa*. Leumann, however, is, as Mr. Wickremasinghe has pointed out to me, quite wrong in reading the second part in the sanne as *bhūpasya*. It is quite clearly *bhūtasya*,[3] and restoring *atiśayabhūtasya*, as we must do, we are rid of any reference to Kumāradāsa as a king. Even if this were not the case, an Indian scribe who knew of the existence of a king of the same name as the poet would have little scruple in adding the epithet. Moreover, the identification will not suit the legend of the friendship with Kālidāsa. The latest date of a Kālidāsa is undoubtedly A.D. 472, as the Meghadūta, Raghuvaṃśa, and Ṛtusaṃhāra (which I assume to be his) are all very evidently plundered by Vatsabhaṭṭi in the famous Mandasor inscription.[4] For the upper limit we have only Jacobi's astronomical and astrological data, which point to A.D. 350. As Kālidāsa's fame in A.D. 472 must have been great to have penetrated to a comparatively small town and a third-rate poet, we are justified in assigning him to

[1] The supposed quotation in Patañjali (Peterson's paper on Kṣemendra's Aucityavicāracarcā) may safely be neglected in this regard.
[2] Vienna Orient. Journ., vii, 227–8.
[3] See Dharmārāma's edit., p. 305, footnote.
[4] See Bühler, "Die indischen Inschriften," p. 72; Kielhorn, Gött. Nachrichten, 1890, p. 251; Macdonell, Sansk. Lit., pp. 321 sq.

A.D. 400 at latest. In any case, however, he could not have been the friend and contemporary of a king of A.D. 517–526.

The legend, however, itself rests on the weakest possible evidence, though Geiger[1] accepts it. Wickremasinghe, l.c., says that it first appears in the Perakumbāsirita, a Singhalese work of the sixteenth century. To place any faith in such testimony is unwise: one might as well trust the Jyotirvidābharaṇa or the Bhojaprabandha, which are only a century younger. Still, if one had to choose, I should prefer this Kālidāsa story, but it is not difficult to conjecture that it owes its origin to the fact of the use of the Raghuvaṃśa by Kumāradāsa or to Rājaśekhara's verse.

On the other hand, I think Mr. Thomas has fully proved, so far as the case admits of proof, that the poet knew the Kāśikā. But I-tsing clearly refers the death of Jayāditya, who is now held by Bühler and Bhāṇḍārkar to be the author of Kāśikā i–v, to A.D. 660 or thereby. To I-tsing's accuracy Mr. Thomas objects that he states that Patañjali wrote a comment on the Kāśikā. It is, however, not quite clear whether this objection is justified. Max Müller,[2] quoting the translation as supplied to him by Takakusu, held that such an interpretation of the passage was not necessary, though quite possible. At any rate, we may point out that I-tsing's date for Bhartṛhari has proved most fruitful in clearing up the questions concerning Kumārilabhaṭṭa and Śaṅkara, and has thereby established its right to be regarded as accurate.[3] As Bhartṛhari is a grammarian, the argument from analogy is fairly strong. It may be added that a certain amount of confirmation may be derived from the newly settled date of Candragomin, the author of the Candravyākaraṇa, whom Liebich (*Vienna Oriental Journal*, xiii, 313–5) has shown from the example Ajayad Gupto Hūṇān to have lived *circa* A.D. 480. Now, Kielhorn (*Indian Antiquary*, xv, 183–5) showed that Candra was used by the Kāśikāvṛtti;

[1] So also Hari Mohan Vidyābhūṣan, Journ. As. Soc. Beng., LXII, i, 212 sq.
[2] "India, what can it teach us?" p. 347.
[3] See Paṭhak's articles, Journal of Bombay Branch R.A.S., xviii.

so the latter cannot date before A.D. 500, and probably is considerably later.

Is there anything to hinder our putting Kumāradāsa about A.D. 680–700, allowing time for the knowledge of the Kāśikā to spread south? The date of the Kāvyālaṅkāravṛtti of Vāmana is a puzzle. Cappeller ("Vāmana's Stil-regeln," p. iii) attributed the work to the twelfth century, but this date is now universally abandoned. An identification with the part author of the Kāśikā has no arguments in its favour, and is rendered improbable *primâ facie* by this case, where Kumāradāsa seemingly knows the Kāśikā, including Vāmana's part (vi–viii), yet is quoted by Vāmana. We may therefore accept the date, end of eighth century, under Jayāpīḍa of Kaśmīr, A.D. 779–813, proposed by Bühler, Kaśmīr Report, p. 65.[1] The matter, of course, would be further complicated if we were to accept Bhāṇḍārkar's[2] view that Vāmana is long subsequent to Jayāditya, or Stein's[3] opinion that the Kāśikā belongs to the eighth century, but these opinions, I think, are in themselves improbable, and are not supported by any evidence of weight.

At any rate, Kumāradāsa is anterior to A.D. 900, as he is known to Rājaśekhara.[4] That the Rājaśekhara of the memorial verses is really the poet, is neatly proved by Mr. Thomas, who has pointed out probable borrowings of words in the Bālarāmāyaṇa (p. 268). This fact may have important bearings on the very difficult Kavirāja and Dhanañjaya problem.

We seem, therefore, to be left with A.D. 650 and A.D. 800 as the limits of date possible, and perhaps we may fairly assign the poet to A.D. 700–750. But though I think the evidence for the traditional date worthless, I feel the insecurity of the basis on which I have founded the new date so deeply that I venture to suggest to Mr. Thomas

[1] Cf. Pischel, Rudraṭa, pp. 22 sq., whose objections to Bühler's view seem weak.
[2] Report, 1883–1884, p. 58.
[3] Jammu Catal., pp. xix, xx, who dates Jayāpīḍa thirty years earlier.
[4] For his date see Ep. Ind., i, pp. 170, 171.

that he would be conferring a real benefit on students of Kāvya literature if he would seek for evidence to settle the position in literary history of a poem so unique and so interesting. But I think, at any rate, we must be very jealous of any effort to dispute any of our established dates, like that of the Kāśikā, in favour of dubious legends.

My best thanks are due to Mr. Wickremasinghe for much information regarding the Singhalese tradition.[1]—I am, yours truly,

A. Berriedale Keith.

Oxford.
May 4, 1901.

[1] He has pointed out to me that it is *a priori* improbable that the first Ceylonese-Sanskrit work known should be a grammatical Kāvya, and that the later date suits the literary history of Ceylon best.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

F. Praetorius. Ueber die Herkunft der Hebraeischen Accente. 54 pp. (Berlin, 1901.)

The origin of the Hebrew accents has more than once taxed the ingenuity of scholars, but every attempt to solve the mystery of their invention or to fix the date when they were first introduced into the text of the Bible, or even to determine the value and character of each of the signs, has thus far baffled every investigator. Any attempt that is made to solve this mystery, especially when proceeding from a new point of view altogether, must be welcome, although I am bound to state from the very start that this latest attempt has left the position exactly where it was before. A few scholars, who had access to very ancient texts of Greek Lectionaries, containing portions of the Gospels and forming a part of the Liturgy, had noticed that in some instances these texts were endowed with peculiar signs, partly in black and partly in red ink. Among the more recent, Thibaut had been enabled to throw some light on these signs, which, following the example of Tzetzes, are called ekphonetic Neums. Starting from the material collected by these and other scholars in the history of mediaeval Greek music, and making use of a rare Greek Lectionary with such Neums, Professor Praetorius, well known for his massoretic studies, has subjected these signs to a new investigation, the gist of which is the following :— That the black marks stand for the punctuation of the Greek texts, that is, for the syntactical division of the verse, according to its internal meaning ; whilst the red signs mark

a certain modulation of the voice in the recitation. The red marks never contradict the division made by the black marks, and therefore they must be looked upon as an indication to the reader how to raise and how to lower his voice, and how to impart to his reading a musical cantilation, but they do not stand for a full musical note with a well-defined sound. They are expected to assist in the true interpretation of the text, by a kind of musical rendering. They stand as a rule in pairs, marking off the beginning and the end of a sentence or a part of a sentence, and when a phrase consists of only one emphatic word, this may have both signs.

I do not wish to enter now into a discussion of the musical value which Professor Praetorius gives to these signs, for he has evidently never heard the lessons read in the Greek Church, but his investigations into these Greek Neums lead up to conclusions which he draws therefrom in order to propound a theory as to the origin of the Hebrew accents. According to Professor Praetorius, the Jews have simply taken over these very signs, and very soon forgetting their origin, and that they were signs copied from the Greek Gospels, they incorporated them into their own sacred texts, though they modified them from time to time. He goes even further, and says (p. 42) that the Jews did not read their sacred texts with their usual cantilation before the beginning of the Middle Ages. He gives no indication of the source of this startling information. He points out further that the Jews alone among the Semitic nations have marked the word accent, but that they have not used specially designed signs serving exclusively that purpose. That they, moreover, have taken indiscriminately all the manifold signs found in the Greek texts, in which there are in fact three different signs, one the accent standing over the word, the other the punctuation or black, and thirdly the red Neums. According to Professor Praetorius, the Jews have mixed all these up and formed their system therefrom. He then proceeds to identify some of the Biblical accents with these mediaeval Greek Neums.

The theory as it stands is, however, untenable. My view is diametrically opposed to the one propounded by Professor Praetorius, who overlooked a fact of decisive importance. These red Neums occur only in *Lessons* from the *Gospels*. Why should the Church have invented a peculiar system of notation for the recitation of Biblical texts, and limit that notation only to such texts? The reason cannot be found in any internal necessity. In inventing this notation, the Church must have followed an example which was considered to be sacred and of old standing. It is a significant fact that these Neums are not found in any manuscript of the Gospel as such, but only and solely in the Lessons in the *Liturgy*, when they are read in the Church in the same manner as the Hebrew portions of the Bible are read in the Synagogue. The example which the Jews set has been followed on more than one occasion by the Church, and Jesus Himself, as well as St. Paul, read portions of the Bible in the Synagogue, as recorded in the Gospels and in the Acts of the Apostles. The example is sure to have been followed from the very first days of Christianity, and if the Lessons were read from the beginning in Greek, either in Hebrew with Greek letters or in Greek translations, it is not at all unlikely, nay, it is almost certain, that they would be read like the originals in the Hebrew form, and that graphical signs would also, in time, be introduced into the text, in order to make their reading as much like that of the Jews as possible. It is their traditional cantilation which has been retained also by the Church. And what is more natural to assume, then, that as soon as the Jews invented signs for marking the peculiar modulations of the voice, the Greek Church, which has preserved to a certain extent the same way of reading the scripture as that followed by the Jews, would borrow and incorporate some of those signs into the Lectionary? These red Neums introduced into the Greek Lessons are, then, nothing else but an imitation of the Hebrew accents, and of the manner in which the Jews read the sacred texts in their Liturgy. The older

Greek signs of prosody have been put under obligation by the Church, and they have been adapted as best they could to this new use. New names had to be invented which are not quite easily understood from the point of view of pure classical Greek, and only through the comparison with Hebrew counterparts the meaning of some is made more clear.

There is, moreover, one profound difference between these two systems, which shows, that the Greek must have been the younger, and that is, that the number of signs is much smaller and the use of the signs more simple and transparent than is the case with the Hebrew. In the Hebrew every word has at least one sign and often two, but the red Neums in the Greek texts stand merely at the beginning and end of the sentence. The Christians were satisfied with following the general outlines of the Hebrew mode of reading, and fewer signs sufficed. Not being an organic growth, it soon fell into desuetude, and even the names of the signs had to be rediscovered in quite recent times. The simplification is, as a rule, a later stage of development out of a more complex system. It is impossible to admit for one moment that the Jews would have borrowed anything from the Church, and still less that they would introduce anything into the Synagogue that was a direct copy and imitation from the Gospels. It is in Palestine that we find the earliest traces of accents, and it is sufficiently well known how bitterly hostile the followers of the two religions were to one another, how strained the relations were, and that in fact no intercourse existed between Jew and Gentile. It is contrary to every experience to assume the possibility of Jews connecting with the sacred text of the Bible any sign or dot or tittle borrowed from the Nazarenes, and from the Gospel to boot.

The accents are much older than has hitherto been believed. No ancient Biblical codex has yet come to light that does not have accents and rudimentary elements of Massoretic glosses round it. I may mention that the peculiar *Kolon* and the point high up the line noticed by Professor Praetorius occurs also in some ancient Hebrew

fragments of the Cairene Genizah, but not in Biblical texts. Far, therefore, from imitating, the Jews set the example, and the Biblical accents, whose origin remains still a mystery to be solved, give the clue to the Greek Neums of the Lectionary. A finer appreciation and a better understanding of the musical value of these Neums can be obtained only by comparing them with the systems prevailing among the Jews. I say deliberately systems, because it is a fact, which is not sufficiently well known, that these accents are not read uniformly by the Jews all over the world. The Sephardim seem to have retained three different systems of reading the accents in the various portions of the Bible. They read them in the Pentateuch with a totally different cantilation from that of the accents in the Prophets; and the Books of the Hagiographa, when used in the Liturgy, are read to a different tune altogether. The Jews, who live in what was once the old Byzantine empire, also read some of the accents, like the Athnach, differing from the Jews in the West.

The importance of the work of Professor Praetorius lies in the fact that it has opened up a new field of investigation, though I have been forced to reverse the process of reasoning followed by him and to assert, by means of the very proofs adduced by him, that the similarity between the Greek and the Hebrew notation is due to the borrowing of the former from the latter. It is incidentally one of the most weighty arguments for the extreme antiquity of the signs for cantilation in the public worship, of the Hebrew text, as well as of the Greek Gospels.

M. GASTER.

A HISTORY OF CHINESE LITERATURE. By HERBERT A. GILES, M.A., LL.D. (Aberd.), Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge, etc. (London: William Heinemann, MCMI.)

This work, which belongs to the well-known series of "Short Histories of the Literatures of the World," edited

by Mr. Edmund Gosse, is a remarkable attempt to compass the voluminous writings of a lettered race of so many millions during some 3,000 years within an octavo volume of 450 pages. Professor Giles has fairly accomplished a task in which few, if any, would have succeeded so well. He has happily, as he remarks in the preface, devoted a large portion of the book to translation, thus enabling the Chinese author, so far as translation will allow, to speak for himself, and has generally given us his own skilful and accomplished version of the Chinese text, excepting in the case of a few passages quoted from Legge's "Chinese Classics," which are always duly acknowledged.

The huge size of Chinese works is often referred to in the pages before us. In the historical class, for example, the annals of the State have been recorded by official historiographers for more than 3,000 years, and one of the first duties of a new dynasty is to publish the history of its predecessors, compiled from these annals. Confucius, in his *Ch'un Ch'iu*, or Spring and Autumn Annals, gives a chronological record of the chief events in the State of Lu between the years B.C. 722 and 484. The annals of the other feudal states of the period are summarized in the Historical Record of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien, of whose great work Professor Giles gives an appreciative account, with several specimens of his style. This ranks as the first of the Twenty-four Dynastic Histories, of which an imperial edition was published in 1747, bound up in 219 large volumes, showing together a record such as can be produced by no other country in the world. But this is nothing compared with the size of some of the encyclopædias, such as the *T'u Shu Chi Ch'éng*, a profusely illustrated compilation in 1,628 volumes of about 200 pages to each, issued early in the eighteenth century, which is now in the British Museum, and its prototype three centuries earlier in date, the gigantic encyclopædia of Yung Lo, the third emperor of the Ming dynasty, which must have run to more than 500,000 double pages. This last, the *Yung Lo Ta Tien*, was never printed because of the cost of the block-cutting,

and the last of the three manuscript copies that were written at the time perished by fire on the 23rd of June last year, when the Han-lin College was burnt to the ground during the siege of the British Legation at Peking. Mr. Lancelot Giles, one of the author's sons, who went through the siege, wrote on the occasion as follows:—"An attempt was made to save the famous Yung Lo Ta Tien, but heaps of volumes had been destroyed, so the attempt was given up. I secured vol. 13,345 for myself."

This voluminous literature is mainly classified by Professor Giles into five principal periods:—The classical period of the canonical books, which were arranged by Confucius in the fifth century before Christ; that of the Han dynasty (B.C. 200–A.D. 200), when historical writers and classical commentators especially flourished; that of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 600–900), distinguished for its poetry; that of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 900–1200), when philosophy occupied the attention of the principal writers; and, finally, that of more recent times, when a taste for the drama appeared, novels came into vogue, and *belles lettres* were cultivated, while the works of the older writers were collected into encyclopædias and concordances compiled to supply phrases for modern authors, whose chief aim is to fashion an elegant mosaic with bricks moulded by their predecessors.

The reader may gather a good idea of Chinese character from the translations of poetry which are so liberally provided. One of the earliest relics is a husbandman's song of the halcyon days of old, but just as true of the busy worker of to-day awaiting less troubled times:—

"Work, work;—from the rising sun
Till sunset comes and the day is done
I plough the sod
And harrow the clod,
And meat and drink both come to me,
So what care I for the powers that be?"

Some three hundred rhymed ballads of times anterior to the sixth century B.C. have been preserved by Confucius in

the classical "Book of Odes." Being chiefly of a simple rustic character, they give an attractive picture of the manners of the people; and it is most unfortunate that early commentators should have started an extraordinary literary craze which affects to see deep political meanings in every line of the plain country-side ditties. A revolutionary aspiration, for instance, is vainly supposed to be hidden in the following little verse of a maiden's song:—

> "If you will love me dear, my lord,
> I'll pick up my skirts and cross the ford,
> But if from your heart you turn me out:
> Well, you're not the only man about,
> You silly, silly, silliest lout!"

A longer ballad (p. 15) relates the iniquity and disastrous results of a runaway match. The story, too long for insertion here, begins:—

> "You seemed a guileless youth enough,
> Offering for silk your woven stuff:
> But silk was not required by you;
> I was the silk you had in view."

The second line of this verse was quoted by a political economist of later times as a precedent for an issue of paper money, although it is extremely unlikely that the character *pu* used here could refer at such an early date to anything but hempen cloth, used in barter. The translator, perhaps, does not really endorse this theory in his note:—"Supposed to have been stamped pieces of linen, used as a circulating medium before the invention of coins." His further rendering of the ballad is fluent, but not quite so terse as the original. A less skilful adapter, for instance, might hesitate to add "my darling boy" to a line to eke out metre or rhyme, in the fear of giving a new shade of sentiment to the meaning.

Chinese poets are fond of referring to Nature, which is often sketched with vividness and feeling. The extracts are pervaded generally with a pensive, melancholy note of

personal alloy, although a more energetic, careless mood, suggestive of Omar Khayyam, is found in some of the pieces. There is a touch of Western drollery in this quip of Ch'eng Hao's:—

"I wander north, I wander south,
I rest me where I please . .
See how the river-banks are nipped
beneath the autumn breeze!
Yet what care I if autumn blasts
the river-banks lay bare?
The loss of hue to river-banks
is the river-banks' affair."

The literature of Chinese Buddhism is dismissed in a short chapter, but more space is devoted to Taoist writers. Professor Giles' argument that the *Tao Tê Ching* might have been written by some other author than Lao Tzŭ, the founder of Taoism, is hardly convincing. It seems to depend chiefly upon a personal impression derived from a perusal of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien's short biography of Lao Tzŭ that he himself had never seen the book, although he gives a fair sketch of its scope and even records correctly the number of the words as being over five thousand.

The book closes with some specimens selected from the inexhaustible supply of proverbs which Chinese always have on the tip of their tongue, among which occur:—

A man thinks he knows, but a woman knows better.
Nature is better than a middling doctor.
A bottle-nosed man may be a teetotaller, but no one will think so.
Stay at home to worship your parents; why travel afar to worship the gods.
Long visits bring short compliments.
The highest towers begin from the ground.
Draw your bow, but don't shoot.
By many words wit is exhausted.

I will take warning from the last, but venture to add a word to warmly recommend a study of this sympathetic sketch of an alien literature, if only on the ground that it comprises the intellectual work of a third of the human race.

S. W. B.

THE ENGLISHMAN IN CHINA DURING THE VICTORIAN ERA, AS ILLUSTRATED IN THE CAREER OF SIR RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, K.C.B., D.C.L. Two vols. By ALEXANDER MICHIE. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1900.)

The history of British intercourse with the Far East can be pleasantly gathered from three biographical works—Laurence Oliphant's "Narrative of Lord Elgin's Mission to China and Japan," Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's "Life of Sir Harry Parkes," and Mr. Michie's account of Sir Rutherford Alcock's consular and diplomatic career. Mr. Michie's work does not compare unfavourably with that of either of his distinguished predecessors. An old resident in China, he won his spurs as an author in his charming description of the "Siberian Overland Route," along which he was one of the first to travel before the new railway to the Pacific was even thought of; and he has made his mark since as editor of the *Peking and Tientsin Times*, and a frequent contributor to influential papers and magazines on subjects connected with China, for which he is a recognized authority. Sir Rutherford has been fortunate in his appreciative biographer, and Mr. Michie no less happy in finding an occasion of relating the story of the Far East during his own residence there. As he says in the Preface :—

> There was no other name round which these events could be so consistently grouped during the thirty years when British policy was a power in that part of the world. As Consul and Minister Alcock was so interwoven with the history of the period that neither the life of the man nor the times in which he lived could be treated apart. And the personal element renders his connection with Far Eastern affairs particularly instructive, for, combining the highest executive qualities with a philosophic grasp of the problems with which he had to deal, he at the same time possessed the faculty of exposition, whereby the

vital relation between the theoretical and the practical sides of Far Eastern politics was made plain. The student may thus draw his lessons equally from the actions and the reflections of this great official.

A remarkable instance of political foresight is quoted from a dispatch written by Consul Alcock in 1849 (vol. i, p. 163), in which he indicates clearly the danger which threatened British interests from the prospective influx of Western Powers pressing through the doors which Great Britain might be constrained to open, until a "struggle for superiority on the soil of China for exclusive advantages might be centred in Peking and embroil the whole of Europe in hostile relations." A more accurate description of the state of affairs now existing could hardly be given than in this picture of the future, although it ignores the Power which is now assuming such an active part in the rearrangement of the Far East. Germany, as Mr. Michie says, was not then even thought of as a world Power, but her entry on the stage has only added confirmation to the soundness of the predictions.

Mr. Michie, although not a sinologue, is conscious of the glamour of Chinese antiquity when he writes eloquently:— "Seen through the luminous haze of its classic history, China presents to the contemplative mind an object of reverence unlike any other existing State, for the thread of its continuity since the time before Abraham is unbroken. Grander than hewn stone or graven bronze, the monuments of China are written books, and a living race, the heir of all her ages, to be conversed with and interrogated." Coming down to the present day, he gives (vol. ii, p. 263) an excellent sketch of the masterful statecraft of the empress-dowager, and of the changes in the succession of the ruling Manchu dynasty initiated by her. Her own son, the Emperor Tungchih, died in 1874, leaving no heir, whereupon the deficiency was promptly supplied by the resourcefulness of the empress-mother, who, as the widow of the Emperor Hsienfêng and co-regent, adopted a posthumous heir to that monarch to replace his own son. Her choice fell on the infant son of Prince Ch'un, the youngest

brother of Hsienfêng. The mother of the child was the empress-regent's own sister, but she was ousted, so that the regent might by enthroning her nephew as her adopted child assure herself another long lease of power. The proceeding was irregular, there being two older brothers of Prince Ch'un alive and having sons. It was, by the way, the grandson of Prince Tun, the elder of these two brothers, the youngest son of the notorious Prince Tuan, named P'uchun, who was made by decree early last year heir-apparent, as the reigning Emperor Kuanghsü can, for reasons well understood, have no natural heir. P'uchun's horoscope, however, is clouded by recent events, his chances of succession having been gravely compromised by his father's machinations.

The empress-dowager owes much to the practical statesmanship of the grand secretary, Li Hung-chang, her confidential man of affairs in the outer world. An excellent photograph of him at the age of 50, taken by Mr. J. Thomson, is reproduced in vol. ii, together with several of the contemporary mandarins. The illustrations are generally very good and to the point, but not always correctly labelled. Two of the group of three "Chinese Women," for instance, are really Manchu dames, as shown by their costume and coiffure, and the name of Monseigneur Mouly should not be spelt "Mouilli."

A good serviceable map is appended to the second volume, well up to date. But space is not available for an extended review of such an important work, and it only remains to recommend its early perusal and careful study. The events in the past leading up to the present crisis are indicated in due order, and for the future in the author's concluding words: "Of all the legacies which the nineteenth bequeaths to the twentieth century, there is none more portentous than that of the sick giant of the Far East." Sir Robert Hart says "aged, not sick," which may, perhaps, be a better diagnosis of the case.

S. W. B.

Le Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire d'Abou-Zéïd Aḥmed ben Sahl el-Balkhî, publié et traduit d'après le manuscrit de Constantinople, par M. Cl. Huart: tome deuxième. (Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. Paris: Leroux, 1901.)

The first part of this important work has been already noticed at pp. 159–161 of the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1901, and the second instalment thereof, containing the remainder (chs. vii–ix) of the first volume of the original MS. (preserved in the Library of Dámád Ibráhím Páshá at Constantinople, and dated A.H. 663 = A.D. 1265), now lies before us. The three chapters which it comprises treat respectively of the Creation of Heaven and Earth and all that therein is; of the Appearance of Adam and his posterity; and of the Troubles of the Last Time, the End of the World, and the Resurrection. These three chapters, in brief, as M. Huart says, are "consacrés à la cosmologie, à la psychologie, et à l'eschatologie, telles qu'on les entendait dans les écoles du monde musulman au milieu du Xe siècle de notre ère"; and though the views of the orthodox theologians of Islám on these topics are often crude and grotesque to the last degree, a knowledge of them is indispensable to the student of Muḥammadan thought, history, and literature, so that we have no right to call this volume less important than its predecessor, though it is assuredly less interesting, while the portion of the work still to come promises far to surpass what has yet appeared.

The authorship of this book is, as M. Huart admits (pp. ix–x), doubtful on several grounds, but chiefly on account of two references made to it by ath-Tha'álibí in his *History of the Kings of Persia*, recently edited, with a French translation, by M. Zotenberg (see *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1901, pp. 161–164), where it is ascribed to a certain Muṭahhar b. Ṭáhir al-Maqdisí, resident at Bust in Sístán, who is not otherwise known to us. This

ascription, dating from the beginning of the fifth century of the *hijra*, evidently carries greater weight than that of the seventh century manuscript, or of the ninth century writer Ibnu'l-Wardí, especially when made by so eminent a writer as ath-Tha'álibí; and M. Huart seems disposed accordingly to reconsider his views on this subject, though he still allows al-Balkhí's name to stand on the title-page.

Although the views set forth in this book are in the main those of the orthodox Muslim theologians, constant reference is made to the beliefs of other Muḥammadan sects and schools, of the ancient philosophers, and of non-Muslims, not only the Jews and Magians (these are constantly cited, often from oral communications made to the author by their priests: cf. pp. 4, 50, 54, 67–68, 87, 88, 111, 131–132, 138, 141–142), but also the heathen Arabs (pp. 110–111), the Manichæans, or 'Dualists' (pp. 20, 131), etc. As regards the characteristic doctrine of the Manichæans concerning the Moon as a Ship which conveys the Light emancipated from the Darkness back to its source (cf. Flügel's *Mani*, pp. 57, 89–90, 225–226, etc.), it is interesting to observe that the author read this in what he calls "the Book of the Khurramiyya"—a term properly applicable first to the followers of Mazdak, and later to those of Bábak and other similar pseudo-prophets of early Muḥammadan times.

The points of interest suggested even by a hurried and perfunctory perusal of this volume are too numerous to be discussed at length, but we may specially notice the astrological details on pp. 13–15; the account of the Celestial Cock (p. 11); the explanation of the plurals of 'East' (مشرقين) and 'West' (مغربين) occurring in the Qur'án; the remarks on the Ṣúfís (especially Báyazíd of Bisṭám and Ḥusayn b. Manṣúr al-Ḥalláj) on pp. 80–82; and the superstition connected with the Mandrake (p. 67). Allusion is often made to theories (e.g., that the apparent revolution of the heavens is really due to the revolution of the earth, p. 38; that the souls of the damned are eventually annihilated, p. 198, etc.) which we are in the habit of regarding as much more modern, while the enlightened

views of the author as to the necessity of reconciling faith with reason may be judged from the following passage (p. 39) :—

"Grâce à Dieu! ce n'est pas nous qui serons entêtés devant la vérité et serons hostiles à ceux qui la possèdent, ni qui considérerons comme méprisables les sciences et les belles-lettres, bien que la religiosité s'imagine en avoir interrompu le cours, ainsi que l'établissement du mysticisme. Il n'y a pas, pour la religion, de victoire plus grande que de rendre justice à la vérité et à ceux qui y ont droit."

Amongst the traditions as to the place whence the Mahdí will issue forth it is curious to find (p. 163) mention of Alamút, which, more than a century after this book was written, became the abode of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ, and the head-quarters of the Isma'ílís in Persia.

Lastly, we cannot refrain from noticing a tradition ascribed to 'Alí which offers a remarkable illustration of a very fine passage occurring near the beginning of the first book of the *Mathnawí* of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí. This tradition runs as follows (p. 103) :—"Lorsque l'homme dort, son esprit s'allonge comme un fil, de sorte que certaines de ses parties restent dans le dormeur, et c'est au moyen d'elles qu'il respire, tandis que d'autres vont se mêler aux esprits des morts et restent au milieu d'eux jusqu'au moment du réveil, où elles lui sont restituées." Compare this with the following lines from the above-mentioned passage of the *Mathnawí* :—

چونکه نورِ صبحدم سر بر زند ' کرگسِ زرّیـنِ گردون پـر زنـد '
فالقُ ٱلاصبـاح اسرافیـل وار ' جمله‌را در صورت آرد زآن دیار '
روحهای منبـسطرا تـن کنـد ' هـر تنـی‌را بـاز آبستن کـنـد '
اسپِ جانهارا کند عاری ز زین ' سِترِ النومُ اخُ ٱلمَوْت است این '
لیکْ بهر آنکه روز آیـند بـاز ' مـی نهد بـر پایشان بند دراز '
تا که روزش وا کشد ز آن مرغزار ' وز چراگاه آردش در زیـر بـار '

I cannot forego the pleasure of appending the late Professor E. H. Palmer's graceful paraphrase of these verses (*Song of the Reed*, p. 25) :—

" When morning's beams illumine all the earth,
And the bright eaglet plumes his radiant wings,
Then, like the Angel who presides at birth,
'He who divideth Light from Darkness' brings
The spirits back from their late wanderings ;
But though He loose their bridles, He doth keep
The spirits tethered by mysterious strings
Each to its body.—Such a mystery deep
Lies in the thought of 'Death and his twin brother Sleep.'"

We heartily congratulate M. Huart on the achievement of the first half of his work, and pray him not to keep us waiting longer than necessary for the remainder, which promises to be of even greater interest.

E. G. B.

LAUKIKA-NYĀYĀ-'ÑJALIḤ. A HANDFUL OF POPULAR MAXIMS CURRENT IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE, collected by Colonel G. A. JACOB, Indian Staff Corps. (Nirnaya-sagar Press, Bombay, 1890.)

There are few books which give the results of so much reading in so small a compass as this little pamphlet of some fifty pages. As its name indicates, it is a collection of those popular maxims, or, as Dr. Bühler called them, " inferences from familiar instances," which one hears so frequently in conversation with Pandits. Such are *kāka-tālīya-nyāya*, the maxim of the crow which alighted on the palmyra-tree, and was instantly killed by one of the hard fruit falling on its head ;[1] used to indicate something startling and astonishing, like the bullet which 'took' Seth Bludso of Pike County

[1] Dr. Sten Konow tells me of another version of the story in Burmese, in which a child resting in the shade of a palmyra-tree is killed by a fruit falling on it, which had been loosened by a crow. See St. John's Burmese Reader, pp. 24 ff.

"'twixt the eyes, and caused him much surprise." Another familiar instance is the *dehalī-dīpa-nyāya*, the maxim of the lamp on the threshold, which gives light both inside the house and outside, and is hence an illustration of something which fulfils a twofold purpose, such as a negative between two clauses, which has the force of a negative to both. Similar collections have been frequently put together, the best known being found in Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati's *Vācaspatya*, but we very rarely find in these any reference to the use of *nyāyas* in actual literature.

The great value of Colonel Jacob's work is that at least one such reference is given for every maxim quoted. He has drawn principally from works on philosophy and on rhetoric, branches of Sanskrit literature which he has made peculiarly his own, and the modestly styled "Handful" is only one more example of the laborious care and love of accuracy for which its author is distinguished.

The book is useful to others than Sanskrit scholars. In many cases these popular sayings are very probably older than the oldest Sanskrit, and, on the other hand, they have certainly survived in the modern vernaculars. Maxims founded on themes such as the crow and the palmyra, the light on the threshold, or the *kākā-'kṣi-gōlaka* are current at the present day in the speech of the folk of Hindōstān—another instance of the unchanging East. The student of Tulasī Dāsa, or of Malik Muḥammad, will find many an obscure passage illumined by this true *dehalī-dīpaka*, throwing light, as it does, both upon the past and on the present.

Every member of the Society heartily regrets the cause which has put a stop, we hope only a temporary one, to Colonel Jacob's literary activity; and one who has been through the same dark valley himself may be permitted to offer his sympathy, and to express the trust that the oculist's skill may have as happy a termination in the case of the author of the "Handful of Popular Maxims" as it has had in his own.

G. A. G.

Assyrian Deeds and Documents Recording the Transfer of Property, etc. By the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, M.A., Lecturer in Assyriology, Queen's College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: Deighton Bell & Co. London: George Bell & Sons. 1901.)

The second volume of the Rev. C. H. W. Johns' useful and comprehensive work is a fit sequel of the first.[1] It adds over 300 pages of inscription preceded by about 306 pages of introductory matter, dealing at length with the various kinds of contracts, their nature and value both historically, chronologically, and with reference to their bearing on the private life, manners, customs, etc., of the inhabitants, and the relations of the various classes of people to each other (landlord and tenant, partnership, family, the position of women, etc.), the whole being a mine of information, and an excellent basis for further research. To this are added chapters on the officials ("Civil Service, Foreign Office, Army," etc.) and the metrology, in which the labours of the various scholars who have interested themselves in this branch of the subject are summed up in a very useful way.

The documents are treated of in all their bearings, as a man with unlimited time at his disposal and a sufficiency of space alone can do it. The sizes of the tablets, their various shapes, the styles of writing, the seal-impressions, the witnesses, whether they wrote their names themselves, etc., are all discussed. Much information is given as to the way in which tablets are written—a subject that (as may be just softly whispered) may turn out to be useful to anyone desiring to enrich himself at the expense of others by fabricating forgeries, though his success as a manufacturer in this line would naturally be doubtful, and the trade accompanied by considerable risk.

After speaking of the contents of the tablets, the author goes on to treat of the words used for the various classes of

[1] Reviewed in the J.R.A.S., October, 1898, pp. 893–897.

documents in Assyria and Babylonia. In the case of the common word for tablet, *duppu*, its form and derivation are spoken of at length, and the matter left just where it was before—uncertain. It seems, however, to me that a further argument in favour of a root with ם instead of ר is furnished by the two forms which the author quotes, namely, *duppu* and *tuppu*. There is every probability that at first the usage of the characters of the Assyro-Babylonian syllabary took a certain time to become fixed, especially in the case of those characters representing a sound to which, in the Semitic Babylonian language, there was only an approximation. The forms *balâtu* for *balaṭu*, 'to live,' *šatâpu* for *šaṭâpu*, 'to judge,' and others, probably originate from the time when the use of for *ṭu* had not yet become fixed. *Têmu* for *ṭêmu* is also common in the tablets of the time of the dynasty of Ḫammurabi, at which period we find also *liballitu* for *liballiṭu* constantly. The use of the two forms *duppu* and *tuppu*, therefore, argues for the reading *ṭuppu*, unless there were two different words.[1]

After noticing other words for documents of various kinds, the author goes on to treat of the words used for the scribes who wrote them. The common word in Babylonia, and also in literary compositions in Assyria, is *dupšarru* or *ṭupšarru*, from the Akkadian *dub-šara*, 'tablet-writer.' In "Assyrian Deeds and Documents," however, the word used is *aba*. There is hardly any doubt that this word is Akkadian, having no connection with the Semitic *âbû*, 'father,' and this being the case, it is possibly connected with the root *ba*, 'to give, dedicate' (*kâšu*),[2] *a* being either a simple prefix or else the word for 'water,' the whole meaning 'one who

[1] In favour of the latter theory, one of the tablets belonging to Lord Amherst of Hackney seems to bear testimony. In this inscription *tu-ub-ba-am ḫi-pi* occurs along with *tu-up-pa-am u-ul te-ḫi-ip-pi-e-ma*, apparently referring to the cancelling of some document, whilst, at the end, the writer says: *me-ḫi-ir dub-bi-ia šu-bi-lam*, "cause an answer to be sent to my letter," meaning the tablet on which these words are written, to which *dubbi* must, therefore, refer. In Assyria, in later times, the word generally used for 'letter' is *êgirtu*, and *šipiretu* is also found. The Babylonian for a contract-tablet was *kangu*, for *kanku*, lit. 'a sealed document,' from *kanâku*, 'to seal.'

[2] The Akkadian *a-ba-ba* is translated by *kîštu*, 'gift,' from the same root.

dedicates (holy) water,' or 'who dedicates (by means of holy) water.' If this be the case, it would be another example of the office of scribe being adopted by a class of priests, like the *šittu* or *rittu* of the Babylonian contracts (where, however, we ought probably to read *šangû* when it means 'priest'). A similar formation to *aba* is in all probability *azu*, 'physician' (Semitic *âsû*, Syriac ܐܣܝܐ). It seems to mean 'one knowing water,' probably medicines and potions. The money mentioned in connection with the seal or nailmark of the sellers of property was, Mr. Johns suggests, paid to the scribe on account of his obtaining 'their seal,' as the tablet has it.

In the dating of these documents, the author notes that there is no clear indication of a day of rest or 'sabbath.' There was a marked abstinence from business, he says, on the 19th (this was a week of weeks from the 1st day of the foregoing month, hence its sacred character). The 20th, he remarks, appears to be, after the 1st, the next most popular day for doing business. This was in all probability partly on account of the comparative cessation of business on the 19th, but principally because the 20th had been regarded, from ancient times, as a lucky day. This is seemingly referred to in a legend, now lost, to which might be given some such title as "The Sungod and the Birdcatcher." An extract from this is preserved on some fragments of a Babylonian scholar's practice-tablet, as follows:—

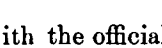
"The birdcatcher set his net, and approached the Sungod: 'My Sungod, the 20th day—thy day—make bright.'"[1]

Both in the tablets of the dynasty of Ḫammurabi and in the contract-tablets of which we are now treating, the personal name Mâr-ûmu-êšrâa, 'son of the 20th day,' occurs not unfrequently, and shows in what estimation this day was held.

[1] See *Assyriological Gleanings*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Dec., 1896, p. 258.

An interesting point is the meaning of the expression , generally transcribed GIŠ-BAR, for which various significations have been suggested — 'payment,' 'yield,' 'pledge,' 'tribute,' 'offering,' 'comptés au taux,' 'income from land,' etc. The character , however, has, as its primary signification, the meaning of 'division,' and the question naturally arises whether the compound may not have the meaning of 'share,' either of property, produce, money to receive, or anything else. Probably the rendering 'amount,' in the general meaning of 'portion,' of a larger sum, would best suit the context in the majority of cases. The question is a complicated one, however, for the author shows that it occurs in very diverse contexts, and it is difficult to find a meaning which will suit them all.

The large number of official titles is useful and instructive, as showing the nature of the administration and its methods, though we have still much to find out in this section of the study. Beginning with the Tartan, the highest official of the State, he treats of them all in their order, with a considerable amount of caution, due to the difficult nature of the subject. In the matter of the *nagiru*, an official often mentioned, there is some doubt, it seems to me, whether the character within the sign be really , the character for 'road,' or not. In the Babylonian form it appears as , the interior one being more like GAB, , though the archaic form given by Thureau-Dangin suggests that the whole character is simply *mir-gunū*—"*mir* with additions"—and with this the forms given by Scheil agree. That *nagir* is connected with *âgāru*, 'to hire,' I very much doubt—the form is not what would be expected in such a case. To all appearance it was an Akkadian word, and the dialectic form, *libir*, shows that it was an interesting one. *Išum*, 'the glorious sacrificer' of the gods, bore this title of *nagiru*, and was apparently so called as the priestly representative of the gods. Once, too, he is called *nagir sûki šaḳummi*, which Delitzsch translates 'overseer of the street of suffering,' a rendering which is hardly satisfactory, but which may be correct.

In connection with the official indicated by *rab-BI-LUL*, may be quoted one of the texts (No. 19) in my translations of Sir Henry Peek's tablets, where the *rab-BI* ( —*rab-šikari* is also a possible reading) must have been one who had to do with wine—a butler. Professor Zimmern (*Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgl. Gesellsch.*, liii, p. 115 ff.) seems to be also of this opinion, and likewise brings proof (as the author mentions) that the *rab-MU* is to be read *rab-muḫatimmi*, and translated 'chief baker.' It seems to us of the modern West naturally exceedingly strange that, as we find in the inscriptions, high-placed officials should bear the titles of 'chief butler' and 'chief baker,' and calls to mind the references in the story of Joseph to these two personages, who had incurred the displeasure of the Egyptian king, though it does not appear from the narrative that they discharged other and more important duties. Did the ancient rulers of the Orient choose for their butlers and bakers persons of sufficient intelligence to become their advisers in affairs of state? It would seem so, though there is every probability that in later times these officials did exceedingly little baking and wine-pouring.

The *rab-MU* has naturally nothing to do with *rab-mugi*, of which I have already spoken elsewhere. With regard to this title may be said, as I have already pointed out, that it is the nearest to the *Rab-mag* of the Bible that has yet been found. Mr. Johns shows that he had to do with horses and chariots, and as the word *muga* occurs alone in a letter published by the Rev. S. A. Smith, I translated it *Fürst*—though I had some misgivings about it. There is a nasalized form of the word, namely, *rab-mungu*, but this does not help much. As to its nationality there is also considerable doubt, though there is some possibility that it will ultimately be found to be connected with one of the numerous Akkadian roots *mug*. I, for one, have never regarded it as being connected with *magus*, and, of course, it has nothing to do with *rubû êmgu* (for *rubû êmḳu*, 'the deeply-wise prince'), the accusative of which is *rubâ êmga*.

Besides the usual contracts, the author has included among

the additional tablets which he has published, a number of inscriptions of a miscellaneous nature. There are lists of officials, both classified and unclassified (some of the latter, according to the author, are lists of the guests invited when "the king was about to give a great feast to the 'chief estates' of his realm"); lists of soldiers on the march; inventories of goods "served out to certain officials"; memoranda of accounts; building-lists; lists of pots and pans; lists of animals; offerings to the gods, etc., etc. Some of the tablets published by Mr. Johns are of more than ordinary interest, as the list of female scribes, and the text referring to the land restored by Sargon the Later to the priests of an old endowment of Aššur at Maganūba, on a portion of the site of which this king founded Dûr-Sargina (the ruins of which are now known as Khorsabad). The new fragment added to it by Mr. Johns refers to Rêbit-Ninâ, and may be held to furnish an additional proof that this is the Rehoboth-ir of Gen. x, 11, which, like Resen, must have been 'a great city.'[1]

But that which excites the curiosity most is in all probability the inscription supposed to give the dimensions of the Ark of (the Babylonian) Noah. This is the tablet

[1] Of more than ordinary interest is the tablet inscribed with the Egyptian names (K. 4718 = No. 763). Among them are *Puṭi-Hûru*, 'gift of Horus,' *Hûru*, 'Horus,' *Ṣumaššе(ru ?)*, *Puṭimāni*, 'gift of Ammon,' *Puṭišeri*, 'gift of Osiris.' It is noteworthy that the Babylonians, in reproducing Egyptian names, generally give the element *Puṭi* as *Paṭu*. Unfortunately, this tablet is very difficult, having salt-crystals in the characters, besides which the cross-light from the two windows in the Students' Room at the British Museum renders the copying of tablets there a far from easy task. The following are my readings of certain difficult passages:—*ta-di-nu* for *li-di-nu* in l. 3; [cuneiform] in ll. 6, 7, and 9 is written on the edge, as is also *ḫa-a* in l. 10 (this group likewise seemed to me to have [cuneiform] before it); [cuneiform] on the edge in l. 12; [cuneiform] at the end of l. 7 doubtful, and probably due to some damage to the tablet; following it is [cuneiform], perhaps part of a character. Rev., l. 3, [cuneiform] doubtful, in all probability it is some higher number (the character which follows is [cuneiform], apparently written over part of [cuneiform]); l. 7 read [cuneiform]. Obv., ll. 4 and 5 are transposed, and on the rev. there should be a space between ll. 5 and 6. Mr. Johns's work is remarkable, however, when the disadvantageous lighting of the room is taken into consideration.

K. 1520, which records the length, breadth, and height of some erection in cubits (*U*), followed by the end-measurement and height of another object (probably a portion of the same) in *suklum* measures. A list of animals and birds follows, the last three of which are "the dove, the swallow, and the raven." These are the birds mentioned in the Babylonian account of the Flood, and have apparently given rise to the supposition that this text states the dimensions of the Ark, and names the animals preserved therein.

The dimensions given—"390 by the cubit long, 150 by the cubit broad, 660 by the cubit high"; and "410 by the great *suklum* (at) the end, 788 by the great *suklum* elevation," in each of which the height is nearly double the length—make it utterly impossible that this should refer to the Ark, or in fact to anything else of the kind. As the author says, "No real building could be 390 cubits long, 150 cubits broad, and 660 cubits high." Some other explanation for this extraordinary combination of measurements must therefore be found.

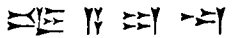
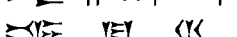
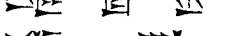
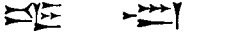
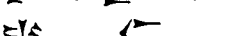
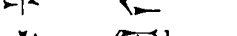
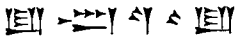
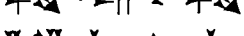
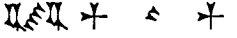
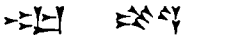
The following is a rough translation of the remainder of the inscription:—

"Dromedary, camels, horses, mules (?), high-steppers (?), asses, she-ass, mare.

"Oxen, cows, *SAL-SI-SAL-ḪU* (a kind of cow), white cattle (?), sheep, white (?) sheep, lamb, goats, full-grown (?) kid, young kid, she-goat (?), antelope, gazelle, wild ass, hare, young of the gazelle. Mountain-reed bird, ring-dove (?), *uttar* bird, owl, eye-splitter,[1] dove, swallow, raven."

A reference to the tablet published as No. 3 on pl. 44 of the second volume of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia" shows that the above list of animals and birds is a duplicate of the text there printed in tabular form, the principal difference being that in the latter 'horses' heads the list. As the text is not very well printed in the "Western Asia Inscriptions" I repeat it here, in order to show its arrangement, and, at the same time, to give the correct list.

[1] *Puṭrínu*, a compound for *puṭur íni*, 'splitting of the eye,' probably a kind of owl.

	sisê	ANSU A-AB-BA-MEŠ
	gammale	ANŠU·KU-TIN-MEŠ
	ANŠU-GIR-NUN-NA-MEŠ	mûrê
	atanu	sisîtu
	âlpê	mîrê
	SAL-SI-SAL-ḪU	nikê [2]
	immeru	immeru piṣû : kirru
	enze	MAŠ-ZU : uriṣu (?)
	uniku	turaḫu : ṣabitu
	purimu	annabu
	mâr ṣabiti	kurkû (D.S.)
	TU-GIL (D.S.)	ut-tur [4] (D.S.)
	marratu (D.S.)	pu-uṭ-ri-nu (D.S.)
	summatu (D.S.)	ṣinundu (D.S.)
	aribu (D.S.)	. . . . (D.S.)

[1] K. 1520 has .

[2] The variant on K. 1520 would suggest the reading *mi'ê piṣâti*, 'white cattle.'

[3] The traces seem to be those of this character, but K. 1520 has .

[4] Variant *ut-tar*.

The above is preceded by (1) garden produce, (2) *kitû*, 'linen,' (3) different kinds of wine, (4) the words for the various parts of animals, ending with *kursinnāti*, 'hoofs.' It is therefore exceedingly probable that it was simply a list, partly bilingual, for students to copy from, and this leads one to suppose that K. 1520 is simply a student's exercise, somewhat similar to the numerous tablets of that nature found in Babylonia. If, however, the measures at the beginning refer to anything, they possibly represent the dimensions of one of those artificial erections which the Assyrian kings sometimes constructed, apparently a mound of earth on a platform to keep it clear of the floods, whereon they planted various trees, and possibly stocked with wild or tame animals, the whole being after the manner of the Hanging Gardens at Babylon.

But there are too many points to touch upon in a short notice, and the metrology, concerning which I had made some notes, will have to go unnoticed. A word may be said, however, about the references to works already published. It is probably difficult to most people to carry in their head and at once call to mind what the numerous rows of initials of titles of books may possibly mean, and where a page or two more or less are of little importance it might be well to expand them a little, so as to give a clue to the words for which they stand. Thus A.B.P.R. is not readily recognizable, among six other titles beginning with A.B., as Meissner's *Beiträge zum Altbabylonischen Privatrecht*—the last word of the title in full would to most people be of much greater value. As a rule the references are well stated, but one, at least, requires amendment. On p. 108, *Rec. Past*, p. 77, may cause endless trouble to the reader, who will probably go through six of the volumes of the first series and all six volumes of the second series without finding the word (*mušarkis*) referred to. The reference is to the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. xi, published, according to the date of Dr. Birch's preface, twenty-three years ago (1878). I do not think that I should translate this word as 'librarian' now. The root of *mušarkis* is, of course, *rakāsu*, the usual

meaning of which is 'to bind,' 'to make a contract.' In the inscription referred to the man bearing this title announces the king's message to another, and we may therein find the clue to this officer's duties.

T. G. PINCHES.

A DICTIONARY OF THE DIALECTS OF VERNACULAR SYRIAC. By ARTHUR JOHN MACLEAN, M.A., F.R.G.S. pp. xxiv+ 334. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901.)

From the time of the Zenjirli inscriptions and the Assyrian-Aramaic bilinguals of, say, the eighth century B.C. downwards, the Aramaic branch of the Semitic languages has enjoyed a lively existence, and there seems little fear of the modern representatives dying out in the near future. The present work forms a companion volume to the author's *Grammar*,[1] and deals primarily with the dialects now spoken by the so-called Eastern or Nestorian Syrians, that spoken by the Jacobite or Western Syrians being drawn upon only for purposes of illustration. These offshoots, it is important to remember, are not the direct descendants of the classical Edessene Syriac, they are connected more closely with such popular dialects as the Mandaic and the language of the Babylonian Talmud, and have doubtless existed side by side with the written classical Syriac for centuries (cf. the *Grammar*, p. xv).

The modern East Syrian dialects have already been examined by Stoddard, Nöldeke, and others, whose writings have been consulted in the present work. Moreover, the author, in the course of a five years' residence among the Eastern Syrians, collected a quantity of material (derived from oral information) by means of which he has been able to test and amplify the results of previous workers. In addition to this he has made use of the recent version of the Bible published by the American Bible Society in 1893, the printed books issued by the various mission presses, and some vernacular manuscripts of the last two

[1] See the *Journal*, 1897, pp. 168 sqq.

centuries. To what extent (if at all) his dictionary could be *usefully* enlarged by a collation of the few modern Syriac MSS. in this country the present writer is unable to say. The MSS. in question are:—Brit. Mus., Or. 4,422 and 4,423, sacred poems in modern Syriac, Or. 4,401, a Glossary of the Fellīḥī dialect (dated A.D. 1890), and the two Cambridge MSS.,[1] Add. 2,015, the Lexicon of Ḥonain and 'Ănān-īshō' (the "Liber Canonum de aequilitteris") with explanations in modern Syriac, a manuscript originally acquired by Dr. Badger and ascribed by Professor Wright to the seventeenth century, and Add. 1,155, a modern manuscript vocabulary.[2] It is, of course, possible that Add. 2,015, by reason of its age, would be of greater value from the philological rather than from the modern and practical point of view, and the same remark would apply also to the question whether a thorough study of readers' or possessors' scrawls in manuscripts would not produce fruitful results.

But the dictionary is intended for practical purposes, and is therefore confined to modern vernacular usage. It

[1] See the forthcoming *Syriac Catalogue*, pp. 546 sqq., 1,122.

[2] The following, taken word for word from Add. 1,155, are the results of a hasty collation:—ܐܓܝܠ, *āgēl*, f. sheep-fold (marked as a literary word); ܐܝܕܥ, *id'a*, ambition (a literary word); ܐܦܦܚܐ, a proper name given to those born on Palm Sunday; ܐܠܐ, f. the family connections taken all together; ܐܠܓܓ, *ālgaǧ*, f. a weaver's instrument; ܒܘܡܒܐ, *būmba*, spout of a kettle, a small heap or mound, battlement of a wall; ܒܐܙܪܚܢ, *bāzirḥan*, f. a linseed mill for making oil, a framework for assisting children to walk; ܒܝܛܐ, *biṭṭa*, a brimstone match used by the Nestorians in lighting candles; ܒܝܠܓ, *bīlag*, m. the small part of the arm above the wrist or of the foot above the ankle; ܓܘܗܪܕܪ, *gawhārdar*, the shining part or blade of a dagger which is reckoned the best part.

appears that in manuscripts in particular "there is a great disposition to indulge in a profusion of words from foreign languages and from classical Syriac which [the scribes] would not use in ordinary conversation." Syriac words are as a rule in common use, and although the number of foreign words is proportionately larger many of them are rare (p. xii). Literary and ecclesiastical words which are not used in ordinary language are marked with an asterisk, and their number has been reduced to a minimum.

Aramaic has always shown a remarkable readiness to increase its vocabulary from outside sources, and the merest glance at the dictionary of this "Babylonish dialect" exemplifies its indebtedness to Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Kurdish. The precise origin of the borrowed words is in many cases uncertain. Nöldeke, to whom, by the way, the dictionary is dedicated, has pointed out [1] that Persian words can come through Kurdish or Turkish, Turkish words can come direct or through Kurdish, Arabic direct or through Turkish or Kurdish. The author's plan has been "to collect facts," to give, as far as he was able, derivations and parallel forms from other languages, with the qualifying statement that when a form is given in any of the above languages "it is not necessarily meant that that form is the immediate parent of the Syriac word, or that that form is not itself derived from some other tongue, but merely that it occurs in the language named." Thus, ܒܝܬܐ 'room' may be derived from the Ar. اوضة (Nö., loc. cit.), rather than the Turkish *oda*, whereas Maclean cites only the Osmanli-Turkish اوطه. There are few scholars competent enough to settle questions of this nature, and should some of the author's suggested derivations be proved to be erroneous the practical value of his work will not be impaired.

S. A. C.

[1] In the *ZDMG.*, l, p. 307 (1896).

THE INDIAN BORDERLAND, 1880–1900. By Colonel Sir T. HUNGERFORD HOLDICH, R.E., K.C.I.E., C.B., F.S.A., late Superintendent Survey Department of the Government of India; a Vice-President and Gold Medallist of the Royal Geographical Society. (Methuen & Co.)

The author of "THE INDIAN BORDERLAND" is so well known as a geographer that it goes without saying that his book is one of exceptional interest and value. It is primarily a record of twenty years' important survey-work in the countries adjacent to the north-west frontier of India—in Balūchistān, on the shores of the Persian Gulf, in Wazīristān (the Switzerland of the frontier), in south and north Afghānistān, on the Perso-Balūch border, in the wild tracts of tribal territory west of the Sulimāni mountains, in the region between Kāfiristān and Chitrāl, and far away to the north on the banks of the river Oxus and in the remote Pamīrs, between Lake Victoria and the western frontiers of China. But it is also a mine of information respecting the geography, history, and antiquities of those countries, with graphic descriptions of scenery, architectural remains, and personalities, and of stirring events in which the author was himself concerned.

In the first phase of the Afghān war of 1879 he was in command of a survey party attached to the Kandahār field force, and was the first to carry triangulation from India through the Bolān to the summit of the Khojak pass, and, when the force was broken up at Kandahār, accompanied General Biddulph in his adventurous return-journey between Peshīn and the Punjab.

In the second phase of the war he was one of the first officers to traverse the Khaibar from Peshāwar to Kābul, and succeeded in making a complete survey of the pass, and, after pushing his survey operations to the slopes of the Hindū-Kush and down the historic valley of the Kābul river, took part, as Assistant Engineer, in defence of the Sherpur cantonment against the risen tribes.

In the expedition against the Mahsūd Wazīrs in 1881, which he accompanied as Surveyor, he succeeded in attaining the summit of Shuidar, one of the dominant peaks of Wazīristān, and valuable survey-work was the result. In that against the Sherānis in 1883 he was one of a party of British officers who ascended, for the first time, the Takht-i-Sulimān—the mighty pine-crowned ridge, rising 11,000 feet above sea-level, which looms like an impenetrable barrier between the plains of the Punjab and the highlands of Afghānistān—and, after a brief fight (in which the enemy lost thirty killed), occupied the highest peak—known as the *Kaisar-garh*.

In 1883 he was appointed Superintendent of topographical surveys in Balūchistān, and, in that capacity, was able to carry out important surveys of the coastline of Makrān and the islands of the Persian Gulf—the coastline full of memories of Alexander's fleet, and still the land of myrrh and spikenard and fisheaters (*mahikhurán*)—the *ichthyophagi* of Arrian,—the Bahrein islands, rich in remains of old Phoenician settlements, and Hormuz, the 'Aden' of the Persian Gulf in the days of Portuguese supremacy.

In 1884 he was attached to the Indian section of the commission for delimiting the Russo-Afghān frontier between the Hari Rūd and the Oxus, and took part in Colonel Ridgeway's march from Quetta across the Helmund desert to Sistān and the Herāt valley, and thence to Panjdeh. After our retirement from Panjdeh he assisted in strengthening the fortifications of Herāt, and, after the collapse of Russian opposition, carried out the demarcation from Zulfikār to the Oxus, returning across the great Balkh plains to Mazār-i-Sharīf and Tāshkurghān, and thence, over the Hindū-Kūsh, and down the lovely Ghorband valley to the capital; here closing a long line of triangulation which, with many vicissitudes, preserved the connection of all its successive links from Quetta to Mashad and Herāt, and from Herāt to the Hindū-Kūsh and Kābul.

In 1890 he acted as Survey Officer in the Zhob Valley expedition.

In 1894 his services were required in demarcating the Eastern boundary of Afghānistān between Lundi Kotal and the Hindū-Kūsh, and, in 1895, he was again employed in demarcating the Russo-Afghān boundary between Lake Victoria (in the Pamīr) and the Chinese frontier.

In 1896 he was chief of a commission which successfully delimited the Eastern frontier of Persia.

And lastly, in 1897, he crowned his services in India (of upwards of a quarter of a century in duration) by acting as Chief Survey Officer in the Tīrah Expeditionary Force, when he was able to fill in all the blank spaces in the frontier map—Tochi, Tīrah, Mohmand, Swat, and Buner—that yet remained between the Gomul and the Indus.

Much of the survey-work, it will be perceived, was carried out amid the difficulties and dangers of campaigning, difficulties well described at p. 354 of the volume; other portions were done while attached to civil commissions for delimiting boundaries, a work involving less danger, but requiring tact and patience in dealing with Persian or Russian or Afghān colleagues; and all of it carried out under conditions involving much trial and exposure.

For these services he received scant recognition in military despatches, for although a military officer, doing military work, he drew his pay from a civil department, and was thus, technically, a civilian. But his work was none the less appreciated. He was made C.B. in 1894, and K.C.I.E. in 1897, and never were these decorations better earned.

But his survey-work is not all our author has done for fame. He is a scholar as well as a surveyor, and when following the footsteps of Alexander had his Strabo and Arrian and Ptolemy by his side; he is well versed in Buddhist lore, and not unacquainted with Ibn Haukal and the Arabian geographers. Moreover, with the trained eye of a surveyor, he combines an intense love of nature, art, and architecture, great powers of description, and, last, not least, a keen sense of humour.

As a specimen of word-painting let me quote his description of a Balūch juniper forest at p. 18:—

"A juniper forest is picturesque with a weird form of attractiveness. No ordinary forest tree could imitate the attitudes, or follow the fantasies, of the juniper. White skeleton arms, twisted and gnarled, riven and bent, with but a ragged covering of black foliage, lift themselves to the glowing sky, and cast inky shadows over the stunted yellow grass-growth below them. Each tree separates itself from the crowd, so that it is a dispersed and scattered forest, owning no friendly connection with trees of other sorts, but preserving a grim sort of isolation. Nevertheless, with a backing of snow peaks, and the light of spring sunshine upon it, the strange beauty of that juniper forest became crystallised in the memory, ranking, as a Balūch speciality, with the olive groves of the more eastern uplands, and the solitary group of magnificent myrtles which stand near Sinjao."

Again, his description of summer in Herāt (p. 138):—

"The time for scarlet tulips to decorate the hill-sides had come. They were there in patches of vermilion, and hung about the blue hill landscape in vivid contrast. Purple thistles and wild poppies and roses were of slightly later bloom; but there were, even then, beds of the graceful white opium poppy, varied with a slate-coloured beauty, massed in patchwork about the feet of old gateways and minārs, and wasting a sleepy perfume over the acres of the dead. The villages of the valley were buried in orchards, now scattering their wealth of pink and white blossom idly to the passing winds. Lucerne beds were already knee-deep in luscious greenery, and the odour of scented willow pervaded the moist, hot air."

Again, the advent of winter at Zulfikār (p. 150):—

"The winter was coming on again apace. The poplars and pistachios had turned red and yellow about the edges of the Hari Rud and the slopes of the Koh-i-Bubuk. The reedy banks of grass had again dried into excellent cover for pheasants and chikor; the thousands of little water-channels

had been turned off, and bare acres of brown stubble land spread out where cornfields had been. All the host of green things, the asafoetida and the thistles and the strange plants of umbelliferous (I think that is the word) nature, which burst up through the moist earth of spring, like mushrooms, or like the tortoises of the Peshin valley, were standing stark and stiff and dry, not yet scraped off the face of nature by the periodical blasts of Badghis. With the first touch of frost, all these spread out the delicate white tracery of a thin lace veil over stretches and sweeps of the low hills bordering our daily route."

Again, his description of the coloured tiling of the Herāt *madrasah*, or college (p. 142) :—

"Of the effect of the encaustic-tiled decoration which graced the face of the gigantic gateway, and which was introduced in plaques and panels wherever space admitted on the walls of the madrasah and mosque, it is difficult to write in measured terms. The old Persian colouring of copper-green, golden brown, and rich torquoise blue with a straw-yellow ground, was employed, in most exquisite harmony, in graceful flower-patterns; and these were introduced with precisely such value in detail as befitted so vast a subject. It was a triumph of the art of Babylon and applied to comparatively modern Persian architecture."

Again, concerning the Makrān coast (p. 206) :—

"The coastline is not greatly changed from the coastline of the fourth century B.C., when the galleys of Nearkos slowly worked their way from point to point till they reached the Persian Gulf. Most of the primitive ports and landing-places of Arrian's story can be identified, although some have been filled up by sea-washed sand, or washed away altogether, as the case may be. Some of the coast islands still exist in their primitive form of sterile arenaceous simplicity, and some have obviously disappeared. The island of Astola (or Astalu), nearly midway between the Urmāra and Pasni headlands, and possibly in geologic

ages once forming a connected range with them, is as much an object of superstitious dread to the Med fishermen of the coast now as it was to the Greek sailors then; although the enchantress who once dwelt there, and turned her lovers into fish, is no longer recognised. It is probable that her unlovely story ceased to be told when the Karak pirates infested the coast and disposed of the crews of captured ships wholesale over the edge of its cliffs, till they finally drew down the vengeance of the Arabs upon their heads and were wiped off the sea."

As a picturesquely-described incident the ascent of the Takht-i-Sulimān (ch. iv) may be quoted, and as a sample of portraiture the description of Ghulām Haidar, the Amīr's Commander-in-Chief (pp. 249–250).

Though not a political officer (in the technical sense), Colonel Holdich has naturally formed decided opinions regarding the policy pursued towards the countries in which he has been employed. These opinions are scattered through the volume, and there is a concluding chapter dealing with the thorny question of the Afghān frontier. He scouts the idea of Russia advancing to India by way of the Pamīr; he defends the action of the Government in reference to Chitrāl and the Wazīrs, but doubts the propriety of demarcating boundaries between the Amīr and Balūchistān, and the independent tribes on the south and east of the Amīr's territories. He has an enthusiastic admiration for the late Sir Robert Sandeman (who, by the bye, was strongly in favour of demarcation), and bears ample testimony to the soundness of his work. His opinions may be right or wrong, but they are carefully thought out, clearly expressed without a trace of dogmatism, and deserve the fullest consideration.

It may be added that the work is enriched with more than twenty illustrations, the majority of them from sketches made by the author himself.

The writer of the present review lays down the volume with the consciousness that in the small space available he

has been quite unable to do justice to its contents. To the 'general reader' the style may appear a little too compressed, and the narrative too full of detail and names difficult to pronounce, but all who desire a more than superficial account of a series of highly interesting but little known regions will find "THE INDIAN BORDERLAND" as fascinating as it is instructive.

T. H. THORNTON.

June, 1901.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(April, May, June, 1901.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

April 2, 1901.—Mr. James Kennedy in the Chair.

The Reply of His Majesty the King to the Address presented by the Society was read.

It was announced that the following gentlemen had been elected members of the Society:—

Surgeon-General W. B. Beatson,
Colonel G. A. Jacob,
Mr. A. St. Clair Mackenzie, and
Mr. T. Ballard.

The Secretary read a paper by Mr. Vincent A. Smith on "The Unity of Authorship of the Piyadasi Inscriptions." A discussion followed, in which Professor Bendall, Dr. Hoey, Dr. M'Crindle, and Dr. Grierson took part. The paper appears in the present number.

May 14, *Anniversary Meeting.*—The Right Hon. the Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following Report of the Council for the year 1900 was then read by the Secretary:—

Report of the Council for the Year 1900.

The Council regrets to report the loss, by death or retirement, of the following thirty members:—

There have died—

1. Dr. J. Anderson,
2. Lord Loch,
3. General Pitt-Rivers,
4. Mr. W. F. Sinclair,
5. Mr. Richard Eve,
6. Sir W. W. Hunter,
7. Mr. B. H. Baden-Powell,
8. Guru Prasad Sen,
9. Mr. T. Watters,
10. Mrs. Kerr,
11. Mr. T. Glazebrooke Rylands,
12. Mr. K. H. S. Vyvyan,
13. The Rev. T. Williams.

There have retired—

1. Sir Donald Macnabb,
2. Dr. E. W. West,
3. Mr. C. F. Allen,
4. Mr. W. E. Coleman,
5. Mr. B. Dé,
6. Mr. W. H. Driver,
7. Mr. B. L. Gupta,
8. General M. Haig,
9. Mr. Hira Lal,
10. Mr. S. C. Laharry,
11. Mr. R. H. Merk,
12. Mr. C. M. Mullaly,
13. Colonel Sir E. C. Ross,
14. Major-General Toker,
15. Mr. A. Levien,
16. Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr,
17. Mr. Basil Williams.

On the other hand, the following forty new members have been elected:—

1. Sir W. Lee Warner,
2. Mrs. Mond,
3. Mrs. Bullock Workman,
4. Mr. F. Gratton,
5. Miss Hertz,
6. Mr. H. Hogan,
7. Professor Duncan Macdonald,
8. Mr. A. B. Keith,
9. Dr. P. Brönnle,
10. Professor P. H. Sturge,
11. Mr. H. M. Kavibhusan,
12. Mr. Mahdi Hasan,
13. Mr. C. H. Oertel,
14. Mr. F. O. Oertel,
15. Mr. K. K. Menon,
16. Mr. W. W. Skeat,
17. Mr. H. R. Nevill,
18. Mr. C. Jinarajadasa,
19. Mr. Muliyil Krishnam,
20. Professor J. C. Oman,
21. Dr. Ruffer,
22. Dr. Sten Konow,
23. Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle,
24. Mr. F. C. Coventry,
25. Count Léon Ostrorog,
26. Mr. T. H. Weir,
27. Babu Ramani M. Mallick,
28. Mr. K. A. Ahmad,
29. Miss Ash,
30. Mrs. Shrewsbury,
31. Rev. J. Tuckwell,
32. Dr. Paul Carus,
33. Mr. R. P. Karkaria,
34. Professor A. M. Edwards,
35. Mr. P. Ramadhar Avasthy,

36. The Thakur Sahib of Gondal,
37. H.H. the Raja of Cochin,
38. The Maharaja Gajapatti Rao,
39. The Raja of Parla Kimedi,
40. H.H. Atābak-i-A'zam.

Of the subscribing Libraries, one has retired and six have been added to the list.

These figures show a total increase of fifteen subscribing members and libraries. The number of members on the 1st of January of each of the last twelve years is as follows:—

1890	...	437	1896	...	523
1891	...	450	1897	...	524
1892	...	459	1898	...	532
1893	...	476	1899	...	553
1894	...	493	1900	...	551
1895	...	492	1901	...	566

The progress, it will be seen, has been fairly kept up. The average yearly increase is about ten, and the total increase in the twelve years is 129. In the report for 1898 the Council was able to announce an increase of five, instead of the gradual decrease that had taken place in previous years, in the number of resident members, who pay the full subscription of three guineas. Last year that increased number was maintained, and this year there is a further increase of six resident members to report, bringing the total number up to 94, where it stood five years ago. The number of non-resident members has gone on slowly but steadily increasing for the last twelve years. It increased also by eight last year. And this is of importance, inasmuch as it is chiefly due to the gradual increase of those, both English and native, resident in the East, who take interest in the work of the Society and wish to see the Journal.

The receipts from the sale of the Journal have also increased by a small sum, and show this year £205 6*s.* 11*d.*; and we have received a donation of £20 to the library.

The Council has expressed the thanks of the Society to the anonymous donor of this amount, and would take the opportunity of placing on record the urgent need of similar donations in the future.

The other items, both on the receipt and expenditure, do not call for any special remark. The total income is £1,290 17*s.* 6*d.*, £15 12*s.* 1*d.* more than last year; and has exceeded the expenditure by £60 12*s.* 9*d.*, which is rather more than the usual surplus. Besides the capital account, which has somewhat shrunk in value by the decrease in the selling value of the stocks, the Society had, at the end of the year, £112 13*s.* 6*d.* on deposit at its bankers, £65 4*s.* 11*d.* to its credit on current account, and £226 4*s.* 11*d.* in the Post Office Savings Bank, each of these three items showing an increase on last year, amounting together to £60 12*s.* 9*d.*

The Council has been able during the year under review to go steadily forward in the schemes it has inaugurated for the encouragement of research, and for the increase of Oriental knowledge. The catalogue of the Society's important collection of Sanskrit MSS. is now passing through the press, and is to appear as Vol. II of our series of Asiatic Monographs. The Council had hoped to be able to announce the completion and publication of Vol. I, Major Gerini's monograph on the ancient geography of the Far East, but so much time has been lost in the transmission of the proofs backwards and forwards to Siam, that it has not been possible to issue the volume. The Council is now negotiating respecting a third volume, an edition and translation, by Professor Strong, of a unique MS. of the Arabic work by Ibn Arabshāh on King Abū Sa'id Jaqmaq; and they trust in their next report to be able to make a definite announcement on this subject.

The Council very much regrets that it has not been able to proceed faster with this important series of Asiatic Monographs, which ought to rival in importance and usefulness the corresponding series of works, apart from

their journals, brought out by the French, German, and Russian Societies. But it is not easy to make bricks without straw, and the Society will recognize that, with the means at their disposal, it would have been rash for the Council to have ventured on more than they have thus undertaken. A sum of at least £200 a year is required to place this enterprise, so important for the objects the Society was established to attain, on a satisfactory basis.

It was announced in the last report that Mrs. Rhys Davids's translation of the Dhamma Saṅgaṇi was nearly ready for our Oriental Translation Series. The volume has since been published, has been favourably reviewed in England and abroad, and an application has been received for leave to translate it into German. It has also had an unexpectedly rapid sale; and this is the more satisfactory as the only condition reserved by Mr. Sturdy, to whom Orientalists owe this translation, was that the sums received from the sale should be devoted to the publication of some similar work. The sum in the Society's hands on account of the Oriental Translation Fund amounted on December 31st to £87 10*s.* 6*d.*, so that the Council hopes very soon to have enough to pay for the printing of another volume.

Mr. Arbuthnot has also not relaxed in his generous efforts in support of this series of translations. Mrs. Beveridge's translation from the Persian of the Life and Memoirs of Gulbadan Begum, aunt of Akbar the Great, has been printed at Mr. Arbuthnot's expense, and will appear shortly. Mr. Arbuthnot has also undertaken to be responsible for the cost of printing another work of great importance and interest to all Indianists, and especially to Indian archæologists. The unsatisfactory nature of the existing translations of the Travels of Yuan Thsang in India has long been recognized. Our late distinguished member, Mr. Watters, whose services to Oriental studies were acknowledged by a special resolution passed at the Society's meeting of January last, and who was undoubtedly the greatest living authority on the literature of Chinese Buddhism, was known to have been at work for a long time on this particular subject. It was

discovered at the time of his death, which we all deplore, that he had left in manuscript a work on Yuan Thsang's Travels practically ready for the press. Thanks to Mr. Arbuthnot, arrangements are almost completed for the bringing out of this work, which will be heartily welcomed by so many students of Indian history and antiquities.

In connection with the new teaching University of London a Board of Oriental Studies has been constituted, and holds its meetings at the rooms of the Society. It is much to be desired that the Oriental students studying at the colleges of the new University will be allowed to take the degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, and Doctor of Literature in Oriental subjects. They will thus be allowed, after showing in the earlier examinations a sufficient grounding in general culture, to specialize in the later years of the course. Hitherto any student desirous of taking a degree was not able to devote any serious attention to Oriental subjects till after his University career had closed. And the Council trusts that the establishment of this Board will be only the first step in the establishment of that Oriental School which is so great a desideratum.

The Council has during the year suggested to the Government of India the desirability of bringing out a series of volumes which would do for historical enquiries in India what the publication of the Rolls Series by the home Government has done for historical enquiries in England. The suggestion has been favourably received, and is at present under consideration.

Residents in Korea interested in Oriental research have, during the year, founded there a new branch of the Society to be called the Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Council has accepted the new body as an associate of our Society.

A Committee of the Council has spent much time in preparing a new edition of the Rules, our stock of the old edition having been exhausted. The changes it has been thought necessary to propose are very slight; the principal ones being that we should revert to our old practice of

electing new members at the General Meetings of the Society, and that the number of Vice-Presidents should in future be limited to six. A draft of the proposed Rules was published in the April issue of our Journal, and it will be now submitted for your approval.

By the lamented deaths of Professor Max Müller and Professor Vassilief two vacancies have occurred in the list of our Honorary Members. The Council proposes the election in their stead of Professor Pischel, the distinguished teacher, at the University of Halle, of Indian Philology; and of Professor Radloff, of St. Petersburg, whose researches, especially in connection with the Orkhon Inscriptions and with Turkish dialects, are well known to members of the Society.

Professor Sayce retires, by rotation, from the office of Vice-President, and the following members retire, under the existing rules, from the Council: Mr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Lyon, Dr. Thornton, Mr. Wollaston, and Professor Douglas.

In place of them the Council proposes the election of Dr. Thornton, Mr. Wollaston, Mr. Rapson, Dr. Bushell, and Professor Bendall as members of Council.

In accordance with the rules, Mr. Brandreth, Hon. Treasurer, Dr. Cust, Hon. Secretary, and Dr. O. Codrington, Hon. Librarian, retire from their posts. The Council recommends them for re-election for the ensuing year.

The Council would also recommend that the following names be removed from the list of the Society's members on the grounds of non-payment of subscription: Mr. H. Peatling and the Rev. W. G. Shellabear.

The usual statement of accounts is laid upon the table.

In moving the adoption of the Report, *Sir Charles Lyall* said:—Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Report you have just heard read does not present many points of striking interest; but I think it shows that the condition of our Society is thoroughly sound, and that our progress, if not very great, is well maintained. We have had a satisfactory addition to the roll of our members; our finances are in a condition

of a little more than solvency, and the surplus is a little larger than it was last year. I have always thought that a Society like ours, which makes it its object to stimulate interest in the things of the East, should steadily spend all it gets, and not think of hoarding. The essential point is that the money should be well spent; and of this the best evidence is the publications which appear in our Journal, and the lectures delivered from time to time at our monthly meetings. I think you will agree with me that during the past year the high standard of excellence previously attained in the papers published in the Journal has been fully kept up. Several of them display original work of a remarkable character, quite equal to the best of the same kind published on the Continent; and the editing of the whole is a model of accuracy and well-directed labour. I confidently submit that our Journal can now challenge comparison with any other in Europe, and I trust that in the future, as in the past, we shall not lack for matter as good as the best that has yet appeared.

The Report does not mention one subject which has recently occupied a good deal of the attention of the Council. You will remember the Jubilee Medal Fund, with which the name of my friend Mr. Wollaston is conspicuously connected. In last year's Report you were told that the fund had been placed in a position to assure the continuance of the Medal, given triennially for the best work in Oriental research. But since then we have had an accession to the fund of rather more than £1,200, collected in the Presidency of Madras; and the question how to deal with this handsome sum has much exercised us. To make the Medal annual instead of triennial would, it was thought, be likely to depreciate its value. The progress of Oriental study in this country is not yet sufficiently great to supply a constant succession of eminent scholars to whom the Medal could be awarded year by year; and to give it to any but the highest excellence would render the distinction too cheap and take away from its exceptional character. After much discussion, it has been arranged (subject to the

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions—						
86 Resident Members at £3 3*s.*	270	18	0			
178 Non-Resident ,, at £1 10*s.*	267	1	3			
6 ,, ,, in arrears	29	10	0			
12 ,, ,, in advance	20	5	0			
22 ,, ,, at £1 1*s.*	23	2	0			
8 Library Members at £1 10*s.*	12	0	0			
				622	16	3
Journal—						
Subscriptions	154	9	9			
Sale	41	4	0			
Sale of Index		11	0			
Sale of Pamphlets...	3	5	6			
Advertisements	5	14	2			
Sale of Chinese Catalogue		2	6			
				205	6	11
Donations—						
India Office	210	0	0			
Anonymous to the Library	20	0	0			
				230	0	0
Rents				179	18	0
Interest—on Deposit in Bank				6	11	10
,, ,, in Savings Bank				5	10	0
Sale of Catalogue					5	0
Library Subscription					10	6
Miscellaneous				2	11	5
Subscription paid twice in error				1	10	0
Dividends—						
N.S.W. 4 per cents	30	15	4			
Midlands	5	2	3			
				35	17	7
Total				£1290	17	6
Balance at Bank, January 1, 1900	13	17	6			
,, for Medal Fund	1	2	1			
,, on Deposit	106	1	5			
,, Petty Cash	2	14	6			
,, Post Office	220	14	11			
				344	10	5
				£1635	7	11

Funds (value on Dec. 31).	£	s.	d.
£212 8*s.* 0*d.* Midland 2½ per cent. debenture	178	4	6
£803 13*s.* 10*d.* New South Wales 4 per cent.	912	3	10
	£1090	8	4

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance, Jan. 1, 1900	42	16	6
By sale—*Harṣa Carita*...	5	2	6
Dhamma Saṃgaṇi	41	6	0
	£89	5	0

EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1900.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House—Rent	344	0	0			
Fire Insurance	4	0	0			
Water	12	0	0			
Gas	16	17	2			
Coals	5	0	0			
Income Tax	8	6	8			
Repairs	10	7	8			
				400	11	6
Salaries—Secretary	250	0	0			
Assistant Secretary	50	0	0			
				300	0	0
Wages—Housekeeper	60	0	0			
Boy	17	1	0			
				77	1	0
Journal—Printing	285	0	0			
Illustrations	58	0	0			
				343	0	0
Library—New Books	9	9	1			
Binding	7	7	5			
				16	16	6
Stationery				11	3	11
Miscellaneous Sales				8	8	5
Returned Subscriptions				3	0	0
Bank Charges					6	8
Postage—Journal	23	0	0			
General	21	0	0			
				44	0	0
Medal				1	2	1
Petty Cash				24	14	8
Total expenditure				£1230	4	9
Balances—Current Account, Bank	65	4	11			
Deposit ,, ,,	112	13	6			
Petty Cash		19	10			
Post Office	226	4	11			
				405	3	2
				£1635	7	11

Examined with the books and vouchers, and found correct, March, 1901.

{J. KENNEDY, for the Council.
E. J. RAPSON, } for the
J. D. ANDERSON, } Society.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Postage, etc.	1	18	6
Balance	87	6	6
	£89	5	0

consent of the donors) that the interest on this additional sum, amounting yearly to £36, should be disposed of in the following way: half of it will be given annually to some piece of work of original research in Oriental study — provided such a work is forthcoming — in the same way as original work is recognized by the Academies and Institutes on the Continent. These *œuvres couronnées* may be aided either by a grant of money as a prize or a contribution towards the cost of publication, or by a medal or some other distinction of the kind. The other half of the annual interest it is proposed to devote to establishing prizes for some Indian subject in our great public schools, the best essay in each school receiving a prize, and the prize essays from all the schools being sent to this Society for decision as to which of them shall receive, as the best of all, a silver medal. With the prizes the names of the chief donors, who are Princes and Chiefs in the Madras Presidency, will be associated. It has often been remarked that in this country, whose dependency is the greatest Oriental empire in the world, a strange indifference prevails as to all Oriental, and especially to all Indian, subjects. It is hoped that by means of the plan I have explained this indifference may in some degree be combated; that the great schools, where the youth who go forth to fight our battles and administer our Eastern possessions are trained, may in this way develop an interest in things Eastern, which in later life may bear useful and valuable fruit. The scheme has been accepted by the heads of some of our greatest public schools as likely to do good in this respect; and I am sure that we all hope that these anticipations will be realized.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I beg to move that the annual Report be adopted.

Mr. Edward G. Browne, in seconding the adoption of the Report, said: — My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen, — The Report to which we have just listened is, as has usually been the case in recent years, wholly satisfactory. The gradual, steady improvement of the Society in numbers,

influence and income which it indicates is most satisfactory to contemplate, and such growth is far healthier than any sporadic outburst of ephemeral activity. As regards the changes in the roll of members, Death has deprived us of thirteen, of whom one of the most eminent as regards scholarship was Mr. Watters, late of the Chinese Consular Service, to whose researches in the field of Chinese Buddhism Science owes so much. Amongst the retirements most to be regretted is that of Dr. E. W. West, the eminent Pahlaví scholar. Amongst the forty new members elected during the past year it is satisfactory to note, as indicating the increasing interest which our Society arouses in Asia, the names of so many prominent Indians, but it is to the last, though by no means the least, name on the list—that of H.H. the Atábak-i-A'ẓam, the Prime Minister of H.I.M. the Sháh of Persia—that I desire especially to call your attention, as indicating that in Persia also the work of our Society is beginning to arouse attention and interest. It was, as you will remember, at the express wish of H.I.M. the Sháh, after he had received and most graciously replied to the Address of Welcome presented to him by this Society on the occasion of his visit to Europe last year, that H.H. the Atábak-i-A'ẓam was elected an Extraordinary Member of our Society.

The steady improvement of the *Journal*, and the increasing respect which it commands both at home and abroad, is another gratifying fact which I wish to notice, and which is chiefly to be ascribed to the efforts of our Secretary, Professor Rhys Davids, to whom the Society is so much indebted in this and in other ways. In glancing through the Reports of former Anniversary Meetings, I noticed that attention had been called on a previous occasion to the extent to which we were indebted for some of the best work done by the Society to our Lady-members. I am glad to see that this continues to be the case, and I cannot help being struck by the number of excellent articles which they have contributed to our *Journal*. Amongst the many good and original communications there published, it would

be invidious to particularize, but I am sure that the remarkable success achieved by the translation of the *Dhamma Saṅgaṇi* by Mrs. Rhys Davids, the wife of our Secretary, of which we have heard in the Report just read, will cause the greatest satisfaction to all of us, and that we shall all desire to offer her our most sincere congratulations. This work, as you know, constitutes the twelfth volume of the new series published by the *Oriental Translation Fund*, a series which owes almost everything to the generosity and public-spiritedness of Mr. Arbuthnot. Other important volumes destined for that series are in course of preparation, and will, it is to be hoped, soon appear.

To the series of *Asiatic Monographs*, a new enterprise undertaken by the Society, I also desire to call your attention. The first volume of this series, that by Major Gerini, M.R.A.S., on the ancient geography of the Far East, would, as we have heard, have been already before us but for the delay involved in the transmission of the proofs to and from Siam, and the second volume, containing the catalogue of the Society's collection of Sanskrit MSS., will, it is hoped, soon appear. The third volume, which Professor Strong has promised, is, it appears, still more or less *in nubibus*.

The Pali Text Society, though not directly connected with our Society, is to some extent under its aegis, and in connection with this I should like to say a few words about the *Series of Persian Historical Texts* which I am endeavouring to produce, and which will shortly be inaugurated by my edition of Dawlatsháh's *Tadhkiratu'sh-Shu'ará* (Memoirs of the Persian Poets). Here again I should like to express my gratitude to Professor Rhys Davids for much valuable advice and good counsel. Although our work lies in quite different fields, from no one have I received more kindly sympathy and more useful suggestions as to the conduct of this enterprise than from him.

The improvement in our financial condition communicated to us in the Report to which we have just listened, follows naturally from the increase in the number of members and

subscribers to the *Journal*, and is very satisfactory, though it may fall short alike of the needs and the deserts of our Society. The importance and utility of the Society, indeed, becomes ever more strongly impressed on my mind. It enjoys advantages from which the old Universities, one of which I to some extent represent, are debarred. It is central and catholic; in its hospitable rooms the scholar, whose life is passed chiefly amongst books, has the opportunity of meeting those who have travelled and worked in the various Eastern lands which form the objects of our study, and of correcting or completing his theoretical conclusions by their practical experience, while they can similarly control their impressions by his learning. For, in my opinion, though an Orientalist is not made merely by travel or residence in the East, what is called 'pure scholarship' has its dangers. How can the history of a people be intelligently studied by one who is practically unacquainted with the character of that people, and who is ignorant of the motives which dictate their conduct? For its intelligent study how great must be the advantages of that actual experience in the working of its laws, its finance, its trade, and of all those great manifestations of national life with which the statesman, the diplomatist, the administrator, and the merchant are brought in contact! I have several times been greatly impressed by the remarkable insight into the national character of an Eastern people possessed by diplomatists and others whose acquaintance with the language of that people was comparatively slight.

Far be it from me, however, to exalt unduly what it is the fashion to call 'practical' knowledge, which in this country is, in my opinion, generally greatly over-rated. The unjust criticisms sometimes levelled against our Society include those of 'practical men,' who pretend that to devote so much time and trouble to the elucidation of the languages, customs, laws, religions, and philosophies of the East is a waste of energy. The purely 'practical' man, like his congener, the deplorable 'man in the street' of whom we have lately heard so much, is, as a rule, lamentably short-sighted,

incapable of recognizing the pregnant, portentous Cause until it has given birth to Effects which, often at the very moment of their birth, have passed beyond the region where they can be controlled. It is the business of true scholarship and learning, which neglect neither the theoretical nor the practical aspect of things, to be guided by the analogies of the Past to an intelligent anticipation of the Future. I distinguish, however, true scholarship, which concerns itself with realities, from what is sometimes called 'pure scholarship,' which often appears to concern itself merely with forms. The curses of this 'pure scholarship' are three: over-specialization, which militates against breadth of view and just sense of proportion; ignorance of real life, which stands in the way of sympathy and insight; and that 'perfectionist' doctrine which, aiming at an impossible ideal, achieves nothing. We Orientalists are sometimes branded as 'specialists,' but, seeing that the history, geography, languages, and thought of the whole continent of Asia from the dawn of history till the present day constitute the subjects of our studies, this appellation appears to me most unjust. As regards what I may call 'perfectionism,' he who will suffer no work to leave his hands till he is sure that it is flawless and beyond the reach of criticism will leave behind him but little work whereby his memory will be preserved. When a student has finished a piece of work which he knows to be good and original, or to contain elements of goodness and originality, and has made the best use he can of the materials at his disposal, let him not wait vainly in the hopes of something turning up to elucidate a few doubtful points, but let him publish it as what I may call a 'tentative article.' The very fact of publication will often clear up the doubtful points and correct the errors by inducing other scholars who read the article to contribute to the writer just those facts which are needed to complete and correct his conclusions. I have always striven to give to the *Journal* of my best work, and would prefer that any discovery made by me which appeared new and interesting should first be announced in its pages,

but even in the best of my contributions I have made mistakes which I blush to recall. Yet if the article had not been written the mistakes would not have been corrected, the subject would have remained obscure, and the advance of Science, which should be our sole aim, would have been retarded.

In connection with what has just been said, there are two points wherein the liberality of our Society deserves especial praise and recognition. The first is the readiness of the Council to allow the author of an article in the *Journal* to have a large number of *tirages-à-part* for distribution amongst scholars of his acquaintance, who, receiving this token of his homage, are often prompted to communicate to him notes, corrections, and emendations which they would otherwise withhold. The second is the liberality of the Society in lending its manuscripts to students who desire to make use of them—a liberality the more important to all English Orientalists because it serves to correct the bad impression produced on the Continent by the regrettable niggardliness of the British Museum in this respect.

Something has been said in the Report of the Board of Oriental Studies constituted in connection with the new teaching University of London, which also has found a home in these hospitable rooms. All of us who are acquainted with the admirable schools of Oriental Languages existing in France, Germany, and Russia, must continue to deplore the lack of any similar institution in this country, and to wish all success to any serious attempt to remedy this defect. Yet I must confess that I am by no means optimistic on this matter. So long as no inducements are held out to young Englishmen to pursue such studies, nothing can be effected by providing even the most perfect means of study. It is the more regretable because I am convinced by considerable experience that, so far from lacking natural aptitude for acquiring Oriental languages, the young Englishman is at least as capable as the young Frenchman, or German, or Russian, of becoming a good linguist and a sound scholar; but so long as such knowledge leads to nothing

we cannot expect, and ought not to seek, to persuade our young countrymen, unless they have private means and are independent of a professional career, to devote their time and energies to the acquisition of knowledge for which they can find no market either in Government or private employment. This is the root of the whole matter: it is not additional facilities for study, but the 'open door' for qualified students which we require; and unless the Government can be induced by the more influential members of our Society to hold out hopes of a career to those who have attained proficiency in the various Eastern languages, I fear that it is Utopian to dream of establishing an Oriental School in London or elsewhere in England.

In conclusion, I am sure that I speak for all members of the Society in expressing our gratitude to our President, Lord Reay, who, amidst so many calls on his time, finds leisure to devote himself so strenuously to our interests; and also to Professor Rhys Davids, our Secretary, whose true scholarship, wide sympathy, and unfailing geniality have done so much to strengthen and consolidate the bonds which unite us. And in this connection it would be most ungrateful not to make mention of our indebtedness to our Assistant Secretary, Miss Hughes, to whose energy, business capacity, and tact the success of the *Journal* is so largely due. Lastly, I think that a word of praise is due to the Society's admirable printers, Messrs. Stephen Austin, of Hertford, whose accurate workmanship, punctuality, and consideration must have evoked the heartfelt gratitude of every contributor to the *Journal*. I have had a fairly extensive experience of printers, and I know few firms with whom one can work more easily, secure in the knowledge that proofs will be well composed, carefully read, and punctually delivered. It is a matter of congratulation to the Society that it helps to maintain the excellent Oriental department of a firm whose well-known skill in this branch of printing is connected with that admirable East India College of Haileybury, which, though, alas! no longer existent, produced some of the most eminent of our Oriental scholars.

I have much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report.

Lord Reay:—Ladies and Gentlemen,—There is little left to be said after the very exhaustive speeches of Mr. Browne and Sir Charles Lyall. The Report for the past year is a very short one and contains little, if anything, of a startling character. But we may perhaps apply to the Society that which has been elsewhere applied to nations, "Happy is the Society whose annals are uneventful." The Society is not rich, but the riches of the Society are its Journal. It is the representative of British Oriental scholarship, and as such it is appreciated wherever Orientalists pursue their studies.

For the fact that the Journal keeps up our prestige we owe a debt of gratitude to our Secretary. The valuable contents of our Journal are mainly due to the care Professor Rhys Davids bestows on it as the responsible editor, and the manner in which he has been able to keep in touch with our leading scholars and secure for the Journal their co-operation. The fact that the Journal is appreciated as much abroad as in our own country is a sufficient tribute to the good work done by the Society through its publication.

I have to allude with regret to the members we have lost. First on the list is the name of my noble friend Lord Loch, who took a great interest in the work of the Society, and we remember that it is not so long since he was in these rooms on the occasion of an Anniversary Meeting and moved the adoption of the Report. Of General Pitt-Rivers' merits I need not speak; they are known to all. I had occasion as Governor of Bombay to appreciate Mr. Sinclair's great energy and originality, and the way in which he discharged his duties, conscious of the interests of the people as well as of those of the Government, trying to reconcile them and thereby consolidating English rule. Of Sir W. Hunter I have spoken before, but I may say here again that to the study of Indian history his loss is irreparable. Mr. Baden-Powell was known to us all as an authority on the system of land revenue and land tenures in India. One name that stands out is that of Mr. Watters. Mr. Watters was

a Consul in China; he took up the most important and interesting study of Chinese Buddhism, on which he was one of the most eminent authorities, and in order to understand his subject better he in later life took up Sanskrit. He left unpublished a work on Yuan Thsang's travels in India, which, thanks to Mr. Arbuthnot, will shortly be published in our Oriental Translation Series.

I regret to hear that Mr. Arbuthnot has been very ill, and that he has been obliged to vacate his seat on the Council, and also to resign his management of the Oriental Translation Fund. He has, however, bestowed on it a gift of £500, and handed over his stock of books to the Society, which will now carry on the important work he has so generously begun. He took a most active and benevolent interest in the Society, and I trust he will soon recover and some day resume his place amongst us.

I have the pleasing duty of conveying to Mrs. Davids our sincere congratulations on the success of her work published by the O.T.F. She still works, now that she is Mrs. Rhys Davids, with the same energy and talent as before, and sets an example to us all.

Mr. Browne referred in gloomy tones to a subject which formerly was gloomy, but in which we now see a little light, the Oriental School of the University of London. We have a Board of Oriental Studies, and that Board I may tell you is no sinecure. We have prepared for the University a programme of lectures and examinations for internal students, and I agree with Mr. Browne that it is of no use providing such a programme if we have no students, but we may perhaps hope at any rate to have foreigners for our students. I shall not repeat what was said on previous occasions as to the encouragement which can be given to those studies by Government and by individuals who have business connections in the East. We cannot eradicate the inertness which still hampers our efforts to create a greater sense of responsibility in those who have to deal with the maintenance of our prestige in the East.

I have already alluded to Professor Rhys Davids'

connection with the Journal, but he has also earned our sincere thanks for the manner in which he discharges his duties as Secretary. No one ever appeals to him, and I must add to Miss Hughes, without obtaining the information which may be required in the most obliging way. We are all delighted to see here the veteran and active member of the Society, Dr. Cust. He offered to-day to give up his post as Honorary Secretary; but we could and would not accept his resignation. In your name I am sure I may offer cordial thanks to Dr. Codrington for the care he takes of our valuable Library.

In the future, as in the past, we intend to work quietly and seriously, and we claim that our work is essentially Imperialistic in its character. There is a great deal of grandiloquent talk of Imperialism at the present day, but the success of Imperialism does not depend on after-dinner speeches, but on the capacity, displayed by those who govern, of understanding the idiosyncrasies, the character of the various nationalities subject to our rule. This Society contributes to this knowledge, and thereby contributes to lessen the mistakes due to ignorance of the language, the history, and the prejudices of other races.

Dr. Thornton, in moving the adoption of the new Rules, said:—In the absence of Mr. Wollaston, who has been obliged to leave, I beg to propose that the Society accept the revised Rules (which have been passed by the Council and were duly published in the last number of the Journal) as they now stand. The Committee appointed by the Council to effect the revision have given much time and trouble to the subject, and have received on legal points the assistance of an able lawyer, our Vice-President, Sir Raymond West. They have confined themselves almost entirely to the improvement of the wording and arrangement of the old Rules, the incorporation of rules of practice and regulations passed subsequently to the last revision, and to seeing that the Rules, as they stand, are in harmony with the provisions of the Charter. Only one or two material alterations have been made. One is the reverting to the

old custom of new members being elected at a General Meeting, on the recommendation of the Council, and not as latterly by the Council itself; the second, the reduction of the number of Vice-Presidents to six, so as to bring the total number of Members of Council within the *maximum* prescribed by the Charter.

Dr. Cust seconded the motion, which was carried *nem. con.*

June 11.—The Right Hon. the Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

M. de la Vallée Poussin read a paper on the "Prāmaṇya (authority) of the Buddhist Āgamas."

A discussion followed, in which Professor Bendall, Professor Rhys Davids, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Visvanath P. Vaidya took part.

II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

I. Vienna Oriental Journal. Vol. xv, No. 1.

Barth (J.). Zur Kritik und Erklärung des Aḫtal-Diwāns.

Müller (W. Max). Zur Frage nach der Herkunft der alten Aethiopen.

Goldziher (I.). Ueber den Brauch der Maḥjā Versammlungen im Islam.

Reichelt (H.). Aramäische Inschriften aus Kappadocien.

Mahler (E.). Die Datirung des babylonischen Arsacidenschriften.

Zachariae (Th.). Das Indische Original von Bharatae Responsa Nr. 5.

II. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Band lv, Heft 1.

Schmidt (R.). Der Textus simplicior des Sukasaptati in der Recension der HS. A.

Schwarz (P.). Zu den Tables alphabétiques du Kitāb-al-Aġānī.

Fischer (A.). Noch einmal Heinrich Thorbeckes handschriftlicher Nachlass.

Kern (F.). Ṭabarī's Iḫtilāf alfuqahā.

Becker (C. H.). Ṭabarī's sogenannte Catechesis Mahometana.

Böhtlingk (O.). दोहद.

Laufer (B.). Verzeichnis der tibetischen HSS. der königlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden.

Steinschneider (M.). Das Wörterbuch al-'Hāwi des Gaon (schulhauptes) Hai (gestorben 1038).

Jacob (B.). Christlich-Palästinisches.

Praetorius (Fr.). Koptische Spuren in der aegyptisch-arabischen Grammatik.

Fischer (A.). Der Name Zaitūna.

III. Journal Asiatique. Série ix, Tome xvii, No. 1.

Aymonier (E.). La Stèle de Sdok Kāk Tkom.

Féer (L.). Le Karma Ṣataka.

Marçais (M.). Le Taqrib de En-Nawawi.

III. Notes and News.

Death of Mr. Arbuthnot.—We regret to announce the death of Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot, for so many years a member of Council. Mr. Arbuthnot will be specially remembered as having in 1890 reconstituted the Old Oriental Translation Fund, to which during the past eleven years he has contributed so much time and money. His death is a great loss to the Society, to whose interests he was so much devoted. A fuller notice will appear in the October number.

Tibetan.—Mr. F. B. Shawe is engaged on a translation of the autobiography of Milaraspa, a very popular Tibetan work. Dr. Laufer, who is at present in China on a special mission for the American Mission of Natural History, was at work before he left Europe on the "Gur-bum" or "100,000 Songs" of the same Milaraspa.

Dr. Georg Huth, of Berlin, has circulated a lithographed pamphlet claiming to have deciphered No. 66 of the Mahaban Inscriptions, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1898.

An interesting continuation of Dr. Stein's account of his discoveries in Chinese Turkestan is contained in a letter from him to Mr. E. J. Rapson, dated from Kashgar, May 24, 1901. His statement as to the genesis of some of the MSS. and block-prints in "unknown characters," which have attracted considerable attention during the last few years, is particularly important:—

"My excavations at the Rawak Stūpa, N.E. of Khotan, from which I last wrote to you, proved of considerable interest. From the great quadrangular court enclosing the stūpa many relievos in stucco, mostly colossal Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, were brought to light. They show the closest relation to Gandhāra art, and, judging from the numerous finds of coins, probably belong to the early centuries of our era. Though now partly buried under dunes nearly 30 feet high, the ruins have been exposed to the destructive agency of sub-soil water. So the inner wooden framework of all the great sculptures has decayed, and the safe excavation of the latter was hence a task of no small difficulty. I succeeded in taking a large series of photographs and safely removing a number of smaller relievos. During the ten days I spent at the site, sandstorms of varying degrees of violence occurred, and the danger of seeing the heavy masses of decayed stucco collapse before our eyes was increased in consequence. By the excavation of the Rawak Stūpa court I obtained a clear idea as to what the great religious buildings, which Fa-hian and Hiuen-tsiang saw at Khotan, may have been like.

"During my short stay at Khotan preparatory to my return, I had the satisfaction of obtaining full details as to the manufacture of the forgeries which flourished there between 1895 and 1898. You may have seen from my previous letters that there is every reason to believe that

all MSS. and 'block-prints' 'in unknown characters,' which were purchased from Khotan during these years, are forgeries. I managed to get hold of that clever scoundrel Islām Ākhūn, who was the headman of this noble industry, and the confession of his proceedings was as detailed as it was amusing. I hope soon to tell you the story."

The task of the student of Indian antiquity is nowadays complicated by the existence of the most ingenious forgeries in every branch of research. What Dr. Stein has proved in the case of the MSS. is undoubtedly true also in the case of many of the supposed "inscriptions in unknown characters." The forgeries of ancient Indian coins have, of course, been notorious for many years past. So numerous are they at the present time, that it is probably well within the mark to say that nine out of every ten supposed Graeco-Indian coins submitted by collectors to the British Museum are false. Can nothing be done to stop this disgraceful traffic?

IV. Additions to the Library.

Presented by the India Office.

Burgess (Dr. J.). Archæological Survey of India, vol. xxiv. Western India, vol. vii. Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad, part i, A.D. 1412–1520. 4to. *London*, 1900.

Presented by the Author.

King (Major J. S.). The History of the Bahmani Dynasty. 8vo. *London*, 1900.

Grierson (Dr. G. A.). Census of India, 1901. Indexes of Languages. 8vo. *London*, 1901.

Landberg (M. le Comte de). Étude sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale. Vol. i, Hadramoût. 8vo. *Leiden*, 1901.

Gaster (Dr. M.). Hebrew Illuminated Bibles of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries and a Samaritan Scroll of the Law of the Eleventh Century.
4to. *London*, 1901.

Presented by Lady Loch.

Loch (Lord). Personal Narrative of Occurrences during Lord Elgin's Second Embassy to China in 1860. Third edition, with illustrations and preface by Lady Loch.
8vo. *London*, 1900.

Presented by H.H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

Stein (M. A.). Kalhana's Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir. Translated, with introduction and commentary. 2 vols. Roy. 8vo. *Westminster*, 1900.

Presented by the Gräfin von Noer.

Noer (Graf von). Friedrich August Prinz von Schleswig-Holstein-Augustenburg, Briefe und Aufzeichnungen aus seinem Nachlass. 8vo. *Nördlingen*, 1886.

Presented by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.

Maclean (The Very Rev. A. J.). A Dictionary of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac. 4to. *Oxford*, 1901.

Presented by the Publishers.

Desmombynes (Gaudefroy). Les Cérémonies du Mariage chez les indigènes de l'Algérie. 8vo. *Paris*, 1901.

Holdich (Colonel Sir T. H.). The Indian Borderland, 1880–1900. 8vo. *London*, 1901.

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XXIV.—*Fresh Contributions to the Decipherment of the Vannic Inscriptions.* By Professor A. H. SAYCE.

MR. GOLÉNISCHEFF has just published in the Transactions of the Russian Imperial Society of Oriental Archæology (vol. xiii) a new Vannic inscription of considerable interest and importance. As my memoir on the Vannic Inscriptions is not likely to be continued after the publication of the rich materials collected by Drs. Belck and Lehmann during their exploration of Armenia and Kurdistan, I will deal with this inscription separately, and provisionally number it LXXXVI in continuation of my former notation. The stone on which the inscription is engraved was found in the church of St. Gregory, four versts east of the monastery of Eshmiadzin, and is 2·70 metres high, 63 cent. broad, and 36 cent. thick. It will be seen that it is a record of Ruśas, the son of Argistis, whose existence, first asserted by Dr. Belck, but doubted by myself (J.R.A.S., Oct., 1894, pp. 705, 706), is thus certified.

LXXXVI.

(1)	AN Khal-di-e	EN	SU	i-ni
	For Khaldis	*the lord*	*of multitudes*	*this*
(2)	TAK pu-lu-śi	⌈ Ru-śa-a-s		
	stela	*Ruśas*		

(3) ↿ Ar-gis-te-khi-ni-s ku-gu-ni
the son of Argistis *has inscribed.*

(4) AN Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-ni
To the children of Khaldis *the propitious*

(5) ↿ Ru-śa-a-s ↿ Ar-gis-te-khi-ni-s
Ruśas *the son of Argistis*

(6) a-li MAT Qu-ar-li-ni khu-bi-i
says: *The land* *of Quarlis* *I occupied:*

(7) qi-u-ra-a-ni su-li-e-ma-nu
a piece of ground *perpetually*

(8) u-i gi-e-i is-ti-ni ma-nu-ri
along with *a temple* *belonging to it* *complete*

(9) su(?)-ki AN Khal-di-s U-bar-du-du-ni
. . . *Khaldis* *has given for cultivation:*

(10) i-e-s i-ni GIS ul-di-e
I *this* *vine*

(11) te-ru-bi BIT GIS u-se GIS za-ri
have planted; *the house (&)* *juniper-trees (&)* *garden-trees*

(12) su-khe is-ti-ni te-ru-u-bi
cultivated *belonging to it* *have planted;*

(13) ALU su-khe is-ti-ni sa-tu-u-u-li
the city *which I have built* *belonging to it* *preserving,*

(14) pi-li NAHR Il-da-ru-ni-a-ni
the water *of the river* *Ildarunias*

(15) a-gu-u-bi U me-si-ni ti-ni
I conducted; *the pasturage* *of it* *called*

(16) i-nu-ka-khi-ni-e ↿ Ru-śa-i-ni-e
born of the place *of Ruśas*

(17) khu-bi GI a-se pi-li
I look, *for the establishment* *of the house (&)* *water*
ni-ki-du-li
after-sacrificing

(18) LU-BIRU-TUR AN Khal-di-e
a lamb *to Khaldis*

(19) ni-ip-śi-du-li-ni LU AN Khal-di-e
of the north (?), *a sheep* *to Khaldis*

(20) SUM LU AN IM-a LU AN UT-ni-e
as a sacrifice, a sheep to Teisbas, a sheep to Ardinis,

(21) se-kha-di-e AN A-ni-qu-gi-e
a goat (?) to Aniqugis;

(22) a-se A-MES e-si-a-tsi-u-li
for the house (&) water after fixing the following tariff:—

(23) BIRU-TUR AN Khal-di-e ni-ip-śi-du-li
a lamb for Khaldis of the north (?),

(24) LU AN Khal-di-e SUM LU AN IM-a
a sheep for Khaldis in sacrifice, a sheep for Teisbas,

(25) LU AN UT-ni-e se-kha-di AN A-ni-qu-gi
a sheep for Ardinis, a goat (?) for Aniqugis,

(26) Ru-śa-a-ni ⌈ Ar-gis-te-khi-e
belonging to Ruśas the son of Argistis,

(27) MAN DAN-NU MAN al-śu-i-ni MAN-ni
the king powerful, the king great, the king

(28) [MAT] Su-ra-u-e MAN MAT Bi-a-i-na-a-u-e
of the world, the king of Biainas,

(29) MAN MAN-MES-u-e a-lu-śi-e
the king of kings, the master

(30) ALU Dhu-us-pa-e pa-ta-ri
of Dhuspas the city.

(31) Ru-śa-a-s ⌈ Ar-gis-te-khi-ni-s
Ruśas the son of Argistis

(32) a-li a-lu-s i-ni DUP-TE-e
says: Whoever this stela

(33) tu-li-e a-lu-s pi-tu-li-e
removes, whoever removes the name,

(34) a-lu-s e-śi-i-ni śu-u-i-du-li
whoever the regulations appropriates,

(35) a-lu-s KI-TIM khi-pu-li-i-e
whoever with earth shall cover,

(36) a-lu-s A-MES khu-su-li-e
whoever the water shall cause to destroy (it),

(37) a-lu-s u-li-s ti-u-li-e
whoever else shall pretend

(38) i-e-s za-du-u-bi a-lu-s
"*I have done (this),*" *whoever*

(39) ti-ni-ni tu-li-e ma-śi-e
what has been named shall remove (even) the things

(40) ti-ni te-li-i e-a-i
that are called . . , whether (he be)

(41) MAT Bi-a-i-ni-s e-a-i
a Biainian or

(42) [MAT] Lu-lu-i-ni-s AN Khal-di-s
a Luluian, Khaldis

(43) AN IM-s AN UT-ni-s AN-MES-s
Teisbas (&) *Ardinis the gods*

(44) pi-i ti-i-ni me-i
the name (&) *record of him*

(45) ar-mu-zi-i me-i
(&) *the posterity of him,*

(46) ALU Se-il-bi-i qi-u-ra-i-di
of the city of Selbis in the piece of ground,

(47) tu-li-e tu-u-ni
shall remove utterly.

(6) The photograph of the inscription of Atamchan or Novo-Bajazet (liii) shows that the ideograph of "child," "son," had the phonetic value of *ar* in Vannic (see Belck and Lehmann, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ix, p. 348). That the root *ar* meant "to be small," "to be a child," is clear from the compound *arkhi-urulis*, "family," which I have long ago explained as a combination of *urulis*, "seed," and *arkhis*. In *ar-khis* the suffix of derivation indicates that the word signified "child." Compare *al-khe*, "the inhabitants of a place" (xxxiv, 10), from *al*, "to increase," "to be big."[1]

[1] The derivative *ali-śi* in li, i, 4, is "growth" or "tree." An inscription from Sharia, in the district of Armavir, published by Dr. Basmadjan, reads: (1) *Argistis* (2) *Menûakhi*[*ni*]*s* (3) *ini* BIT (4) *zaduni śui* (5) *arkhuiani*, "Argistis, son of Menuas, has built this house for the possession of (his) descendants," where *arkhuiani* is plainly connected with *arkhis*.

(7) This passage settles the meaning of *qiurâni*, which I have discussed in this Journal, October, 1894, pp. 718, 719. The adverb *qiu* perhaps signifies "bounded by" rather than "beside," though the two significations easily pass one into the other.

For *sule-manu* see lxxix, 8, 15. The word, which has the adverbial form, properly signifies "every day." The *guni suli-manu* of lxxix, 8, is replaced in lxxviii, *Rev.* 7, 8, by UT-*manu kurni gunei*. *Manus* means "every," "all," not "each" as I formerly supposed.

(8) I believe that Dr. Belck is right in making *gies* "a temple," instead of "a wall," as I formerly suggested.

Manu-ri has the same adjectival termination as *gissu-ris*, "multitudinous," *dhulu-ris*, "palace," *sekhe-ris*, "alive." It is noticeable that the adjective agreeing with *giei* after *ui* invariably ends in *-uri*; thus we have [*ui*] *giei sida-*[*uri*], "along with the old (or decayed) temple" (iv, 2), *ui giei istini sida-uri*, "along with its old temple" (xiii, 2; lxxvii, 7). So in l, 7, . . *qa-uri* after *ui ainei*, "along with the land" or "earth."

(9) *U-bar-du-du-ni* is one of the numerous compounds of which *du*, "to set" or "give," forms the second part. The first character U seems to be the ideograph which is found in line 15, where it represents the Assyrian *rêtu*, "pasturage," "pasture-land." The same ideograph probably occurs in li, iii, 5, as well as in lxviii, 8, 11.[1] *Bardu* or *masdu* is, I believe, like *niki* in line 17, a word borrowed from Assyrian, perhaps the *masdu* to which Delitzsch assigns doubtfully the meaning of "a depression" or "plain." At all events, the general sense of the compound is clear; Khaldis has set apart the temple-domain as consecrated ground on which accordingly Rusas can plant trees and establish a garden.

[1] In li, i, 7, however, GIS-U is "plant," and U-*ni* in the following line seems to be the same. I should now propose the following translation of this difficult passage:—*ini ali-si ikuka-ne-di-ni aue manu-li mei asei turtani khaidiani terikhe S'ari-duri-ni tini S'ari-duri-ni* GIS-U *du-lei*, "this tree in this same place he gives to the water, the whole of it, as nourishment (?) and fruit (?) for the temple, even the plant of S'ariduris which is called the planting of S'ariduris." Unfortunately, however, the reading *aue* is not certain.

(10) One of the inscriptions discovered by Drs. Belck and Lehmann has shown that *uldis* signifies "a vine." Consequently the meaning of "post," which I had assigned to it, falls to the ground. And with this falls also the suggestion that *zaris* denotes "a door."

(11) *Zaris*, which is so often coupled with *uldis* (e.g. lxxvii, 9), must also be a tree, and what it was is indicated in lxxix, 19, where *uldi zari* are replaced by the ideographs of "vine" and GIS-TIR-GAN, or "garden-tree." The "garden-tree" may be the mulberry, though more probably fruit-trees of all sorts are intended. *Zaris* appears to be borrowed from the Assyrian *zêru*, *zaru*.

The discovery of the true meaning of *uldis* and *zaris* shows that Mr. Golénischeff's suggestion is right that *use* is the Assyrian *usu*. The *usu*-tree, like the Egyptian *âsh*, is, I believe, the juniper. The juniper grows wild in Armenia and Asia Minor; indeed, in Armenia there is one species (*J. excelsa*) that assumes the dimensions of a large tree; and Twelfth Dynasty coffins made of the wood have been found in Egypt. The juniper was also a native of Northern Syria, from whence, according to the Black Obelisk, Shalmaneser II received *usu*-timber as tribute. Ideographically it was known as GIS-KAL, or "hard wood." Now, in lxxix, 19, *use* follows *uldi zari*, and is itself followed by the ideograph KAL. Perhaps the same *use* is found in lxviii, 3.

(12) *Su-khe* is from *su*, "to make"; see my note on lviii, 4, where perhaps the translation should be "offerings on the altar that has been made." *Su-khe*, "made" or "artificial," applied equally to the "built" house and "cultivated" trees.

(13) For *sa-túli* see my note in this Journal, October, 1894, p. 719. The verb properly means "to keep," "secure," "preserve." The translation I have given of l, 17, I can now amend. The characters which follow the first "50" are the ideographs which denote "chariot," and *gunu-si-ni*, which is often preceded by the determinative of a class of persons, and is generally coupled with "slaves"

or "women," signifies "eunuchs." The word is connected with *guni*, "the established sacrifice," and *gunu-sâ*, which, as Dr. Scheil has pointed out, must correspond with the Assyrian phrase "with arms" or "with the sword."[1] The root *gunu* evidently means "to slay," "sacrifice," "cut." At first I thought that *gunusini* might be the "temple servants who cut up" the animals that were sacrificed, but the association of the word with *lutu*, "women," points rather to "eunuchs." Consequently l, 17, L GIS-NARKABTI L *gunusini satûbi* must be rendered: "I kept 50 chariots (&) 50 eunuchs." They were the spoil of the fourteen palaces (not temples, be it observed) which Śari-duris had destroyed. On the other hand, Śari-duris goes on to speak of the *bidi-adibad* of the *gunusini*, a word which is compounded with *bidi*, and *bidi* is a sacrificial term (lxviii, 6, 7).

(14) *Pili* is replaced in line 22 by the ideographs A-MES, thus settling its meaning and showing that I was wrong in translating it "memorial." Dr. Belck's "canal" was nearer the truth.

(15) For the ideograph U, "pasturage," see above, line 9.

(16) I have discussed the meaning of *inu* in this Journal, October, 1894, p. 719, where I have concluded that it signified "area." I should now give it the wider and less specific signification of "place." It probably has the same root as *inainis* or *inanis*, "city."

(17) For the ideograph GI see this Journal, October, 1894, p. 717.

Niki, "sacrifices," in *niki-du-li* is a loan-word from Assyrian.

(21) Aniqugis, otherwise unknown, is probably the local deity.

Sekhadê is a new word; as the goat was common in the region, and was a sacrificial victim like the sheep and lamb, it is possible that it is meant here.

(22) In lxvi, 5, 6, *esi-nini* is associated with *eśi*, and must

[1] *Gunu-se* (xliii, 15) must be "weapons," "a portion of the captives and of the weapons."

have a similar signification. The suffix *-atsi* here appears to denote "as follows" or the like; cf., however, *Menua-le-atsi-li-ni*, "so as to become the place of Menuas" (xxxiv, 15).

(29) My present rendering of *alu-śe* as "master" is derived from the common phrase *khutia-di Khaldi-di Teisba-di Ardini-di alu-śi-ni-ni alśui-sini ali-ba-di*, "by command of Khaldis, Teisbas, and Ardinis, the company of the great lords."

(30) That *patari* was the equivalent of the ideograph of "city," usually added to the name of Dhuspas, was already known from the inscription of Melasgert, published by Dr. Scheil in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, xviii, p. 76, where we should read *patari* instead of the author's *pa-a dup-ri*. Dr. Belck thinks that *patari* was a word belonging to the language of the older population who were conquered by the kings of the Vannic monuments. However this may be, I believe that it explains the Hittite Pterion, "the district of Ptera"; perhaps also the name of Pethor. Compare, moreover, the Lycian Patara.

(35) The usual phrase is *ainei ini-li du-li*, "shall give it to the earth," as in xx, 12. *Khipu* accordingly will mean "to cover," "bury," "conceal."

(39) *Ma-śi-ni* is used of the gods (lxi, 2), "the existences" or "powers," and Professor D. H. Müller is probably right in deriving the word from the root *ma*, "to exist." Here, however, *maśe* can hardly signify the divine power, and must rather denote existences or objects in general.

(40, 41) *Eai* is new, but the sense is clear, *eai—eai* being "whether—or."

(42) The country of Lulus was the district in which Armavir stood, according to lxviii, 2, and seems originally to have formed part of the Mannian territory.

(45) *Armuzi* must evidently mean "posterity," "generation," and is perhaps a compound of *ar*, "a child." In xliv, 16, 17, we have *armuzi* IV IV SU, "to the four times fourth generation" (where Layard's copy, however, has the ideograph of "seed" instead of the numeral IV).

(46) The ideograph of "city" is partly obliterated.

(47) The characters *tu* (which has the rare form) in *tu-le* and *ni* in *tu-ni* are partly obliterated. The words are literally "shall remove with a removal," like *khai-ni khau-li*, "shall utterly destroy," in the inscription of Kelishin (lvi, 24).

I can now explain most of the words in the Assyrian text of this latter inscription, which I was obliged to leave uninterpreted in the translation I have given of it in the J.R.A.S., October, 1894, pp. 691 sqq. As I have there shown, the inscription is bilingual, the Assyrian and Vannic versions corresponding more closely with one another than is usual in ancient bilingual texts. Drs. Belck and Lehmann have lately found another bilingual text, Vannic and Assyrian, on a similar stela at Kelishin Ushnei, near the ruins of Muzazir.

The two German explorers have found that the Vannic text of LVI has in the first line the words *ikukaṅi* MU, "the same year," though the MU is not certain. It has accordingly been urged that the Vannic text must be a continuation of the Assyrian, and that consequently the one is not a translation of the other. But this is to read the connotation of the European expression "the same" into the Vannic *ikukani*. That the Vannic word has no reference to a preceding statement is shown by li, i, 4, *ini ali-śi ikukane-di-ni*, "this tree in this place," where no place has been previously mentioned. Hence *ikukani* MU would be more accurately "this year" than "the same year." Moreover, the character MU, "year," is doubtful, and it is quite possible that the inscription began with the words, "To the god Khaldis of this place." It is contrary to custom for the name of Khaldis not to come at the head of a Vannic inscription. That the Vannic text should be a continuation of the Assyrian would be also difficult to explain. On a memorial of Vannic victories and conquests, and in a country where Assyrian was not spoken, the Vannic text would take precedence of the Assyrian, and not the converse.

The Persian kings commenced their inscriptions with the Persian and not with the Babylonian or Amardian texts. Even apart from the close correspondence which I have shown to exist between the Vannic and Assyrian texts, common-sense alone would require that on a monument of the kind they should relate to the same event. And the only valid argument on the other side, derived from the fact that the city which was called Muzazir by the Assyrians appears as Ardinis in the Vannic version, has now been removed by Dr. Belck's discovery that Ardinis was really the Vannic name of Muzazir.

In the numeration of the lines I follow the order given in my paper in this Journal, October, 1894, pp. 692–699. V. means the Vannic text, A. the Assyrian.

(2) V. *Mumu-ni-ni* would signify "belonging to the tributaries," so that reference would be made to the gods of the tributary, or vassal state of Muzazir.

(3) V. I can now explain the form [*Śar-*]*dur-aza-u-ni*. The termination is the same as that which we have in *-na-ue*, "belonging to the city" or "country," or in *Biain-a-ue* above (LXXXVI, 28), while *-az* or *-ats* is the suffix *-atsi*, as in *Menua-le-atsi-li-ni* quoted above. The word consequently means "belonging to the place" or "race of Śari-duris." We may translate it "of the house of Śari-duris."

(8) The Assyrian *beli*, which sometimes has the determinative of "leather," signifies "shields." This, therefore, is the signification of the Vannic *urili*. I have already stated that I was mistaken in supposing that the Vannic word for "shields" was *ulguse*. As we learn from the Assyrian bas-reliefs, shields were hung up on either side of the entrance to a Vannic temple.[1] In lviii, 5, the translation is "a sheep for the gate of the temple of Khaldis, a sheep for the shields of the temple of Khaldis."

[1] Botta: *Le Monument de Ninive*, ii, pl. 141.

(9) The Assyrian *bibu* is a derivative from *babu*, "gate," and means "a small door" or "wicket." Hence there is no reason for thinking that in the Tel el-Amarna tablets *biba* is a mistake for *babi*. The Sumerian GIS *gengina*, which is given as the equivalent of *bibâti*, is also the equivalent of *binâti*, "framework." The Vannic *niribi*, of which *bibu* is the translation, is really a loan-word from Assyrian. It is, in fact, the Assyrian *niribi*, "entrance," and hence it is that Menuas, in his inscription at the entrance to the artificial cavern in the rock at Van, says, *alus niribi istini-ni khau-lie*, "whoever shall destroy its entrance" (xxi, 9, 10).

(13) A. Dr. Scheil's copy has *bu-na*(?)-*ti* or *bu-su*(?)-*ti*. *Busu* would be "property," but *busuti* is unknown. So, too, we have *bunu*, "form," but no *bunati*. If . . . *eyani* in 6 V. is the termination of *ulguseyani*, the Assyrian equivalent would seem to be *makanu*, "place," "chapel," or perhaps "column."

The copy shows traces of U, "food," at the end of the line.

(14) V. In this line U, "food," has unfortunately been omitted by the printer in the text I have published. I am inclined to think, however, that both here and in the previous line we should read GUD, "ox," for U.

(15) V. I was mistaken in saying that this line has no equivalent in the Assyrian version. In line 24 the Vannic *gurukhu khaini khau*[*li*] corresponds with the Assyrian *kî pasri inassi*, "like scattered corn he shall carry away" (for *pasri* see Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 550). Hence the Vannic words mean "he shall destroy with the destruction of (scattered) grain," and *gurukhe* in line 15 must be the "grain" which was offered to the gods along with wine and animals. The "grain" must be mentioned in the Assyrian text, which is, however, in too fragmentary and uncertain a state to be deciphered. But it is probable that what I. have supposed to be KAS-DIN-MES should be corrected into GUD-MES, "oxen."

(16) A. *Equti* means "round," as must also its Vannic equivalent *ka-ni*.

(19) V. We must read [*e-ri-la*]-*e-i*, as it now turns out that *erilas* was the Vannic word for "king" (Scheil, *Recueil de Travaux*, xviii, p. 76).

(20) Translate: "the entrance of this sanctuary of the Khaldis-gods." The Assyrian *panpanu* was the "shrine" in which stood the *parakku* or "mercy-seat."

(37) *Idahib* is "he shall destroy." Consequently the Vannic *sui* or *mui* will signify "to ruin."

VOCABULARY.

A.

A-gu-u-bi. "I conducted." lxxxvi, 15.
A-li. "He says." lxxxvi, 6, 32.
Ali-śi. "A growth," "tree," from *al* "to increase." li, i, 4.
Al-śu-i-ni. "Great." lxxxvi, 27.
A-lu-s. "Whoever." lxxxvi, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38.
A-lu-śi-e. "Master." lxxxvi, 29.
Ar. "Child," "small," "to be small." Hence *ar-khi-s*, "children." Cf. *arkhuiani*, "belonging to (his) descendants."
Ar-mu-zi-i. "Posterity," "generation." lxxxvi, 45.
A-ni-qu-gi-e. "The deity Aniqugis." lxxxvi, 21.
A-ni-qu-gi. lxxxvi, 25.
A-se. "House," "temple." lxxxvi, 17, 22.

B.

Bar-du-du-ni or U-bar-du-du-ni. "He set apart for cultivation." lxxxvi, 9. A compound of *du*, "to get" or "give," and what is probably an Assyrian loan-word, *bardu* or *masdu*.
Bi-a-i-na-a-u-e. "Of the land of Biainas." lxxxvi, 28.
Bi-a-i-ni-s. "A Biainian" or "Vannian." lxxxvi, 41.

DH.

Dhu-us-pa-e. "Tosp." lxxxvi, 30.

E.

E-a-i—e-a-i. "Whether—or." lxxxvi, 40, 41.
Erilas. "King." To be read instead of *khutes*.
E-si-a-tsi-u-li. "After prescribing as follows." lxxxvi, 22.
E-śi-i-ni. "Regulations." lxxxvi, 34.

G.

Gi-e-i. "Temple" (rather than "wall"). lxxxvi, 8.
Gunu-sâ. "With weapons." Gunu-se, "arms" (xliii, 15). Gunu-si-ni, "eunuchs" or "temple-butchers" (l, 17). From *gunu*, "to cut," "slay for sacrifice."
Gu-ru-khe. "Grain"; Assyrian *pasri*, "scattered grain." lvi, 15. Gu-ru-khu. lvi, 24.

I.

I-e-s. "I." lxxxvi, 10, 38.
Il-da-ru-ni-a-ni. "The river Ildarunias." lxxxvi, 14.
I-nu-ka-khi-ni-e. "Born of the place." lxxxvi, 16. From *inu*, "place."
Is-ti-ni. "Belonging to it." lxxxvi, 8, 12, 13.

K.

Ku-gu-ni. "He has inscribed." lxxxvi, 3.

KH.

Khi-pu-li-i-e. "He shall cover," "bury," "conceal." lxxxvi, 35.
Khu-bi-i. "I have taken," "occupied." lxxxvi, 6. Khu-bi. lxxxvi, 17.
Khu-su-li-e. "He shall cause to take," "destroy." lxxxvi, 36.

L.

Lu-lu-i-ni-s. "A man of the country of Lulus." lxxxvi, 42.

M.

Manus. "Every," "all," rather than "each."
Ma-nu-ri. "Complete." lxxxvi, 8.
Ma-śi-e. "Existences," "things." lxxxvi, 39.
Me-i. "Of him." lxxxvi, 44, 45.
Me-si-ni. "Its." lxxxvi, 15.

N.

Ni-ki-du-li. "After sacrificing." lxxxvi, 17. A compound of *du* and the Assyrian loan-word *niki* (*niqi*).
Ni-ip-śi-du-li-ni. "Northern" (?). lxxxvi, 19, 23.
Ni-ri-bi. "Entrance," "wicket-gate," "door"; Assyrian *niribi*. lvi, 9.

P.

Pa-ta-ri. "City" or "the city." lxxxvi, 30.
Pi-li. "Water" (A-MES). lxxxvi, 14, 17.
Pi-i. "Name." lxxxvi, 44.
Pi-tu-li-e. "He shall remove the name." lxxxvi, 33.
Pu-lu-śi. "Stela." lxxxvi, 2.

Q.

Qi-u-ra-a-ni. "A piece of ground." lxxxvi, 7. Qi-u-ra-i-di. lxxxvi, 46. Qiu. "Bounded by" rather than "beside."
Qu-ar-li-ni. "The land of Quarlis." lxxxvi, 6.

R.

Ru-śa-i-ni-e. "Belonging to Ruśas." lxxxvi, 16.
Ru-śa-a-ni. lxxxvi, 26

S.

Sa-tu-u-u-li. "Preserving." lxxxvi, 13. The compound *sa-tu* means "to keep," "preserve," "reserve."
Se-kha-di-e. "A goat" (?). lxxxvi, 21. Se-kha-di. lxxxvi, 25.
Se-il-bi-i. "The city of Selbis." lxxxvi, 46.
Sida-uri. "Old," "decayed." iv, 2.
Su-khe. "Artificial," "cultivated." lxxxvi, 12, 13.
Su(?)-ki. lxxxvi, 9.
Su-li-e-ma-nu. "Every day," "perpetually." lxxxvi, 7.
Su-ra-u-e. "The world." lxxxvi, 28.

Ś.

[Śar]-du-ra-za-u-ni. "Of the house of Śari-duris." lvi, 3.
Śu-u-i-du-li. "He shall appropriate." lxxxvi, 34.

T.

Te-li. lxxxvi, 40.
Te-ru-bi. "I planted." lxxxvi, 11.
Te-ru-u-bi. lxxxvi, 12.
Ti-ni. "Called," "a name" or "record." lxxxvi, 15, 40.
Ti-i-ni. lxxxvi, 44.
Ti-ni-ni. lxxxvi, 39.
Tu-li-e. "He shall remove." lxxxvi, 33, 39, 47.
Tu-u-ni. "Removal." lxxxvi, 47.

U.

U-i. "Along with." lxxxvi, 8.
(GIS) Ul-di-e. "A vine." lxxxvi, 10.
U-li-s. "Another." lxxxvi, 37.
U-ri-li. "Shields"; Assyrian *belê*. lvi, 8.
(GIS) U-se. "Juniper-trees." lxxix, 19; lxxxvi, 11. Assyrian loan-word.
Us-ma-si-ni. "Propitious." lxxxvi, 4.

Z.

Za-du-u-bi. "I have done," "made." lxxxvi, 38.
(GIS) Za-ri. "Garden-trees." lxxxvi, 11. Assyrian loan-word.

Ideographs.

A-MES (*pili*). "Water." lxxxvi, 22, 36.
BIT (*asis*). "House," "temple." lxxxvi, 11.
BIRU-TUR. "Lamb." lxxxvi, 23.
DAN-NU (*tarais*). lxxxvi, 27.
DUP-TE. "Tablet." lxxxvi, 32.
EN (*euris*). "Lord." lxxxvi, 1.
GI. "Established." lxxxvi, 17.
GIS-NARKABTI. "Chariot." l, 17.
GIS-U. "Plant." li, i, 7.
KI-TIM (*aineis*). "Earth." lxxxvi, 35.
LU (*susis*). "Sheep." lxxxvi, 19, 20, 24, 25.
LU-BIRU-TUR. "Lamb." lxxxvi, 18.
NAHR (*alas*). "River." lxxxvi, 14.
SU (*gissuris*). "Multitudes." lxxxvi, 1.
SUM (*halis*). "Sacrifice." lxxxvi, 20, 24.
U. "Pasturage." lxxxvi, 15. Cf. U-*bardu-duni*, line 9.

Assyrian Words.

Beli. "Shields." lvi, 8, etc.
Bibu. "Small gate" or "wicket." lvi, 9, etc.
Dahâbu. "To destroy." lvi, 37.
Eqûti. "Round." lvi, 16.
Panpanu. "Shrine." lvi, 20.
Pasri. "Scattered grain." lvi, 24.

ART. XXV. — *Account of a rare manuscript History of Iṣfahán, presented to the Royal Asiatic Society on May* 19, 1827, *by Sir John Malcolm, and now described by* EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p.* 446.)

Chapter VI (ff. 45*a*–52*a*).

This chapter is described as being in praise of Iṣfahán, and of the excellence of its inhabitants, their obedience to constituted authority, and their talents, and as showing that the schemes of all such as have intended ill to them, or endeavoured to do them injury, have recoiled on their own heads.

In reference to the verse (Qur'án, xli, 10), "Then He turned His attention to the Heaven, and it was but smoke; and He said to it and to the Earth, 'Draw nigh to us, willing or unwilling,'" it is related by Shaykh Abú Na'ím Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'lláh from Hadiyya b. Khálid from Ḥammád b. Salama that the earth of Iṣfahán responded to the Divine Command.

As to the name of Iṣfahán, it was originally called Isfáhán (اسفاهان), because, in the days of the old Persians, Gúdarz, the son of Kishwád, held possession of it, and when he rode forth he was accompanied by eighty sons of his own, all brave knights and expert horsemen, besides grandsons, retainers and servants; and when they rode forth thus, men would say, "*Iṣfáhán!*" (i.e. *Ispáhán, Sipáhán*), that is, "the Army!" And so, by degrees, this name came to be applied to the city. According to another legend, the town gained the

name of *Ispáhán*, "the Army (of God)," because, when Nimrod, in his impious unbelief, desired to cast Abraham into the fire, he sent to all parts of his domains bidding his people collect firewood (هيمة), which command all obeyed save the people of Iṣfahán.

It is related on the authority of Usáma b. Zayd that Sa'd b. Musayyib said, "Had I not been of Quraysh, I would have desired of God that I should be a Persian (از ابناء پارس) of Iṣfahán." Abú Ḥátim of Sístán[1] speaks of Iṣfahán as the "Navel of 'Iráq." Muḥammad 'Abdús, the jurisconsult, describes the Iṣfahánís as having been thus apostrophized (by whom is not mentioned): "O people of Iṣfahán, whose plains are all saffron and whose mountains are all honey, and in each of whose houses is a fountain of sweet, pure water!" On this 'Ísá remarked, "I cannot accept this account, for this is the exact counterpart of Paradise." When 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭáb took counsel with Hurmuzán the Persian (f. 46*a*) concerning Iṣfahán, Párs, and Ádharbáyagán, Hurmuzán said, "O Commander of the Faithful! Iṣfahán is the head, and Párs and Ádharbáyagán are the two wings." Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf had a Persian secretary, a Magian of Iṣfahán, to one of whose kinsmen, named Wahzad, the son of Yazdád al-Abná'í (الابناءي), he had entrusted the government of Iṣfahán. This man oppressed the people, whereupon Ḥajjáj caused the following letter (added by the translator to the *Maḥásin*, which does not contain it) to be written to him:—

امّا بعد، فانّى استعملتُك على اصفهان اوسع الارض رقعةً و عملاً و اكثرها خراجًا و ازكاها ارضًا حشيشها الزعفران و الورد و جبلها الفضّة و الكُحل و اشجارها الجوز و اللوز و الجِلّوز و ما اشبهها و التين و الزيتون و الكروم الكريمة و الفواكه العذبة طيورها عوامل العسل و مآؤها الفُرات و خيلها الماذيانات الجياد انظف بلاد اللّه طعامًا

[1] He died A.H. 255 (= A.D. 869). See my *Hand-list of Muḥammadan MSS. in the Cambridge University Library*, p. 174, and a note in the *Addenda*, p. xviii.

و الطفها شرابًا و اصحّها ترابًا و اوفقها هوآءً و ارخصها لحمًا و اطوعها اهلًا و اكثرها صيداً فَأَنَخْتَ عليها بكلكلِ اضطرّ اهلها الى مسالتك ما سالتَ لهم لتَفُوزَ بما يُوضَعُ عنهم فقد اخربْتَ البلاد أتظنُّ انّا نسفذ لك ما موّهتَ و سحرتَ فقعدتَ تُشِيدُ علينا فعضَّ على غرمولة ابيك و مصّ بظر أمّك و الزم ذلك فَأَيْمُ اللّه لتبعثنّ الىّ بخراج اصفهان كلّها او لاجعلنّك طوابيق على ابواب مدينتها فاختر اوفق الامرَيْن لك فقد عظمْتَ جنايتك علىّ و أَسأْتَ الى نفسك فى التعرّض لبلادٍ ما قصدها بالمكروه احدٌ الّا خسر و ندم و ستعلم '[1]

All historians, adds the author, are agreed that no king or *amír* has come to Iṣfahán with evil designs against the inhabitants (f. 46*b*) but the evil intended by him has straightway recoiled on his own head. Thus, when Nimrod marched against it with an army numerous as the sands of the sea, and, as he approached, destroyed the crops, filled up the fountains and watercourses, slew and took captive the people, and looted the surrounding country, the people of Iṣfahán, great and small, men and women, sick and sound (f. 47*a*), collected in the Oratory (*Muṣallá*), bringing with them not only children at the breast, but even the young of animals, and, for seven days and nights, raised their lamentations and supplications to God. When Nimrod's army reached Yazdikhwást they sent forward a spy, who, on reaching Iṣfahán, saw how the people were engaged, and, being suddenly filled with the fear of God, turned back to warn and dissuade his comrades. But when he reached

[1] The following readings in the MS. have been emended:—l. 3, البلوذ; l. 9, تسير (to تشيد); l. 10, قايم الله; l. 12, فاخذره; جنابتك. For the expression in l. 7, فَأَنَخْتَ عَلَيْهَا بِكَلْكَلٍ, cf. the Ḥamása, ed. Freytag, p. 120, l. 3.

them he found them all dead beneath a great fall of snow, so that he was the sole survivor of that vast host. And the town of Yazdikhwást was built on that spot to commemorate the event, because "God willed their destruction" (یزدان هلاک ایشان خواست).

Once when the 'Abbásid Caliph Abú Ja'far Manṣúr (A.D. 754–775), being displeased with the people of Iṣfahán, sent instructions to the governor to afflict them and harshly entreat them, this story was related to him as a warning, and he was thereby constrained to recall his order.

Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz was at first a just and mild governor, but towards the end of his life he became cruel and oppressive, "eating the people, skin and flesh" (f. 47 *b*), until at length he sent a messenger named Uḥmúla of Vurúgird (i.e. Burújird: احموله وروگردی) to the Caliph al-Mu'taḍid (A.D. 892–902) to obtain further powers of exaction; but Uḥmúla died on his return journey, and at the same time the family of 'Ijl, including Aḥmad, fell into disgrace.

Similarly Ya'qúb b. Layth the Ṣaffárid, when he suffered defeat at the hands of Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, conceived a great resentment against Iṣfahán, which at a later date he prepared to gratify. Again the Iṣfahánís resorted to the Oratory (*Muṣallá*) to entreat God's protection, and their prayers were answered by Ya'qúb's sudden death (A.D. 878).

So, too, when Abú Laylá b. al-Ḥárith b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz revolted against the King,[1] he extorted money from the Iṣfahánís and quartered his soldiers in their houses. They prayed God to redress their wrongs; and, as Abú Laylá rode out, sword in hand, to meet the foe, his horse stumbled and threw him, and as he fell his sword pierced his neck and slew him (f. 48 *a*).

So, too, when Muḥammad b. Ḥasanawayh of Ray occupied

[1] I cannot understand the text, which seems to be corrupt, nor identify the king. The passage runs—

. . . در وقت خروج کردن بر سلطان ساز داد و بانوشری آغاز نهاد . . .

Iṣfahán and oppressed the people, death speedily overtook him, as happened also to Misma'í when he went to Baghdad to obtain permission to seize certain lands near Iṣfahán in fief-hold. So, too, the chief of the Daylamites (رئيس ديلمان) in A.H. 319 (= A.D. 931) marched on Iṣfahán, threatening to loot and plunder it; the Iṣfahánís prayed God to protect them; and when the Daylamite reached the Castle of Márbín, Aḥmad b. Kutligh (? كنعلغ) issued forth therefrom, slew him, and sent his head to the city.

Next follows a story about Ruknu'd-Dawla the Buwayhid (A.D. 932–976), defective at the beginning, about a man of mean degree, who, when asked, along with others [? by Ruknu'd-Dawla himself in disguise, or by one of his secret emissaries], what boon he would ask from that prince, replied, "a hundred blows with the sticks and expulsion from the city." Next day, when these people were brought before Ruknu'd-Dawla to repeat their wishes (of which, apparently, he had been already informed) and to receive what they had desired, this poor wretch, being in mortal terror, could hardly be induced to repeat his rash wish (f. 48*b*). The prince, however, excused him the beating, and gave him a thousand *dirhams*, but banished him from the city.

Here follow other anecdotes of the times of the Buwayhids, which, as the author frankly admits, have very little to do with the history of Iṣfahán. Ruknu'd-Dawla's consideration for his subordinates is illustrated by his frequent habit of dismissing the crowds of secretaries, scribes, and servants who assembled before his house at early morning until their presence should actually be required, "For," said he, "they have shown their readiness for service, and paid their respects, and it does not seem good in my eyes that I alone should be comfortable and tranquil."

Next follows an anecdote of the Ṣáḥib Isma'íl b. 'Abbád, who, when he was a youth attending school, used daily to pass by the shop of a certain cobbler. Whenever he did so the cobbler used to revile and curse him as a Mu'tazilite, a heretic, and an infidel, but he would pay no heed to these

insults, and passed by in silence. When in later years the Ṣáḥib rose to that great power and authority which he afterwards enjoyed, it happened that some soldiers who were quartered in the cobbler's house so vexed and misused him that he at length determined to appeal for their removal to the Ṣáḥib, who, as he hoped, would not recognize him after so many years. No sooner, however, did he present his petition than the Minister recognized him, but, so far from showing any revengeful feeling, he at once instructed the Ra'ís Abu'l-'Abbás aḍ-Ḍabbí to expel the soldiers from the house, adding in his letter that "the petitioner had a special claim on him."

فانّ لِرافعِها حقّاً لا يسع اغفالاً و حرمةً لا تقتضى اهمالاً أَوْجَبَهُما تَسَبُّبُهُ الينا بسبّه إيّانا ‘

It is further related, as showing the justice and virtue of the Ṣáḥib Isma'íl b. 'Abbád, and his care for the people, that at a time when Fakhru'd-Dawla the Buwayhid (A.D. 983–997) had great and pressing need for money for his campaigns in Khurásán and Gurgán, a certain man sent a communication to him proposing to enrich the treasury by certain exactions which would bring in 300,000 *dirhams*. This document was handed on to the Ṣáḥib, who summoned the writer, questioned him, and then consigned him to the custody of Ḥusayn Lúráb (لُوراب), while he at once set to work, *first* to raise this sum himself, and *secondly* to obtain from the judges and doctors of law a decision that the life of such a man as this, who strove to subject the people to illegal exactions, was forfeit. So the man met with his deserts, while Fakhru'd-Dawla was not disappointed of his money.

Abú Naṣr Ṭáhir b. Ibráhím b. Salama, the maternal grandfather of al-Máfarrúkhí, the author of the *Maḥásin*, and the cousin of Ustád Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. Aḥmad b. al-'Abbás al-Andá'áni, who was governor of Iṣfahán, related that when he was a youth attached to the governor's suite a certain person one day handed to him a statement for the

governor which he duly submitted to him. It proved to contain a proposal on the part of the petitioner that he should be allowed to farm the revenues (f. 50*a*) of a village called Márbánán for a sum of money exceeding by 5,000 *dirhams* the amount at which the aforesaid village was assessed. The governor, having summoned this man before him and thoroughly questioned him, fiercely upbraided him for "supposing that he could deceive the governor into ruining a village which was one of the 'roots and matrices of the province' (از اصول و أمّهات ولایت) for a paltry 5,000 *dirhams*, while he himself should gain 5,000 *dinárs*." Then he caused the unlucky proposer of the scheme (f. 50*b*) to be mounted face backwards on a cow and paraded through the streets, while a herald proclaimed, "This is the reward of tale-bearers and mischief-makers!" When the governor's wrath had somewhat subsided he turned to the narrator (Abú Naṣr Ṭahir), who was ready to sink into the earth for shame, and said, "Henceforth no such proposal must be placed in my hands."

The author, al-Máfarrúkhí, next speaks of 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Abú Ja'far Muḥammad b. Dushmanzár (here written -*zád*, دشمن زاد), in whose reign (A.D. 1007–1041) he wrote, and praises the assiduity with which he repaired and maintained the fortresses and castles which protected Iṣfahán, as well as the clever and skilful use he made of his spies, who supplied him with full information concerning the forces, characters, aims, and inventions of all the neighbouring potentates, so that, when one attacked him, he knew directly whether he could successfully resist him, or whether he should retreat and make the best terms he could (f. 51*a*).

Sulṭán Ruknu'd-Dín Ṭughril Beg Abú Ṭálib Muḥammad b. Míká'íl the Seljúq (A.D. 1037–1063) was also much attached to Iṣfahán, where he chiefly resided for twelve years, besides paying constant visits of one or two months at other times, and on which, notwithstanding the discourtesy and disobedience which he suffered at the hands of its inhabitants, he expended, in public buildings and improvements, a sum exceeding 500,000 *dinárs*.

So, too, when Sulṭán Abú Shujá' Alp Arslán Muḥammad b. (f. 51*b*) Dá'úd b. Míká'il the Seljúq (A.D. 1063–1072) marched from Khurásán on 'Iráq with a vast and well-equipped army, defeated his foes outside Ray, and advanced towards Iṣfahán against his brother (? Qáward), who fled incontinently to Kirmán, Alp Arslán then occupied Iṣfahán, which greatly pleased him, and treated its people with marked favour. His brother, fearing pursuit, retreated to the Castle of Wádhshíz (واذشير) with all his followers and stores, and made one or two feeble and unsuccessful attempts to recapture Iṣfahán. On these occasions Alp Arslán issued the most stringent orders to his troops against all sorts of looting and violence, in which matter he was so earnest that even in the case of the most favoured of his (f. 52*a*) courtiers or the dearest of his sons death would have been the inevitable penalty of disobedience. Iṣfahán, in short, became the centre of his vast empire; he set "overseers" (ناظر) over Párs, Khuzistán, Gílán, and Ádharbáyagán, "guardians" (حافظ) over Ray and Khurásán, and a "watcher" (رقيب) to look after his relations and rivals of Kirmán, while he extended his conquests in Asia Minor and India.

Chapter VII (ff. 52*a*–61*a*).

This chapter professes to describe the different seasons, especially the Spring, in Iṣfahán, and the amusements and pleasures of the inhabitants; and opens with two poems by the translator (f. 52*b*):—

لَقَدْ تَنَفَّسَ رُوحُ النَّسيم فى الاسحار
وكادَ يَطْلُعُ طَلْعُ الرَّبيعِ فى الإشجار
بيار مژده كه برداشت عدل فروردين
تفاوتى كه بُدى درميان ليل و نهار

جهان جوان و زمین زنده و زمان تازه ،
شد از عنایت نوروز و فضل فصل بهار ،
برنگ رنگ ریاحین و گونه گونه نبات ،
بغور و مجد زمین فانظروا الی آثار ،

Couplet by another poet :—

دارت کؤوس الطلّ من ایدی الصّبا ، فتمایلت سکراً قدود العرعر ،

Poem by the translator :—

اصفهان بین که چون بهشت برین ، خانهٔ حور و مُلکِ رضوان شد ،
ز اعتدال حیات بخش بهار ، خُرّم و تازه روی و خندان شد ،
نسخهٔ عرصهٔ صبا آمد ، طیرهٔ مملکت سلیمان شد ،
تختگاه و محطّ دولت بود ، مهبط و بارگاه ایمان شد ،
سُرّة البطن ربع مسکون بود ، غُرّة الوجه ملک سلطان شد ،
بر مثال کواکب و گردون ، باغ از نور نور کیوان شد ،
هر کجا ریگ بود رنگ گرفت ، هر کجا گلخنی گُل افشان شد ،
اهل امور یکی سکندر گشت ، زندرودش زُلالِ حیوان شد ،
گرنه جی جنّتست از چه سبب ، خُلق و خلقش رحیق و رضوان شد ،

Here follows a long and florid description of the beauty of Springtide in Iṣfahán, in mixed prose and verse, of which the following ingenious passage may be taken as a favourable specimen :—

اسحار در مساحره و با سامری در مسامره ، اشجار در مشاجره و شکوفها در مکاشفه ، قضبان در ملاطفه صبا با صنوبر در صدر صبابه و صبا با سحر در سحر صبّابه ، ریاحین مروحهٔ رواح در دست و غنچه

از شراب صبوح علی الصباح خفته و مست ' مرغان پر فغان و بلبل
از شوق گل و مُل و ذوق سمن و نسرین و سنبل چون خروس
صراحی در نقَرَاتِ قُلقل که (بالعربیّه)
البلبلُ یتلو صُحُف العشّاق ' و النرجسُ کالعشورِ فی الاوراقِ '
مهتاب و شراب ناب و معشوقه خراب ' برگوشهٔ زندرود هان ای ساقی '

Here follows a pretty *ghazal* (ff. 53*b*–54*a*) in praise of the translator's patron, Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad, succeeded by other graceful verses, Arabic and Persian, intermixed with prose, and then this quatrain by Mujíru'd-Dín Baylaqání :—

مَیِ سرخ گل و قدح گلابست مگر ' در درج بلور لعل نابست مگر '
یاقوت گداخته در آبست مگر ' مهتاب حجاب آفتابست مگر '

And the following quatrain by Kamálu'd-Dín Isma'íl :—

لعلست مَیِ سوری و ساغر کانست '
جسمت پیاله و شرابش جانست '
آن ساغر گلگون که بمی خندانست '
اشکیست که خون دل درو پنهانست '

The following *mulamma'* poem (half Arabic, half Persian) on f. 55*a* is perhaps worth quoting :—

أقبلتْ کالهلالِ أوْ احسن ' شب تاریک و بادهٔ روشن '
وَقفتْ و المدامُ فی یدها ' گفت هستت نشاطِ می خوردن '
قُلتُ هاتیک من مشعشعةٍ ' در ده ای جان و زندگانی من '
ثمّ أحییتُ لیلتی معها ' باده در دست و دست در گردن '

Next follows (f. 55*b*) an Arabic poem of seven couplets by al-Máfarrúkhí, the author of the *Maḥásin*, beginning :—

لله درّ نواحی اصفهان و ما ' یحویه مِنْ أوْجُهٍ غُرٍّ و مِنْ صُوَرِ '

Then thirty-three couplets of Persian *mathnawí* verse by Ṣadru'd-Dín 'Abdu'l-Laṭíf of Khujand (ff. 55*b*–56*b*), beginning:—

نقش بندی و دلکشائی تو ' روح محضی و جان فزائی تو '

Then a Persian *ghazal* of fourteen couplets (ff. 56*b*–57*a*) by Shamsu'd-Dín Baylaqání, beginning:—

باغرا مشاطگان چرخ زیور بسته اند '

شاخرا بر گوش و گردن لؤلؤی تر بسته اند '

Then (f. 57*a*) another *ghazal* by Kamálu'd-Dín Isma'íl, beginning:—

هرکه اندر موسم گل همچو من میخواره نیست '

آنچنان انگار کو خود در جهان یکباره نیست '

The charms of Spring having been exhausted, we come (f. 57*b*) to the praises of Autumn, especially its fruits, the apples of Ázáyish (آزایش), the peaches, and the grapes, on which last the following short *ghazal* is quoted:—

مثال رفرف خضرست فرش سندس برگ '

نمونهٔ ز جنی الجنّتین دان انگور '

سیاه چشم چو حوران قاصراتُ الطرف '

میان سبز تُنُقهای پرنیان انگور '

برای آنکه شود پای عقلرا زنجیر '

بداد جعد مسلسل بباغبان انگور '

میان جام غم الجام رنگ بستانرا '

بسی خمار شکسته بر ارغوان انگور '

مگر ملطفهٔ طبع خواجه میخواند '

که در ولایت روحست قهرمان انگور '

The Winter season next claims the author's attention (ff. 57*b*–58*a*), and a description of its home enjoyments and fireside delights leads him to insert a number of anecdotes illustrating the quick-wittedness and power of repartee of even the least intelligent of its inhabitants, "women, *mukhannathán*, and fools," to quote his unchivalrous classification. These anecdotes, especially those which concern the degraded class mentioned second, are, for the most part, the reverse of edifying; yet the scribe appears to have been so pleased with them that he has by mistake transcribed them twice over, so that f. 57*b*, l. 7 – f. 62*a*, l. 7 are repeated again on f. 62*a*, l. 7 – f. 66*a*, l. 17. Indeed, a passage beginning . . . این عریش دلپرور, and ending ' تا غایة زمستان . . ., occurs three times over (f. 57*b*, ll. 6–15; f. 62*a*, ll. 7–14; and f. 66*a*, l. 17 – f. 66*b*, l. 7), and the reader of the MS. must skip from f. 62*a*, l. 7, to f. 66*b*, l. 7.

Of the fourteen stories comprised in the remainder of this chapter, the first six have a *mukhannath* for their hero; the seventh and eighth are about women; the last six about half-witted fools or "naturals." Of the first group a celebrated *mukhannath* named Dukhandí (دخندی; once دختندی, once خندی) appears as the principal character in Nos. 1–4, and another named Ruzuh (رُزُه once, وزه once) -i-Jashmí (or Chashmí) in No. 5. Neither of the women are mentioned by name, but amongst the fools a certain Abu'l-Fawáris figures in three stories, and another named 'Abdu'lláh in one. All these stories are written in a thoroughly colloquial style, which is interesting as a proof that the spoken language has not changed more than the literary language during the last six hundred years—that is, hardly at all. Another point of interest which some of them present is the citation (with interpretation) of phrases in the dialect of Iṣfahán. There are the following:—

جرا نهونه پیاد (f. 58*b*, l. 3) : چرا نَهُونه مِیاد (f. 63*a*, l. 2) = بیش ازین مماناد '

دفیران برنگ اورنگ نبود (ff. 59 *a*, l. 17 ; 63 *b*, l. 13) = کاتبان را سیاهی بر جامه هنر باشد ' چنانکه عرب گوید — إنَّ المدادَ خلوقُ ثَوْبِ ٱلكاتبِ '

تو بیشی و آن نیاد (f. 60 *b*, l. 12) : تو بنشیْ و آن میاد (f. 65 *a*, l. 7) = تو بروی و او باز نیاید '

فَدِه خراب خراج نَهوْ (f. 65 *b*, l. 6 ; f. 61 *a*, l. 12) = و بَعْنی و الصّلوٰةَ اذا تدانَتْ ' فَلَيْسَ على خرابٍ مِنْ خراجٍ '

Of these stories I propose to give the texts of three and the substance (in translation) of five, omitting the remaining six as objectionable, or pointless, or both.

No. 3. *Dukhandi and the Jester of Kirmán.*

(Ff. 59*a*, ll. 6–15 ; 63*b*, ll. 3–11.)

حدیث و سخن این مُخنّث در آفاق فاش و مشهور شد ' بعضی مسخرگان کرمان از نشاط مفاکهه و مجاورهٔ او عزیمت زیارت مصمّم کردند ' چون باصفهان رسید از بزرگی از جملهٔ معارف اصفهان احضارِ اورا استدعا نمودند جهت سوالی که اورا در خجلت و انفعال اندازد ' آن بزرگ باحضار او پروانه داد ' بوقتِ ملاقات کرمانی میگوید ای یار وقتی که یک گز کرباس کهنه بدو درم فروشند کفن دیُوثی‌را بها چند باشد ' دخندی بر فور گفت ای مسکین ترا تحمّل چندین گرما و سرما و سخت و سست و گرسنگی و برهنگی و مشقّت راه دور و دراز می بایست کشیدن برای حلّ چنین مشکلی و حال آنکه در خانه کسی داری که بهتر از من

میداند ' از مادر قحبهٔ خود پرسیدی تا کفن پدر دیّوثت بچند خرید ' کرمانی خجل و منفعل و شرمسار روی براه مراجعت نهاد و بازگشت '

No. 5. *The Mukhannath who wanted a fine shroud.*
(Ff. 59*b*, ll. 1–7 ; 63*b*, l. 14 – 64*a*, l. 3.)

و مخنّثی دیگر بوده است نام او رُزّه [رَزّه ، وَزه ?] جشمی بوقت رنجوری مفارقت و هنگام مرض موت وصیّت کرد که باید که کفن از آن جامهای فاخر گرانمایه سازند مثل جامهای مقراضی رومی و بهائی بغدادی و عمّامهٔ قصب بزر و دیبقی مصری ' اورا گفتند خاموش کفن از جامهای پنبهٔ سفید . . یا بُردِ یمنی پسندیده باشد ' گفت معاذ اللّه مدّة شصت سال با مخلوق مجالست کنم در حریر و دیبا و قصب و شرب و اکنون که بحضرت پروردگار خالق میروم در جامهای بی قدر و قیمت روم '

No. 9. *Abú 'Alí b. Rustam and the fool of Báṭarqán.*
(Ff. 60*a*, ll. 9–17 ; 64*b*, ll. 5–11.)

و از جملهٔ نوادر مجانین و سخن دیوانگان آنکه دیوانهٔ بود از دیه باطرقان بغایة خوش سخن عجیب تقریر و اورا بخدمت ابو علیّ بن رستم تردّد و آمد شدی بودی و بوقت رفتن در خدمت اورا هیچ حجابی نبودی و هرگز در بروی او نبستندی و عادت او آن بود که اوّل در مطبخ رفتی و طعام سیر تناول کردی و بعد از آن بخدمت رفتی و سخنان گفتی ' روزی بعادت در مطبخ رفت '

طعامی ناخوش بُن دیگی پیش او نهادند وگفتند این بخور که از دیگ خاصّست ' او طعام تناول کرد ' در مذاقش خوش نیامد ' چون بمجلس در آمد ابو علی پرسید ای فلان طعام خوردی ' گفت خوردم فأمّا اگر آشِ خاصّ اینست که من خوردم بعد ازین از گوی خوردن تجاوز منمای '

No. 10. *Abu'l-Fatḥ 'Amíd and the madman.*
(Ff. 60*a*, l. 17 – 60*b*, l. 8; 64*b*, l. 12 – 65*a*, l. 2.)

One day when Abu'l-Fatḥ 'Amíd was out riding, a certain crazy fellow met him, caught hold of the tail of his horse with both hands so as to prevent him from moving, and cried: "O Master! The marriage which thou hast concluded between thy sister and So-and-so is not valid, and she is as unlawful to him as his own mother, for, since thy father is still living, thou hast no authority in the matter!" The unfortunate nobleman, unable to escape, and thus put to the blush before the onlookers, tried every kind of argument and persuasion to induce the other to let him go, but at last, being reduced to desperation, struck him over the head with his whip and wounded his scalp. The madman thereupon took to his heels, with the blood streaming from his face down to his feet, crying out the while, "I wished to discuss a point of law with the 'Amíd, and he broke my head!"

No. 11. *Abu'l-Fawáris and Sulṭán Mas'úd of Ghazna.*
(Ff. 60*b*, ll. 8–13; 65*a*, ll. 2–8.)

There was in Iṣfahán a certain Abu'l-Fawáris, who, though crazy, used at times to say very smart things. When Sulṭán Mas'úd b. Maḥmúd b. Sabuktagín (A.D. 1030–1040) drove 'Alá'u'd-Dawla out of Iṣfahán, he desired to see Abu'l-Fawáris, of whose quaint sayings he had heard, and

caused him to be brought before him. "O Abu'l-Fawáris," he demanded, "do you like me best, or the son of Kákúya?" (written كاكويه in both places, but the correction is obvious), meaning 'Alá'u'd-Dawla (Abú Ja'far Muḥammad b. Dushmanzár b. Kákwayh, A.D. 1007–1041). Abu'l-Fawáris replied in the Iṣfahán dialect, "*Tú bi-shi, va án mayád!*" i.e. "May'st thou depart, and may he not return!"

No. 12. *Abu'l-Fawáris and 'Alá'u'd-Dawla.*

(Ff. 60*b*, ll. 13–17; 65*a*, ll. 8–12.)

When 'Alá'u'd-Dawla was engaged in building the city-walls of Iṣfahán, he imposed heavy taxes on the inhabitants to defray the cost of its construction, so that they were greatly distressed. One day Abu'l-Fawáris meeting him, said, "Are you wanting to make a garden?" "How so?" replied the other. "Because," said Abu'l-Fawáris, "you are laying waste the city and building a wall round about it."

No. 13. *Abu'l-Fawáris has no liking for the Mosque.*

(Ff. 60*b*, l. 17 – 61*a*, l. 13; 65*a*, l. 12 – 65*b*, l. 5.)

When, as already mentioned, Sulṭán Mas'úd took Iṣfahán from 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, the inhabitants suffered much at the hands of his soldiers. Many of them took refuge in the Mosque, but even there they were pursued by the victorious troops, who beheaded some, cut others in pieces, and wounded many more, amongst them Abu'l-Fawáris. Some days later, when peace was again restored, he was sitting near the same mosque while the people were going to prayers. Some of them invited him to accompany them. He answered, "I went there only once in my life, and then I was nearly torn in pieces. What inducement should I have to go there again?"

No. 14. *Another unwilling worshipper.*

A certain crazy fellow called 'Abdu'lláh was once reproached for not saying his prayers. He replied in the Iṣfahání dialect, "*Fa-dih-i-kharáb kharáj na-hú!*" ("No land-tax is imposed on a ruined village!")

ودعنى و الصّلوٰةَ اذا تدانت ‘ فَلَيْسَ على خرابٍ من خراج ‘

The only person mentioned in the remaining stories is Abu'l-Wafá Mahdí, called "Baghdádí," who is referred to as not knowing the language of the country, and was therefore presumably an Arab.

Chapter VIII. Describing Muṣallá and Kúhcha and some of the remarkable men of Iṣfahán.

The chapter opens with the following Arabic poem by the translator (ff. 61*a*, l. 17–61*b*, l. 5; 65*b*, ll. 11–16):—

الا يا طيب انفاس الشّمال ‘ تقبّلْ حاجتى و آسمعْ كلامى ‘
اذا أُوتِيتَ قبل الصُّبح هبًّا ‘ تنفَّحْ بالعبير الى مقامى ‘
باصفاهان ارضى و المُصلّى ‘ و جيّ و الجبيلة بالتّمام ‘
و وادى زندرود و حافَتَيْها ‘ منازل عيشنا عند المنام ‘
بشهرستان و الطّهران طابت ‘ لذاذةُ إعتناقٍ و آنضمامِ ‘
أُعِدْ ذِكْرا و كَرِّرْها كلامًا ‘ سلامًا سالمًا من مُستهامِ ‘
و قُلْ مِنّى لها قولًا لِمولىً ‘ مليكٌ من بنى حامٍ و سامِ ‘
لنا من شوق كوهجه و المصلّى ‘ غرامٌ فى غرامٍ فى غرامِ ‘

Here follows a page (ff. 61*b*, 66*a*) of ornate description of Muṣallá, Márbín, Jayy, Zinda-rúd, the Gáv-Khwání marsh

and other places near Iṣfahán; then an Arabic poem (f. 66*b*) by Abú Sa'íd Muḥammad ar-Rásimí, beginning:—

لله عيشٌ بالمدينة فاتَنى ‘ ايّامَ لى قصر المغيرة الفُ ‘

Then another Arabic poem by Abú Ghálib Háshim b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad ar-Rustamí (ff. 66*b*–67*a*), beginning:—

اذا أَحْيىَ البلاد لنا حَباها ‘ و اروى من غَزَالِيهِ صداها ‘
سقى ارض المدينة مآءُ وردٍ ‘ ذكىَّ العَرْفِ لا يسقى سواها ‘

This is followed by an interesting Persian *qaṣída* by Sharafu'd-Dín Shufurvah, describing the past splendour and actual devastation of Iṣfahán (ff. 67*a*, l. 10 – 67*b*, l. 11):—

دیدی تو اصفهان‌را آن شهر خلد پیکر ‘
آن سدرهٔ مقدّس آن عدن حور پرور ‘
آن بارگاه ملّت و آن تختگاه دولت ‘
آن روی هفت عالم و آن چشم هفت کشور ‘
شهری چو خلد اکبر هم میوهاش خوشبوی ‘
هم فرشهاش مشکین هم تربتش مزعفر ‘
هم تختگاه دارا هم توده گاه کسری ‘
هم کرسئ سلیمان هم خانهٔ سکندر ‘
هر کوچهٔ جو ناری محکم بمهر عصمت ‘
چون دانه دانه خانه با یکدگر مجاور ‘
از غایت سخاوت زردار او تهی دست ‘
وز مایهٔ قناعت درویش او توانگر ‘
اکنون به بین درآن خُلد طوبی بیخ کنده ‘
وُلدان موی پریده حوران کشته شوهر ‘

شهری چو چشم خوبان آراسته بمردم ،
چون شد کنون ز مردم خالی چو چشم عبهر ،
همچون صباح کاذب خیطی ولی مبتّر ،
همچون سراب شوره خطّی ولی مزوّر ،
آن جنّت ارم بین چون دو دهنک نمرود ،
و آن کعبهٔ کرم بین چون بادیه مشمّر ،
لطف خدای دیدی اکنون سیاستش بین ،
انواع لطف دیدی آثار قهر بنگر ،
شایستی ار زمانه بدریدی از گریبان ،
تا دامن گریبان صد ره ورا مشمّر ،
مشک از عنا بچین در شد پیر همچو کافور ،
لؤلؤ ز غصّهٔ در شد تیره همچو عنبر ،
محل ار بداند اینها ممکن که گردد او سهم ،
شهدش چو شحم حنظل مومش چو سنگ مرمر ،
عیسی پرست را گو میخوان زبور و انجیل ،
کاینجا رها نکردند نه مصحف و نه دفتر ،
آتش پرست را گو بر خور ز نار و زُنّار ،
کاینجا نماند اینجا نه مسجد و نه منبر ،
بنگر بدین عجایب طوفان و نیست جودی ،
دجّال و نیست مهدی غرقاب و نیست معبر ،
الحق ستوه گشتم زین شهر بی سر و بُن ،
وین مردم پریشان چون عضوهای بی سر ،

یا رب مرا برون بر زینجا که حیف باشد ‘
یوسف بمهبط چه عیسی بمربط خر ‘

The translator here alludes again (f. 67 *b*) to the *Kitáb-i-Iṣfahán* of Ḥamza, and another work by ‘Alí b. Ḥamza b. ‘Ammár (f. 68 *a*) entitled *Qalá'idu'sh-Sharaf*, the prolixity of which he excuses himself for not imitating. He will not, he says, repeat the notices of the great men of earlier times which may be found in these books, but will give brief accounts of the celebrities whom Iṣfahán has produced in his own day, beginning with the Sayyids, or descendants of ‘Alí and the Prophet's daughter Fáṭima, concerning whom (f. 68 *b*) Sa‘íd-i-Hiraví says:—

سادات نور دیدهٔ اعیانِ عالم اند ‘ از حرمتِ محمّد وز عزّتِ علی ‘
فردا طعامِ معدهٔ دوزخ بود کسی ‘ کامروز از محبّتشان نیست ممتلی ‘

Here follows (f. 69 *b*) a eulogy on the Amír ‘Alá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad b. al-Murtaḍá Fakhru'd-Dín Muḥammad b. al-Hádí al-Ḥusayní al-‘Alawí, concluding with the following Persian poem:—

ای ترا از نعمت (*lacuna*) نصیب ‘
اصفهان از لطف و خُلقت رشکِ جنّت شد بطیب ‘
روضهٔ امید از آب جوی تو چون جیّ نضیر ‘
عرصهٔ آز از صلاتت چون مصلّی شد رحیب ‘
زندرود از بحرِ احسانت خورد آبِ معین ‘
ماربین از خوان انعامت برد دخلی خصیب ‘
شاد زی کز غیب حالی شاملِ حالِ تو شد ‘
آیهٔ نصرٌ من اللّٰه رایت فتح قریب ‘

مرتضیٰ اعظم اورا میتوان گفتن که او ‘
چون علاء الدین هادی با نسب باشد حسیب ‘
ای جهانِ مکرمت و ای آسمان اقتدار ‘
بشنو این فضل عجیب بر خوان تو این فصل غریب ‘
درحسب یا مصطفی انت الکریم بن الکریم ‘
درنسب یا مرتضی انت النّقیب بن النّقیب ‘

Here follows a long list of eminent Iṣfahánís arranged in the following classes: (1) Persons of a period already ancient when al-Máfarrúkhí wrote his *Maḥásin*; (2) contemporaries of al-Máfarrúkhí; (3) Arabic scholars, grammarians, philologists, and poets; (4) Persian poets; (5) ancient philosophers; (6) philosophers of al-Máfarrúkhí's time; (7) some distinguished persons who visited Iṣfahán. I see no use in giving a mere arid list of names, devoid of dates and biographical particulars, and shall therefore only mention the number of names in each class and a few of those which are best known.

1. *Famous men anterior to al-Máfarrúkhí's time*, about 82 names, including Shaykh 'Abdu'lláh b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far Ḥayyán, Aḥmad Ṣaffár, Abú Sa'd Naqqásh ("the Painter"), Abú Sahl Ṣa'lúk, the Qádí Abú Naṣr Síbawayhi, Abu'l-Qásim Faḍl b. Sahl, Abú Manṣúr Mu'ammar, Abu'l-Mughíth 'Abdu'l-Malik Mudḥaffar 'Aṭṭásh. This list includes two ladies, 'Áyisha-i-Gurgániyya-i-Warkániyya and Karíma the daughter of Abú Sa'íd Mumaḥḥih (مُمحّة).

2. *Contemporaries of al-Máfarrúkhí*, about 34 names, including the Shaykh-i-Ra'ís Abú 'Abdi'lláh Qásim Faḍl, Abú Ṭáhir Farqadí, several persons bearing the title of *Kiyá*, viz. the Kiyá Abú Fayd (ابو فید), Kiyá of Gílán (کیاء گیلی), the Kiyá Abú Isḥáq Ibráhím, Abú Naṣr the son of Síbawayhi (see last paragraph); the Sharíf 'Abbád-i-Ja'farí.

3. *Arabic scholars, philologists, etc.* (f. 71 *a*), about 83 names, including Shaykh 'Alí Marzúní, Abú Sa'd Rustamí, Abú Muslim Ṭáhir Muḥammad 'Abdu'lláh Ḥamza, Abú Muḥammad Farqadí *Qiwámu'l-Mulk*, Abu'l-Qásim Rághib, Abú Muṭahhar Mujallidí, Muḥammad Abú Sa'íd *Wazír*, Abú Naṣr Mufaḍḍal Aḥmad Uḥmúla (أحمولة), Abú 'Alí *Sibṭu'l-Wuzará*, Abú Bakr Kawkabí, Abu'l-Faḍl Kawkabí, Abú Sa'd Kharzád, Abu'l-Faḍl Zayd Bíwardí, Abu'l-Qásim 'Alí Muḥammad Badí', Abú Naṣr Ḥámid, Abú Sa'd Bakhtagíní, Fatḥ-i-Karají (? Gurjí), Abú Muḍar Bá[1] 'Adnán, Abu'l-Fawáris Ḥamd Warkání (f. 71 *b*), 'Alí Bindár (? Bundár) *Mu'addib*, Ustád Awḥad, Abú Muḥammad *Ḥakím*, Abú Muslim Mihr-i-Ízad.

4. *Persian poets* (f. 71 *b*), about 73, including Abu'l-Muḍhaffar Ḥusayn-ábádí, 'Alí Bazzáz, Abú Ṭáhir of Qum, Abú Ṭálib Qásim Muḥammad Rustamí, Abu'l-Faḍl Isma'íl Muḥammad Jarbádhaqání,[2] Abu'l-'Abbás Aḥmad 'Abdu'lláh Bindárí, Bakhtiyár-i-Banímán, Abú Muḥammad Abu'l-Ma'álí Farqadí, Abú Naṣr Jarbádhaqání,[2] called *Dawáti*, Hashfurúz Khurra-i-Banímán, Abú Naṣr Zámil, Muḥammad Aḥmad *Adíb*, called *Ṣaffár*, Muḥammad Dawá'í, Abu'l-Mirjá the grandson (سبط) of 'Abdús, Naṣr-i-Ṭarází, Siráj-i-Azharí, Abu'l-Ḥasan Mahdí, called *Humám*, Abu'l-Faḍl Dur Fírúz-i-Fakhrí.

5. *Older philosophers, physicians, etc.* (f. 72 *a*), about 21 names, including Abú 'Alí Miskawayh, Yúsuf the Jew, Abu'l-Ḥasan the Ṣúfí, Ya'qúb the Jew, Muḥammad Aḥmad the astronomer, Bahmanyár-i-Marzubán, Abú Sahl *Kaḥḥál* ("the Oculist"), Thábit Faraj, Sahl the Jew.

6. *Later philosophers and physicians, contemporary with al-Máfarrúkhí*, about 9 names, including Shaykh Abú Naṣr Maḥmúd Qásim Faḍl, Surushyár-i-Banímán, Abú 'Alí Dízúya, called *Qazwíní*, Ḥakím Abu'l-Faraj Yuḥanná, Abú Ṭáhir Thábit.

[1] *Bá* stands for *Abá*, the accusative of *Abú*, and is commonly used in the formation of Persian *kunyas*, e.g. in Bá Yazíd (= Abá Yazíd, for Abú Yazíd).

[2] *Jarbádhaqán* is the Arabicised form of Gulpáyagán.

7. *Distinguished men who have visited Iṣfahán,* about 9 names, including the Imám al-Ḥasan, son of 'Alí, 'Abdu'lláh b. Zubayr, when on his way to Jurján, 'Abdu'lláh b. Ámir b. Karír, grandson (سبط) of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, al-Aṣma'í, Muḥammad b. Hishám, Dhu'r-Rumma, Quṭrub an-Numayrí.

In these lists there occur a great number of names remarkable as to their forms. Of the most interesting of these I subjoin three lists, the first of *names,* the second of *nisbas,* the third of names ending in *-awayh* or *-úya* (ويه). To this last class Professor Noeldeke has called special attention in his *Persische Studien,* i, pp. 4 *et seqq.* This termination was probably pronounced originally as *-ô'ê,* of which *-awayh* was the nearest Arabic equivalent: when vocalized in this MS. the و is generally surmounted by *ḍamma* and the ى by *fatḥa* (وُيَه). In each class I have arranged the names alphabetically. The form is sometimes, and the vocalization nearly always, uncertain. Vowel-points are added only when found in the MS.

1. *Names not ending in* ويه.

احمدله (cf. محمدله) ' أحموله (cf. p. 39 *supra*) ' بنيمان ' حكْلَه ' حمد زايدَه ' خره ' خرزاد ' دنكروده ' ريده ' ريله ' زِرَه (cf. p. 49 *supra*) رزه ' وزه ' زرنِراد ' سُرُشيار ' شهدل ' شهمردان ' فورك ' ماشاده ' مَنده ' مطيار ' محمدله (cf. احمدله) ' مهرِيزد ' وَارَه ' وِرزَرده ' هشفروز '

2. *Nisbas ending in* ى.

ابوى ' أسْوارى ' أشنانى ' اندآانى ' باطرقانى (cf. p. 49 *supra*) ' بختگينى ' بندارى ' تيجابادى (بنحابادى ' بتجابادى ?) ' جرباذقانى ' جلودى ' جوزدانى ' خانسارى ' خوزانى ' داركى '

رارانی ، شُرَفی ، شهلکی ، طهرانی[1] ، کاری ، کروآنی ، مافرّوخی ، مرزوقی ، مهروقانی ، وثّانی ، وَرْدی ،

3. *Names ending in* ويه.

بشرويه (place) ، بهلويه (first letter not pointed) ، ديزوُيه ، زكويه ، زَنجوُيه ، سهلوُيه ، سمويه ، شكرويه ، فورُويه ، قولويه ، مَردوُيه ، مسكويه ، منجويه ، مندويه ،

Next follow (f. 72*b*) some more poems in praise of Iṣfahán. Of these, the first is by Abú 'Abdi'lláh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad an-Naṭanzí, entitled *Dhu'l-Lisánayn*, "Master of the two languages" (i.e. Arabic and Persian). It is written in the spirited *mutaqárib* metre, and the following verses from it will serve as a sample:—

حوَتْ اصفهانُ خصالاً عُجابا ، بها كلّ ما تشتهيه آستجابا ،
هوآءً منيرًا و ماءً نميرًا ، و خيرًا كثيرًا و دورًا رحابا ،
و تربًا زكيًّا و نبتًا رويًّا ، و روضًا طريًّا يناغى السّحابا ،
و فاكهةً لا ترى مثلها ، نسيمًا و لونًا و طعمًا عُجابا ....
و زاد محاسنها زندرود ، مياهًا كطعم الحيات عذابا ....
و فيها فصول الزمان آعتدلْنَ ، فلا فصل الّا و ما فيه طابا ،
فلا البردُ يُردى و لا الحرّ يوذى ، و لا الرّيح يُقذى و تذرى ترابا ،
ترى آبْنَ ثلثٍ بها يستفيد ، حديث الرّسولِ و يتلو الكتابا ،
و من فوقه حافظًا كاتبًا ، اديبًا نجيبًا يبارى السّحابا ،

[1] This *nisba* refers, as clearly appears from Yáqút (*Mu'jam*, iii, 564–5; *Mushtarik*, 298), to a place near Iṣfahán, not to be confounded with Tihrán, the present capital, which was in early Muḥammadan times a hamlet of *little* importance, and of which the spelling was only changed from the older تهران (*Yáqút*, etc.) to طهران by a "popular etymology," which desired to connect it with the Arabic root طهر, "to be pure."

و قومًا سراةً رحاب البنان ' عرابَ اللسان و ما هم عِرَابا ' . . .
و لستَ ترى مثلها فى البلاد ' و لا منهم فى البرايا صحابا [1]

The next poem (f. 73 *a*) is by Abú Ṭáhir al-Baṭṭáni, and begins :—

قالت و لا مستنكَرٌ من قدرة الرب القدير '
ان يُبْدِعَ الفردوسَ ليس عليه ذلك بالعَسير '

The next is by Abu'l-Faḍl Isma'íl b. Muḥammad al-Jarbádhaqáni, and begins :—

يا اصفهانُ سقيت الحمر صافيةً ' اذ قُلت قلّت لها سقيًا غواديها '

The next is by Abu'l-'Alá Bakhtiyár b. Banímán b. Kharzad al-Iṣfahání, and begins :—

سُقِيت يا اصفهانُ من كوره ' مَدْحَةُ صُقْعٍ سواك منكوُرَه '

The next (73 *b*) is by Abú Muḥammad Isma'íl b. Abí Ṭáhir b. 'Abdu'r-Raḥím, and begins :—

تكلّفنى وصف اصفهان و انّها ' لَأَطْيَبُ أَرْضِ اللّهِ جاد غمامها '

The next is by Abu'l-Ḥasan-al-Jawhari al-Wá'idh, and begins :—

سقى اللّه اصفهانَ دار احبتى ' ففيها شموس طالعاتٌ و اقمُرُ '
و وَرْدٌ و نسرينٌ و آسٌ و نرجسٌ ' و روض اقاحٍ كالنّجوم منوّرُ '

The next (f. 74 *a*) is by Abú Ghálib Hibatu'lláh b. Muḥammad Hárún, and begins :—

يا اصفهان لقد فُقْتِ البلاد بما ' حَوَيْتِهِ من معانٍ حار محصيها '

[1] The following readings of the MS. have been emended: l. 1, كلّ من يشتهيه; l. 7, يقدى; l. 8, رسولٍ.

These Arabic poems are followed (ff. 74 *b*, l. 1 – 75 *b*, l. 13) by four Persian *qaṣídas* composed by the translator in praise of Iṣfahán and his patron the *Wazír* Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Amír Muḥammad. The first begins:—

ای سواد مبارک معظّم ، وی مقام خجستهٔ خرّم ،
ای ز شرم جمال تو شده کم ، در زوایای زینت تو ارم ،

The second begins:—

خه که رضوان در فردوس کشاد ، اصفهانیست چو مینو خوش و شاد ،

The third begins:—

ای چو سپهر هشتمین جای گرفته در زمی ،
غُرّهٔ عین عالمی غُرّهٔ دهر ادهمی ،

The last (f. 75 *a*) begins:—

ای دولتت را خجسته معهد ، وی صرح اورا منفس ممرّد ،

Here ends (f. 75 *b*) the translation of the *Maḥásin-i-Iṣfahán* of al-Máfarrúkhí.

Appendix (ff. 75 *b* – 82 *b*).

In this appendix the translator sums up and emphasizes the purport of his book, which is to show that Iṣfahán is alike the most charming and the most healthy of cities. In proof of the latter assertion he cites Avicenna (Abú 'Alí b. Síná) and Abú 'Alí Miskawayh (of whom the latter used to reside chiefly in Iṣfahán, which he preferred to all other places), the great minister and historian Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh al-Hamadání, Taqi'u'd-Dín Ja'far al-Iṣfahání, Shaykh Nidhámu'd-Dín Isḥáq Maqúya (مقویه), Ustád Muḥammad 'Umar Bábá, Khwája Jalál, Sulṭán Jalálu'd-Dín Malikṣháh the Seljúq, his celebrated minister the Nidhámu'l-Mulk, and the astronomer Ibráhím Muḥammad. He again praises the abundance and excellence of its fruits, and

especially the apples of Ázáyish, concerning which he relates the following anecdote:—A certain physician came to Iṣfahán to practise, and rejoiced to see the heaps of fruit exposed for sale in the markets, thinking that here existed an abundant source of sickness. But later, on becoming acquainted with the properties of these apples, he was filled with despair for his livelihood; "for," said he, "whatever ailments may be produced by the other fruits are corrected by these." It also appears that the college founded by the Nidhámu'l-Mulk was still flourishing in the translator's time, for he speaks of it (f. 80*a*, l. 5) as:—

مدرسهٔ که اکنون معمور و قائم است

Ibráhím Muḥammad *Nujúmí* ("the astronomer") relates that some Iṣfahánís once sought an audience of *Dhu'r-Riyásatayn* (Faḍl b. Sahl, the *Wazír* of the Caliph al-Ma'mún) to present some petition. He demanded of what city they were, and, on being informed, remarked, "Then they are of that people amongst whom there always exist in secret thirty *abdál* (a class of the saints known as 'Men of the Unseen,' *Rijálu'l-ghayb*) whose prayers are answered." He then explained to those present that this favour had been granted to the city by God in response to Abraham's prayer:—

اللّهمّ اجعل ابدًا باصفهان ثلثين رجلاً يُستجابُ دعاؤهم

This prayer was uttered by Abraham in gratitude for the refusal of the Iṣfahánís to lend their support to Nimrod's impious wishes on the occasion alluded to at pp. 38–39 *supra*. Reference is also made to this tradition in the following Arabic verses, composed on the occasion of the assassination of Mardáwíj (A.D. 935) by a Turkish slave in one of the baths of Iṣfahán, where he was cordially hated because of the onerous taxes which he had imposed.

عَلَتْ اصفهانُ الارضَ فضلاً مبينًا ‘ على كلّ صُقْعٍ و الطوائفُ تَشْهَدُ

و من فضلها انّ الخليلَ دعا لها ‘ عليه السلام مـا دعـا متجهّدُ

فصرّنا بها فی ظلّ عزّ و مَعْقِلٍ ‘ حصينٍ اميرِ ٱلرُّكْنِ ليس يُهَدهَدُ ‘
فمن يَبْغِهَا غيّا غوائل يَشْتَكِسْ ‘ و اَوْرَطَهُ ٱلامْرُ الّذی كان يقصدُ ‘
و لمّا يَئِسْنا من وُلاةِ امورِنا ‘ و لا يأس من رَوْحِ الّذی نحن نعبدُ[1] ‘
تجرّد فی الحمّام يطلب راحةً ‘ و غِلْمَتُهُ فی قتله قد تجرّدوا ‘
فعالجه التركیُّ لمّه درّه ‘ بمِشْقصِه و الغربُ منه مجدّدُ[2] ‘

The translator next invokes God's blessing on his work in the following verses (f. 82*a*) :—

بزرگوار خدايا بحقّ ايـن مردان ‘
كه عارفان جميل اند و عاشقان جمال ‘
مبارزان طريقت كه نفس بشكستند ‘
بزور بازوی تقوی و للحروب رجال ‘
يُسبّحون له بالعشيّ و الابكار ‘
يُقدّسون له بالغدو و الآصال ‘
بستر سينهٔ ايـن دوستان على التفضيل ‘
كه دستگيری و رحمت كنی على الاجمال ‘
باشد كه در آن ميان يكی من باشم ‘

He concludes with a final eulogy of his patron, the *Wazir* Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad, whom he calls :—

وزير جهان و مخدوم جهانيان آصف جهانبان حضرت آرای سلطنت جنكز (*sic*) خانيان چشم و چراغ آل رشيد وزير حليم

[1] Cf. Qur'án, xii, 87.

[2] The reading مجدّد ("sharpened") suggests itself as an obvious emendation. The following readings of the MS. have been emended: l. 1, الطواف; l. 4, فمن يَبْغِهَا, and تنكس.

رشيد امير غياث الخافقين و ملاذ المشرقين محمّد ابّد اللّه قواعد
دولته و ايّد سواعد معدلته ‘
ما ان مدحتُ محمّدًا بمقالتى ‘ لكن مدحتُ مقالتى بمحمّد ‘

It only remains for me to express my deep obligation to my friend and colleague Professor A. A. Bevan for the invaluable help which he has given me in understanding and restoring the numerous Arabic verses scattered through this article. Without the assistance of his rare scholarship, given in the most ungrudging and generous manner, these pages would have been marred by many more errors than they now contain.

POSTSCRIPT.

The above article was already in type when, during the Easter Vacation of this year, I was able to devote a fortnight to the examination of the incomparable collection of Oriental manuscripts formed by the late M. Ch. Schefer, and now belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Amongst those which I had marked for examination in the Catalogue of this collection, published last year by M. Blochet, was one (*Supplément persan*, 1573) described on p. 137 as follows: "Histoire d'Isfahán, par un auteur qui ne se nomme point; une assez grande partie de cet ouvrage se compose d'extraits de poésies." This proved, to my great satisfaction, to be another manuscript of the work here described, which, though much more modern (it was made in Rabí' I, A.H. 1315 = August, 1897), supplies a good many corrections and emendations, and several pages (ff. 79 *a* – 87 *a*) of additional matter which are wanting in our MS. I regret that I was unaware of its existence when I wrote this article, but I am glad that I discovered it in time to include in a postscript some account of the additional matter which it contains, the corrections which it supplies, and the more important variants which it offers.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SCHEFER MS. (SUPPL. PERS., 1573).

The MS. comprises ff. 135 of 21·0 × 13·8 c. and 12 ll., and is written in a good, clear *naskh* with rubrications. It was, as we learn from the following colophon, transcribed from a manuscript contained in the library of the *Ẓillu's-Sulṭán* (the present Sháh's elder brother) in Iṣfahán, in response

to M. Schefer's request for an ancient and trustworthy history of that town, transmitted through Mírzá Ḥusayn Khán *Ḥakím-báshí*:—

چون جناب فخامت نصاب ریاست مآب موسیو شِفِر مدیر مدرسهٔ السنهٔ شرقیّهٔ پاریس و از اجزاء انجمن علوم فرانسه دام مجده کتابی که تاریخ اصفهان و قدیم باشد از جناب جلالتمآب آقا میرزا حسین خان دُکتُر حکیمباشی خواسته بودند لهذا جناب معظّم الیه پس از تفتیش زیاد نسخهٔ بهمان کیفیت در کتابخانهٔ مبارکهٔ حضرت مستطاب اشرف امجد اقدس والا ظلّ السّلطان دامت شوکته بدست آورده استنساخش‌را باین دولتخواه رجوع فرمودند ' این داعی امتثالاً لامره العالی در نهایت دقّت در انجام آن خدمت ساعی گشته این نسخه‌را بدون تحریف و تصحیفی از روی همان کتاب بعینه نقل و استکتاب نمود ' امید که مطبوع خاطر آنجناب گردد ' وکان ذلک فی شهر ربیع الاوّل سنه ۱۳۱۵ '

The Schefer MS. begins differently from ours, has a much shorter preface, and entirely lacks the autobiography of the author. After the title, *Ta'rikh-i-Isfahán*, and the *Bismi'lláh*, immediately follow five couplets from the *qaṣída* in یافته, of which the *maṭla'* is cited on p. 414 *supra*, the first of these five being:—

شکر این غمخوارگی بهر دعای دولتت '
نسخهٔ دارد زهی از طرز حسّان یافته '

These five *bayts* are succeeded by the following short preface in prose:—

مأمول و متوقّع از حاضران حضرت علیا بندگان مخدوم جهانیان
مخادیم بندهٔ کمینهٔ بندگان آنکه بعد از اعتنا و اشفاق نمودن (f. 2*a*)

در بارهٔ ایـن بیچاره بعین رضـا و اغضا در اصلاح کوشند و بحکم اذا مرّوا باللّغو ذیل عفو برهفو پوشند ' ایزد تعالی قلم و دم همکنان از خطا و فصول در حریم صواب و قبول مصون و محفوظ داراد بحبیبه نبیّ الرّحمة و شفیع الامامة (الأمّة ? : *sic*) و آله الطّاهرین و اصحابه الطیّبین ' ذکر اوّل در وصف اصفهان '

Here, at the beginning of the first chapter, the two texts join. The further differences which they present may be classified as (1) differences of arrangement, (2) complementary passages, (3) various readings.

1. *Differences of arrangement.*

That certain dislocations, already existing in the original from which it was copied, disfigured our MS., was evident to me from the first, and these I endeavoured to correct as far as possible before I was aware of the existence of the Schefer Codex, the examination of which supplies the following further corrections. From pp. 4–14 (=ff. 5*a*–16*b* of our Codex = ff. 2*a*–24*a* of the Schefer Codex) the two texts run parallel, but here a dislocation occurs in our MS. The passage beginning in l. 15 of p. 424 *supra* with the words "Here follow two Arabic *qaṣídas* . . . . ." and ending with the heading "Chapter IV" on p. 425, l. 23, should immediately follow the three Arabic couplets cited on p. 432. It is an interpolation where it stands, l. 24 of p. 425 being the immediate continuation of l. 15 of p. 424. Hence the words "Qiwámu'l-Islám" in the former should be directly followed by the words "One day a number of nobles" in the latter, and the heading "Chapter IV" should stand before the words "The area of this district" on p. 432, while Chapter III really begins after l. 5 of p. 427, and is entitled in the Schefer Codex (f. 27*a*) :—

ذکر سیّم ' در حدیث گاوخونی و خصایص و نوادر نواحیٔ اصفهان '

This is the only important dislocation in our MS. which I failed to correct before seeing the Schefer MS.

2. *Complementary passages.*

As already noticed, the Preface of our MS. is almost wholly wanting in the Schefer MS., which latter is in some other places less full than our Codex. On the other hand, our Codex presents a serious lacuna, equivalent to 9 ff. of the Schefer Codex (ff. 79*a*–87*a*), after l. 9 of p. 665 *supra*. Of the additional matter here supplied by the Paris MS. the following is a brief abstract :—

(F. 79*a*) An Arabic poem of six couplets on the death of this "Chief of the Daylamites," beginning :—

جآء اللعين اللشكرى بعُصبَةٍ

It is related of Khálid b. Sumayr that he described how a certain king approached Iṣfahán with intent to vex and harass its inhabitants. An old woman asked them (f. 79*b*) what they would give her if she succeeded in averting this calamity. Being promised any reward she might desire, she succeeded in seeing the invading monarch, and, by reflections on the common humanity of all mankind, and a recapitulation of the disasters which overtook Nimrod in consequence of his attempt to destroy Iṣfahán, in inducing him to abandon his intention and withdraw peaceably. It is further related (f. 80*a*) that the first Khárijite who appeared in these mountains was Abu Dulaf's brother Ḥizbán (?) b. ʻĪsá (حزبان بن عيسى), a man of great valour and strength, only 20 years of age when he first went out in revolt and took to the mountains. For three years he stopped all caravans bringing merchandise to Iṣfahán, and the Iṣfahánís, being rendered desperate, had recourse to prayer for deliverance from this evil. Hárúnu'r-Rashíd eventually resolved to get rid of this pest, and consulted

with one of his handmaidens as to the best method of accomplishing this. He finally summoned Yaḥyá b. Khálid, the Barmecide, and told him that unless he could produce the brigand's head within a certain time, his own would be forfeited. Yaḥyá thereupon despatched 4,000 horsemen, under the command of al-Aqṭa', to effect the robber's capture, in which attempt they were successful.

Another proof adduced by the author of the excellence of the Iṣfahánís is that they have been generally preferred as retainers and servants by the rulers of Persia, especially by the Sásánian kings, who placed after them in the following order the inhabitants of Máhín, Ray, Sístán, Baghdad, and Ádharbayján. Of 373 personal attendants of Khusraw Parwíz, 230 were Iṣfahánís, and to them exclusively was entrusted the care of the *Dirafsh-i-Kávayán*, the old Royal Standard which was originally the leather apron of the blacksmith Káva (here called Kábí, كابى), who was from the village of كودليه. Kisrá Anúshírwán desired that its custody should always be in the hands of the family of Gúdarz. Khusraw Parwíz, when he turned back from fighting Bahrám Chúbín, wished to take the standard from the Iṣfahánís and give it to the Ádharbayjánís, whereupon a fight ensued between the two parties, in which the former were victorious.

An Iṣfahání named Khwárazm one day came before Dahák-Bíwarasp and criticized frankly and severely some measure which he proposed to take. The tyrant, though filled with fury, suffered him to depart unscathed; and, being questioned by his mother as to the reason of his forbearance, replied: "His true words intervened between me and this command."

An army of 30,000 men was once preparing to attack and destroy Iṣfahán (f. 82*b*). Shahrúya—

(شهرويه پسر بوريده حسره معروف بناجد مرزبان از فرزندان وبحن بن ويو بن گودرز)

with 400 *ghuláms* went out against them and slew them all

save one, whom he sent back to bear tidings of the disaster to his people, after he had cut off his ears and nose.

Ardashír Bábakán used to say that no king could obtain a decisive victory over another until he had first secured the help of the Iṣfahánís, to whom also Khusraw Parwíz used to ascribe his successes. Núshírwán likewise preferred them, especially the people of Ferídún (اهل فریدن), to all his other troops.

Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf had a Persian bodyguard commanded by Shabána (شبانه, lower Shayána, شیانه), the son of Fírshán of Iṣfahán, from the district of Jayy, from the village of Bazán (بزان), who, in the special station which they occupied outside his audience-hall, were wont to boast of the great qualities and deeds of their countrymen. This continual vaunting of the virtues of Iṣfahán vexed Bahrám-gushnas (the name is actually written بهرامحیشنس, but the correction is obvious) of Ray, who was associated with them (f. 83*a*), until at last, vexed by some reflection on his native town, he burst out into vituperation against them. But Shabána rebuked him, saying, "Silence! for Núshírwán used to say:—

"السّکوتُ افضل مروّة الرّجال ما لم یکن من الغیّ"

Bahrám-gushnas replied:—

از همهٔ اصفهان مرد فیرشان بیرون آمد که نسبت تو با او میرود

Shabána (here شیانه) answered:—"Fírshán (f. 83*b*), though he be my father, yet cannot attain to one-thousandth part of the honour and virtue of the least of the Iṣfahánís, nor have we ever heard of any one of the kings of olden time who was able to dispense with them, or who preferred anyone to them; while we have never heard of any special virtue or excellence in the people of Ray. The honour of one district, nay, of one village of Iṣfahán surpasses that of all Ray and its people." Thereupon he enumerated (f. 84*a*) many doughty deeds wrought by the men of Iṣfahán.

Abú Ḥátim said to the people of Baṣra when an Iṣfahání presented to him an Arabic *qaṣída* beginning :—

ما بال عينك ثرّة الاجفان ، عبّرى اللّحاظ سقيمة الانسان ،

"O people of Baṣra, by Alláh! the Iṣfahánís have surpassed you in scholarship." An Arab, just returned from Iṣfahán, was questioned by a friend as to his journey and adventures. The Arab replied:—'I praised the Amír of this district (*kúra*) in one couplet, and he gave me 10,000 *dirhams* and answered my verse with another infinitely finer. My verse was this:—

اذا كان الكريم له حجابٌ ، فما فضل الكريم على اللّئيم ،

His reply was as follows:—

اذا كان الجوادُ قليلَ مالٍ ، ولم يعذر تعلّل بالحجاب ، "

Here follows (f. 84*a*) an anecdote concerning a headman (یکی از رؤسا و کدخدایان منعم) of Iṣfahán named Khárija, who, because all his wealth, property, farms, and furniture had been unjustly and violently taken from him, used to pursue and waylay Ruknu'd-Dawla in the hopes of inducing him to restore at least some portion of his possessions. Ruknu'd-Dawla, having striven to propitiate him by various gifts and charities, lost his patience and exclaimed, "O old man, what hath set thee after us in this fashion? I will not give thee one single *dirham*. Of what avail are thy vain expectations and importunities?" To which Khárija replied in the dialect of Iṣfahán:—

من خواهم آمدن یا خَرْ مُرُو یا خَرْ خذاوند ،

Ruknu'd-Dawla did not understand this saying, but remembered it, and, on his return from his ride, questioned his friends as to its meaning. On being informed of its purport, he was overcome with anger, and resolved to avenge himself. Khárija (f. 85*b*), being warned, sought to flee. Some time later Ruknu'd-Dawla, accompanied by

his three sons, was riding through Iṣfahán when he met Khárija, who presented a petition. Ruknu'd-Dawla began to curse and revile him, and ordered his retainers to drive him away, but Khárija said, again in the Iṣfahán dialect:—

الیسهَ تاک کوا تجارنه مردی بیر یعنی ای احمق تـا چند ژاژ خائی نه آخر مرد پیری ؛

Thereupon Ruknu'd-Dawla swallowed down his anger and ordered him to be recompensed.

Here follows (ff. 85*b*–87*a*) the story of which in our manuscript the beginning is wanting (see p. 665, l. 10, *supra*), though it is here told of Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla, not of Ruknu'd-Dawla. This prince was wont to walk nightly on the roof of his palace and listen to the noises of the town, and when he heard sounds of merriment and revelry (f. 86*a*) he used to rejoice that his people were happy, and go back to his palace to feast and drink; but when he heard no such joyous sounds, he would retire sorrowful and depressed, and in the morning would send to ascertain the meaning of this change. One day, in the noontide heat, he was thus walking on the roof of his palace when he heard some of his secretaries and servants discussing the requests which they would prefer if their master were to promise to grant them any boon which they might crave. One said he would demand an increase of salary; another, an increased allowance of rich meat and choice wine from the royal kitchen and cellar; a third, admission to the King's private table and a share of all his pleasures, and to drink with him as his boon companion, and then to be sent home on one of his horses. A fourth, unlucky wretch, forgetting the proverb "Calamity attends on speech" (انّ البلآء موكّل بالمنطق), said that he would desire the King to inflict on him a hundred stripes, and to expel him from the city. . . . [Here the lacuna ends, and the Schefer Codex, f. 87*a*, joins ours, f. 48*a*.]

3. *Minor variants.*

(The numbers to which 'p' is prefixed refer to the preceding pages of this article; those to which 'f' is prefixed, to the folios of the Schefer Codex.)

P. 415, l. 13, بدرون for در درون; ll. 18-19, poem not specified, author only cited; l. 20, چه for چو; last line, "*Jarbádhaqání*" is added after Khwánsár.

P. 416, l. 1, "*Faná-Khusraw*" is added before *'Aḍud*; l. 15, صَوَّتَتْ, as in our MS., for صوته; l. 16, قُلِيحُ for تليح; the reading جنباتها is confirmed; l. 17, المضطاف; l. 18, the reading ظلالها is confirmed; l. 23, the title of Kháqání's poem is again omitted; l. 25, سلسل و سبيل; l. 27, "*al-Mushaṭṭib al-Hamadání*"; end of last line, "*and the Ṣáḥib ibn 'Abbád*" is added.

P. 417, l. 1, "*Chapter II. In praise of Iṣfahán*"; l. 15, the title of Ḥamza's work is given as كتاب اصفهان; l. 16, read: "*by an architect named Jayy the son of Záda*"; l. 24, هرستان for مرستان; last line, "*Tírí*" for *Tír*.

P. 418, l. 10, delete "*or Isfish*"; ll. 18-19 — از درهای . . . دیدیم که نوشته اشتا دویر وکل . . . ; l. 32, "*Qúzáz*" (قوزاز) for *Qúz* (قوز).

P. 420, l. 13, for *al-Buḥturí*, "*Bakhtarí*" (بخترى).

P. 421, l. 6, after *Aḥmad* is added, "*b. 'Alí b. Abí Ṭálib al-Ḥusayní al-'Alawí al-Madaní*"; ll. 14-18, these descriptions seem to be replaced by a description of Márbín; l. 19, مهرات for مهرارت; ll. 25, 26 end احبالها, اثوالها; l. 29, "*Bágh-i-Kárán*" is added after *Bágh-i-Bakr*.

P. 422, l. 1, "*Dímírtiyán*" (ديميرتيان); l. 3, "*'Abdúya*," "*'Abdawayhi*" (عبدويه); l. 5, صخر; l. 7, "*Hárún*" for *Hiraví*.

P. 423, l. 4, end, پاسبان; l. 5, مرد هلست; l. 11, آواز; l. 19, عطر for عقل; l. 20, اين سخن را پيش; l. 21, چه for چو.

P. 424, l. 1, end, كاندروست; l. 2, صبارا طعنه زد; l. 8, end, آذربايگان, after which the following additional couplet:—

از پسی ذوق و تفرّج گر بلنبان در شوی ‘
مسجدی بینی مروّح بر سر آب روان ‘

l. 15, as already noted, the passage beginning "Here follow" and ending on the next page with the title "Chapter IV" is misplaced here, and should stand between ll. 15 and 16 on p. 432; l. 24, حنئت and رأيت. Of this poem four more couplets are given in the Schefer Codex, and it is followed by another *qaṣída* by the Ṣáḥib Isma'íl b. 'Abbád containing six couplets, of which the first is:—

اذا البرق من نحو اصفهان سرى لنا ‘ تداخلنا بعد الحنين زفيرُ ‘

P. 425, l. 6, سُقِيتُ, and كُتُب for كشب; l. 7, فانّت; l. 8, أنسيّت بزك (*sic*); l. 9, تمكّنت; l. 12, ذكرّت, and الغنا for الشوآء; l. 14, "six" for "seven"; l. 17, read "one of the three Abu'l-Qásims"; l. 20, insert "b." before Ja'far; l. 24 is a direct continuation of l. 15 of the last page.

P. 426, l. 23, خويش for خوش; l. 28, "eight" for "seven."

P. 427, l. 2, here should stand the title of Chapter III, as follows:—

ذكر سيّم ‘ در حديث گاوخونی و خصايص و نوادر نواحئ اصفهان ‘

l. 17, بن واوا.

P. 428, l. 5, "*Qás*" (قاس); ll. 9-10, "*Qálahar*" (قالهر); ll. 11 and 22, "*Abrúr*" (or "*Abarwar*," ابرور); l. 23, "*Isfandáb*" (اسفنداب); l. 26, "*Pín*" (پين).

P. 429, l. 3, نيحابادی, "*of Níḥábád*"; l. 14, "*Ḥakáda*" (حكادة) and "*Wujúrjird*" (وجورجرد); l. 20, "*Tímírit*" or

"*Tímírt*" (تیمیریت صغری و تیمیرت کبری); l. 24, the locality of this village of Amátha is more fully described as follows:—

و برستاق دار بطسوج جانان در کوهستان ده اماثه . . .

l. 27, کرمکی; l. 28, روشن for افروخته, and افروخته میگردد for تابد; l. 29, ماند for مانندهاست, پارسي; l. 30, براهٔ می گویند.

P. 430, l. 9, "*Hámakábád*" (هامکاباد); l. 10, insert "*two*" before "lizards"; ll. 24-26, "*sak-* (or *sag-*) *bínj*" (سکبینج), and "*Khashashát*" (خششات); l. 31—

هر سالها کیسهائی مدوّر پر بکیک بار برگیرد ،

l. 32, "*Murghár*" (مرغار).

P. 431, l. 5, "*Kúh-i-Zanázat*" (کوه زنازت); l. 7, "*Sín*" (not "*Shísh*"); l. 27, "*Narsábád*" (نرساباد).

P. 432, l. 4, om. [اعظم] and ملوك الوزرا for الملوك; l. 14, جَنّاتُ for حبّاتُ; l. 15, جَيِّهَا for جثّها; after this line follow eleven more couplets in a different rhyme, beginning:—

من عودها القمار قماری عودها ، من شط زنده رود دراری خصلها ،

and then a poem of fourteen couplets by al-Máfarrúkhí, the author of the *Maḥásin*, beginning:—

لاصفهان معالٍ لم يخصّ بها ، ما بين شرقٍ و غربٍ فی الدنيا بلدُ ،

The title "Chapter IV" should stand after this line.

P. 433, l. 8, "*Hámán*" for "*Máhán*"; l. 23, "*of Ghámín*" for "*of Ná'ín*" (الغامینی); ll. 26-27, the same hiatus exists, only the word فلان standing after مبلغ; last line, "*Sunbulán*" (سنبلان).

P. 434, l. 1, "*Kharchán*" (خرچان); l. 7, وعلقمة for علی قبّة.

P. 435, l. 4, om. [این]; ll. 16-17, read:—

. . کرای ایداجی نبیره و سبط دو ملك افروز ارغون آقاسی و نوروز . .

l. 18, the word "*Sa'íd*" is inserted before "of Herát," so that the whole reads :—

. . شاعر فاخر فاضل سعید هروی . .

and should be translated, "the eminent and accomplished poet Sa'íd-i-Hiraví"—a poet frequently cited (*e.g.* p. 422) in this work; ll. 22 and 23 afford confirmation of this; ll. 24-27 omitted.

P. 436, ll. 1-19, omitted.

P. 437, l. 11, "43" for "37"; the first *bayt* of this poem stands thus :—

بنآءٔ تقاضَتْهُ سعود الطوالع ' و معْنیً تحامَتْهُ صروف الوقایع '

ll. 16-17, "two Adína-mosques, one the old mosque . . . ."

P. 438, l. 9, "The other mosque"; l. 10, جورجیر (not جورچر); l. 20, این زمان is added after غایة.

P. 439, l. 4, زاد از for ز آواز; l. 21, بت نرسه بن ویو; l. 26, "*Lanján*" (لنجان); ll. 27-28 :—

. . و دختر برز یخیرا زاده چیهٔ براآن در حبالهٔ او بود

P. 440, l. 2, "*Lanján*" (لنجان) again for النجان; l. 15, "*Wahámán*" (وهامان); l. 31, adds "*and Abu't-Ṭifl*" after "*'Abbás.*"

P. 441, l. 6, ادرکت; l. 11, the emendation نومةٍ is confirmed; l. 12, مَشْیَعَةٍ; l. 16, متیماً for متی ما; l. 18, ظالماً for طالما; l. 23, جماعت عباد اللّه.

P. 442, l. 7, it is not clear to whom the pronoun refers; l. 8, إلّا for امّا in first *miṣrá'*; l. 13, the Schefer Codex substitutes the following couplet :—

انا بن الاولی ساروا بکلّ کتیبةٍ ' و ساموا العدی خَسْفَ الحیوة و سادُوا '

l. 14, ذالوا . . . و ذَلّوُا; l. 15, the emendation صعر is confirmed; l. 16, دَعَوْا; l. 17 ends فیه یُرآدُ; last line, for "Arabic" (عربی) I am not sure that "Ghuzzí" (غُزّی) is not meant.

P. 443, l. 9, ? سروی, "*Sarví*," for مروی, "of Merv"; l. 31, "*Fán-i-Lúfa*" (بغانِ لوفه); l. 33, "1000" (هزار); l. 34, "*of Túr*" (توری و بمی).

P. 444, l. 5, معروف بکوپنید; l. 19, "*Yalah*" (یله).

P. 445, l. 27, "a credible man" (معتمدی).

P. 662, l. 22, "*Wahzád*"; l. 23, "*al-Anbárí*" (الانباری); l. 29, الجوذ . . و الجلوذ.

P. 663, l. 2, مسائلتک; l. 3, سَئَلْتَ; l. 4, تُشِيرُ for تُشِيدُ; l. 5, مَضِّ; the emendation فَأَيْمُ is confirmed.

P. 664, l. 5, خدای for یزدان; last line, حستویه; last line of footnote, بانوشیری.

P. 665, l. 8, "*Kayghlagh*" (گیغْلَغ); l. 9, here follows the additional matter comprised in ff. 79*a* (l. 2)–87*a* of the Schefer Codex, of which the substance has been already given; ll. 34-38, omitted.

P. 666, ll. 1-14, omitted; l. 24, "*Ḥusayn b. Lúráb*"; l. 31, "*Maslama*" (مسلمه) for "*Salama*."

P. 668, l. 9, "*Wádshír*" (وادشیر).

P. 669, l. 2, فضل for فصل; l. 4, الآثار; l. 10, سبا for صبا; l. 15, او هر for امور; l. 16, [و] omitted twice; last line, سحاب for صبا.

P. 670, l. 2, om. [ذوق]; l. 3, om. [بالعربیّه]; l. 5, معشوق; l. 11, مانست for نابست; l. 15, چشم است for جسمت.

P. 671, after l. 3, the initial verse is given as follows:—

ای که از لطف روح را مانی ' از تو در شک آزر و مانی '[1]

[1] The MS. reading is — ارز و امانی, but the emendation seems obvious, the meaning being, "Thou art such an 'idol' (بت) and such a 'picture' that thou fillest with despair and bewilderment both Azar and Máni." According to the Muḥammadan belief, Azar, the father of Abraham, was a maker of idols, while Máni (Manes) appealed to his skill in painting as his peculiar miracle.

P. 672, ll. 21, 22, the Schefer Codex has دختدی throughout, except on f. 103 *b*, l. 10, where it has دختد ; l. 34, چرا نُهُونَه ميياد.

P. 673, l. 4, تُو بِشِي و ان ميياد ; l. 6, ندة for ندة, *male*; l. 13, om. [و] ; l. 15, نمودند for کردند, رسيدند for رسيد, آنجا for اصفهان ; l. 18, after ميگويد, و البادی اظلم ; l. 19, فورًا for بر فور.

P. 674, l. 2, خجل added after و خاکسار ; l. 6, نام اُو اُازه ; l. 7, مفارغت, om. [که], من added after کفن ; l. 8, چشمی ; l. 10, om. [آن] ; l. 12, جامهای سفيد پنبه ; ديباچ ; last two lines, the words [و طعام . . . رفتی] are omitted by homoioteleuton.

P. 675, l. 3, طعام خوردی ای فلانی ; l. 5, کون for گوی.

P. 676, l. 3, کالوُيه, as here.

P. 677, l. 15, السّلام for الشمال, کلام for کَلامی.

P. 678, l. 2, "*ar-Rustamí*" for "*ar-Rásimí*," followed by "*al-Madíní*" (sic) ; l. 6, اَحْيَا for اَحْيَی, حياها for حباها, غَزَالِيهِ for عَزَالَيْهِ ; l. 15, باقی for خوشبوی ; l. 19, چو for جو ; ll. 21-24 are omitted, and replaced by the two following couplets :—

ممکن که در حوالی بازارهـا نبودی ‘
گنجای هيچ سوزن از رشتهای بـی مـر ‘
معطي آن چو دريا دارندهٔ غـريبان ‘
رادان آن صـدف وش از دل يتيم پرور ‘

P. 679, l. 2, خون شد کنون بمردم ; of the couplets on this page, the second, third, fifth, sixth, seventh, ninth, tenth, and eleventh are omitted.

P. 680, l. 12, "*the poet*" for "*Sa'íd-i-Hiraví*" ; l. 16, ". . *al-Murtadá and the noble Naqíb*," *etc.*; l. 17, "*Ḥaydar*" stands before "*al-Hádí*" ; l. 19, the lacuna is filled by the words—تأييد وافرتر ; ll. 21-22 omitted.

P. 681, ll. 3-4, omitted; l. 18, the title stands:—
متقدّمات عصر و متأخّران بسر موجب فهرست که مذکور است
در محاسن

l. 20, "*Jabbán*" for "*Ḥayyán*," followed by "*Abú Sahl 'Umar*," and "*Sa'íd*" for "*Sa'd*"; l. 23, "*Ghayth*" for "*Mughíth*"; l. 25, ابو سعد ممجه; l. 29, الکیا ابو فیلکیا گیلی.

P. 682, l. 2, "*Marzúqí*" for "*Marzúní*," "*Sa'íd*" for "*Sa'd*"; l. 10, "*Bá 'Adnán b. Abu'l-*," *etc.*; l. 14, after "*including*," تیمیارتی ابو نصر کده; l. 15, after "*Bazzáz*," و من العصریین ("*and of contemporaries*"); l. 16, "*Ghálib*" for "*Ṭálib*"; l. 19, "*Ma'ání*," "*Jarfádaqání*"; l. 20, "*Zamíl*"; l. 22, "*Máfarrúkhí*" after "*Azharí*"; l. 23, دُر فیروز for دفیروز; l. 27, "*Abu'l-Ḥusayn.*"

P. 683, l. 4, کویز for کریر; l. 22, چُکُلَه for حکله, وتکروده for دنکروده; l. 28, نیجابادی (cf. p. 683 *supra*); last line, جوزدایی.

P. 684, l. 1, اللنبانی after کروآنی; l. 9, "*an-Naḏhírí*" for "*an-Naṭanzí*"; l. 17, زَنْرُود; l. 19, یودی for یوذی, and یغزدی (*sic*) for یقذی; l. 20, end, کتابا; the emendation الرّسولِ is confirmed.

P. 685, l. 2, مشلهم for منهم; l. 3, "*al-Bisṭámí*" for "*al-Baṭṭání*"; l. 5, لا for لا; l. 10, "*Yatímán*" for "*Banímán*"; l. 12, کورۂ; l. 14, "*of Herát*" added after "'*Abdu'r-Raḥím*"; l. 20, "*Hubatu'lláh*," and "*b.*" after "*Muḥammad.*"

P. 686, l. 5, خجسته و خترم; l. 10, چه for چو; l. 13, دولت را and منقّش; l. 25, there is here a lacuna of one page in the Schefer Codex.

P. 687, ll. 1-11, omitted.

P. 688, l. 1, فضربانه; l. 5, فعاجله; l. 11, للخروب. At this point, save for the colophon (cited at p. 691 *supra*), the Schefer Codex ends.

ART. XXVI. — *Emotional Religion in Islām as affected by Music and Singing.* Being a Translation of a Book of the *Iḥyā 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* of al-Ghazzālī with Analysis, Annotation, and Appendices. By DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford, Conn.

(*Continued from p.* 252, *April Number*, 1901.)

II.

The Second Chapter, treating of the Effects of Music and Singing, and the Laws of Polite Conduct connected therewith.

Know that the first step in Hearing is understanding what is heard, and applying it to an idea which occurs to the hearer. Then this understanding has as fruit ecstasy, and ecstasy moving of the members. Let there be a consideration, then, of these three stages.

THE FIRST STAGE, TREATING OF UNDERSTANDING.

It varies as the conditions of the hearer vary. The first of these is that his hearing consists in receiving the simple physical impression, that is, he has no satisfaction in what he hears apart from the pleasure taken in the melodies and tones. This is allowable, and is the lowest of the orders of hearing, since camels are partakers with him in it. And so, too, are all beasts, for this taste requires for itself life only, and every animal has a kind of pleasure in agreeable sounds. The second condition is that he hears with understanding, but applies what he hears to the form of a creature, either to a special individual or not. This

is how youths and the lustful hear, and their application of the things heard is in proportion to their lusts and in accordance with their states. This condition is too low for us to speak of it, except to explain its lowness and that it is forbidden. The third condition is that he should apply what he hears to the states of his own soul in his Intercourse[1] with God Most High, and to the changing of his states, consisting of possibility one time and of impossibility another time. This is the Hearing of the Murīds, especially of such as are beginners, for the Murīd [i.e. the wisher, desirer] of necessity has a thing desired which is his object, and his object is the experiential knowledge of God (who is exalted above all imperfection), and meeting Him, and arriving at Him by the path of Witnessing that which is secret, and of uplifting the veil. In his object he has a Path which he pursues, and Intercourse in which he perseveres, and states which encounter him in his Intercourse. Then whenever he hears mention of chiding, or exhortation, or acceptance, or rejection, or union, or departure, or drawing near, or being distant, or bemoaning that which has escaped, or thirsting for that which is expected, or longing for that which arrives, or coveting, or despairing, or solitude, or seeking society, or accomplishing of a promise, or breaking of a covenant, or fear of separation, or rejoicing in close union, or mention of attention to the beloved and rejection of the watcher, or the pouring forth of tears, or the close following one another of sobs, or length of separation, or promise of close union, or anything besides of that of which poems contain the description, then, without fail, some of this must agree with the state of the Murīd in his seeking, and that will act the part of a tinder-box which will light the fuel of his heart. Then its flames blaze up in him, and longing is strongly excited, and there assault him, because of it, states to which he is not

[1] I so translate *mu'āmala*, 'transaction' or 'transacting.' The word in the plural is applied to one of the divisions of law (*ṣhar'*), and denotes then such duties as enter between men in the various sections of jurisprudence, e.g., sale, loan, partnership, claims of all kinds, etc. For the mystical sense, compare the title of al-Ghazzālī's collection of poems, *Asrār al-mu'āmalāt*.

accustomed, and he has broad scope in applying the expressions to his states. And it is not incumbent on the hearer that he should consider what the poet intended in his words. For every saying has different aspects, and every man of understanding (in getting its meaning from it[1]) has his own fortune.

Let us give some examples of this applying and understanding, in order that the foolish may not fancy that the listener to verses, in which there is mention of mouth and cheeks and temples, understands by them only their outward meaning. We have no need to tell how the meaning is gained from the verses; in the stories of the People of Hearing there is enough to reveal that. It is narrated that one of them heard someone saying—

> "The messenger said, 'To-morrow he will visit'; then said I, 'Doest thou know what thou hast said?'"

Then the melody and words excited him, and he constrained himself to an ecstasy, and began repeating it, putting 'we' in the place of 'he,' and saying, "The messenger said, 'To-morrow we shall visit,'" until he fainted from the force of the joy and pleasure and gladness. And when he recovered they asked him about his ecstasy, whence it was. Then he said, "I remembered the saying of the Apostle of God that the people of the Garden shall visit their Lord every Friday, once."

[1] This a *locus classicus* on the mystical use of poetry. It should be noticed how absolute is the position laid down; the interpretation may be purely subjective. We have not here the question of the second meaning or of allegory as it is understood in Western literature; there may be any number of interpretations, according to the number of the listeners, all alike undreamt of by the poet. We shall see hereafter how such treatment of the Qur'ān is disliked. It is the word of God, and may only be applied with the meaning which God gave it, and is thus sharply distinguished from human words. Poetry, then, is treated as music is with us; it is vague, indefinite, suggestive of emotions, not of things. This is easy in Arabic. As has been well said, "Place, time, and circumstance give the Arab song its meaning." In the same sense Hoffmann in *Der Majorat* (ed. Reclam, pp. 28 ff.) said, "Ein Geheimnissvoller Zauber liegt in den unbedeutenden Worten des Textes, der zur Hieroglyphe des Unaussprechlichen wird, von dem unsere Brust erfüllt." Compare, too, an interesting passage by the same writer in his *Lebens-Ansichten des Katers Murr*, ed. Reclam, ii, pp. 197 f.; and MacLaurel's remarks on poetry and music in Peacocke's *Headlong Hall*, chap. xiii.

And ar-Raqqī narrated from Ibn ad-Darrāj[1] that he said: "I and Ibn al-Fuwaṭī[2] were passing along the Tigris, between al-Baṣra and al-Ubulla, and lo, there was a beautiful house with a raised veranda, upon which was a man with a slave-girl before him, and she was singing—

'[Dedicate to God is a love which is given freely from me to thee.]
Every day thou changest; other conduct than this would be more comely in thee.
[Doest thou not see life waning and the messenger of death drawing near?]'[3]

And lo, under the veranda was a beautiful youth with a leather drinking-cup in his hand and a patched gown on, listening. And he said, 'O slave-girl, by Allah, and by the life of thy master, repeat that verse, "Every day thou changest"!' Then she repeated it, and the youth kept saying, 'This, by Allah, is my changing in my state with the Truth!' And he sobbed a sob and died. Then we said, 'A duty has encountered us.' So we stood, and the master of the house said to the slave-girl, 'Thou art free for the sake of the Face of God Most High.'[4] Then the people of al-Baṣra came out and prayed over the youth, and when they had finished burying him, the master of the house said, 'I call you to witness that everything which belongs to me is dedicate to God, and all my slave-girls are

[1] Abū-l-Ḥasan ad-Darrāj b. al-Ḥusayn ar-Rāzī, nazīl Baghdad. He is mentioned several times in the *Risāla* of al-Qushayrī.

[2] I cannot identify this Ibn al-Fuwaṭī. In Flügel's *Hanefiten*, p. 43, No. 170, there is an Ibn al-Fuwaṭī quoted through adh-Dhahabī. The name occurs in adh-Dhahabī's *Mushtabih*, pp. 410, 422, but with no reference that suits. Are we to read al-Qūṭī and refer to Sulaymān b. Ayyūb al-Qūṭī al-Qurṭubī, a mystic of eminence who died 377? Al-Fuwaṭī means a dealer in towels and napkins.

[3] Compare al-Qushayrī, p. 204. I have added from that source the parts of the song in square brackets. For an instance of death due to religious excitement on hearing a poem recited, see Ibn Khall., i, pp. 292 ff. This case fell in Ibn Khallikān's own experience, and the verses have on their face no religious meaning or intention. Ath-Tha'labī wrote a book on those who died with emotion when they heard the Qur'ān read; Leyden Cat., No. 1979, Ḥkh. No. 3932.

[4] That he may see the face of God in Paradise as a reward.

free, and this house is dedicate.' Then he cast off his clothes and girt himself with a tunic [*izār*] and put on another as a cloak [*ridā*][1] and went his way, and the people were gazing at him until he vanished in the distance from their eyes while they were weeping, and there was nothing heard of him again." And the purport is that this man considered himself drowning at the time through his state in relation to God Most High and through the knowledge that he was too weak to be constant in the beauty of fair Intercourse with God and through grief at the changing of his heart and its turning from the laws of the Truth. Then when there struck upon his ear what agreed with his state, he heard it as from God Most High as though He were addressing him and saying to him—

"Every day thou changest; other conduct than this would be more comely in thee."

And it behoves him whose Hearing is from God and concerning God and in Him that he should have grasped firmly the canon of the science treating of the knowledge of God Most High and of His attributes. If he has not, there is danger to him of Hearing with regard to God Most High what is impossible concerning Him and of being an unbeliever in Him. And in the Hearing of the Murīd, who is a beginner, there is danger, except when he applies what he hears to his own states only, in so far as what he hears cannot be connected with the description of God Most High. This very verse exemplifies such a possible error. If he had heard it as to himself, as though he were addressing with it his Lord, whose are Might and Majesty, then he would have ascribed the changing to God Most High and so would have been an unbeliever. This sometimes happens from pure and absolute ignorance unmixed with any appreciation of the truth, and sometimes it springs from an ignorance

[1] That is, he reduced his clothing to the simplest possible as a sign of entrance on the ascetic life. It may also mean that he went on pilgrimage, for the *Iḥrām* clothing consists, as here, of an *izār* and a *ridā*, and some pilgrims, out of devotion, assume it from their first setting out.

to which he is led by a kind of appreciation of the truth. That last is when he sees that the changing of the states of his heart and the changing of the states of the rest of the world are from God, and that is truth, for He at one time expands the heart of His creature and at another contracts it, at one time illumines it and at another darkens it, at one time hardens it and at another softens it, at one time establishes it in obedience to Himself and strengthens it therein and at another makes the Devil to rule over it and turn it from the laws of the Truth. This, all of it, is from God Most High.

And perhaps the poet meant here only to ascribe to his beloved the being changeable in accepting him and rejecting him, in making him draw near and making him retire—that such was his meaning. Then the Hearing of it in that way with regard to God Most High is pure unbelief. Yea, it is necessary that it should be known that He, who is exalted above imperfection and is Most High, produces change but is not changed Himself, makes others different but does not become different Himself, and therein is opposed to His creatures. This knowledge results to the Murīd by acceptance on faith and on the evidence of tradition, but results to the discerning 'Ārif[1] by certainty, revealed and verified. That is one of the greatest wonders of the attributes of God that He changes without being Himself changed; a thing that is only thinkable in the case of God Most High; all else that produces a change does not produce it in anything without that producing a change in itself.

And of those who fall into ecstasy there are some whom a state overcomes which is like that drunkenness which confounds the reason; then they give free course to their tongues, chiding with God Most High, and they blame His subduing of hearts and distribution of the Glorious States as faulty. For He it is who chooses the hearts of

[1] The Murīd is a beginner, one who has just set out on the Path of the mystical life; the 'Ārif, or 'knower,' is an advanced disciple who has attained immediate knowledge for himself.

the faithful believers and rejects the hearts of deniers and of the infatuate, and there is no one who hinders after He has given or gives after He has hindered, and He has not restrained His aid from unbelievers for any previous crime, nor has He assisted the Prophets with His aid and with the light of His guidance for any preceding favour, but He has said—*And verily, Our word came first to Our servants, those sent* [Qur., xxxvii, 171]. And He, whose are Might and Majesty, said—*But the saying from Me stands firm, Verily, I will fill hell with Jinn and mankind—all* [Qur., xxxii, 13]. And He Most High said—*Verily, those to whom there came first from Us happiness, they are removed far from that* [Qur., xxi, 101].

Then if the thought suggest itself to thee, Why does that vary which comes first [is predestined], while those on whom it falls are partakers in the noose of servitude? it is proclaimed unto thee from the Canopy of Majesty,[1] "Pass not the bound of fair behaviour! *for He is not asked concerning what He does, but they are asked*" [Qur., xxi, 23]. And, by my life, good government of the tongue and of the external behaviour belongs to that over which most persons have power, but as for the government of the secret thoughts to prevent them meditating over and finding strange this evident difference in bringing some near and rejecting others, and making some miserable and others happy, while the abiding of the happiness and misery is for ever and ever, for that none is strong enough save the learned who stand firm in knowledge. And, therefore, did al-Khaḍir, when he was asked in the dream concerning Hearing, say, "It is pure slipperiness, there stand not fast upon it save the feet of the learned." This is because it moves the secret parts and the hidden places of the heart, and disturbs it as that drunkenness which confounds the reason disturbs it, and almost looses the knot of fair

[1] *Surādiqāt al-jalāl*: *surādiq* is explained by the lexicons as anything surrounded by something by way of wall or as a tent set up; in this phrase it appears to be used of the inmost pavilion in which the very Majesty of God is veiled. See the *Durra*, pp. 2, 12, 54, 66 of the version.

behaviour from the secret thoughts, except in those whom God Most High protects by the light of His guidance and the benevolence of His protection. And, therefore, have some[1] said, "Would that we might escape on equal terms[2] from this Hearing!" And in this kind of Hearing there is a danger greater than the danger that moves lust, for the end of that is an act of disobedience, but the end of failure here is unbelief.

And know that the understanding of what is heard varies with the states of the listener. Ecstasy obtains control over two listeners to one verse, and one of them hits the mark and the other fails, or both of them hit the mark, and yet they have understood two different meanings, contradictory to one another. But these, viewed in relation to the different states of the hearers, are not discrepant with one another. It is related from 'Utba al-Ghulām[3] that he heard a man saying—

"How far from imperfection is the Mighty One of heaven!
Verily, the lover is in distress."

Then he said, "Thou hast said truth," and another man heard him and said, "Thou hast lied." Then said one of the possessors of perception, "They have both hit the mark together." And that was the truth. The acknowledging that the verse is true is the speech of a lover who cannot get what he desires, but is kept at a distance, and wearied by that and by being shunned. And the asserting that the verse is false is the speech of one who is rejoicing in love, taking pleasure in what he endures on account of the superabundance of his love, and not distressed by it. Or it is the speech of a lover who is not at the time debarred from

[1] The SM. ascribes the saying to Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ar-Rudhbārī; d. 322 or 323. Ibn Khall., i, p. 86, note 4; al-Qush., p. 33.

[2] *Ra'san bi-ra'sin.* The SM. explains *lā lanā walā 'alaynā.* It is a horse-racing phrase, equal to our neck and neck; see Ibn Khall., i, p. 48, note 5, and p. 59, note 1.

[3] 'Utba b. Abbān b. Taghlib al-Ghulām; so the SM. There are anecdotes of him in Dā'ūd al-Anṭākī's *Tazyīn al-aswāq*, e.g. pp. 45 and 48 of lithog. of 1279, and in the *Lawāyiḥ*, p. 37. According to the *Fihrist*, p. 185, he wrote a *Risāla fī-z-zuhd.*

his desire, and who does not fear the danger of eventually being debarred; that is because hope and fair thoughts rule his heart. So, through the varying of these states, the understanding of what is heard varies.

Further, there is a story about Abū-l-Qāsim b. Marwān.[1] He had accompanied Abū Sa'īd,[2] the cobbler, but had abandoned attendance on Hearing for many years. Then he attended a party, and in it was a man who said—

"One standing in the water and thirsty, but he is not given to drink."

Then the people arose and constrained themselves to ecstasy, and when they were quiet he asked them concerning what came to them of the meaning of the verse, and they pointed to the thirsting after the Glorious States and the being debarred from them in spite of the presence of their causes. But that did not satisfy him, so they said to him, "And what is thy opinion as to it?" Then he said, "My opinion is that he is in the midst of states and graced with Charismata,[3] and yet is not given a single grain of them." This points to the existence of a Truth behind the states and Charismata, to which the states are forerunners and of which the Charismata are amongst the beginnings; and that Truth itself is behind—no one attains to it. And between the meaning which they understood and that which he mentioned there is no difference except in the distance in rank of the thing after which thirst is felt. For he that is debarred first from the Glorious States, thirsts for them; then if he can obtain them, he thirsts for what is behind them. So between the two meanings there is no varying as to understanding, but the varying is between the two ranks.

[1] Abū-l-Qāsim was a comrade of Dhū-n-Nūn and Sarī; he died in 277.

[2] Abu Sa'īd Aḥmad b. 'Īsà al-Baghdādī al-Kharrāz was a companion of Dhū-n-Nūn, an-Nabbāzī, Abū 'Ubayd al-Baṣrī, Sarī, and Bishr; d. 277. Al-Qushayri, pp. 28 f. *Lawāqiḥ*, i, p. 73.

[3] *Karāmāt*; cf. note 2 on p. 95 of *Life*, and add to the references there Ibn Ḥazm in ZDMG., lii, p. 475.

And ash-Shiblī[1] would greatly constrain himself to ecstasy at this verse:—

"Your liking is shunning and your love is hate, and your union is separation and your peace is war."

The Hearing of this verse is possible in different ways, some true, some false. The most evident of them is to understand it of creation, that is, of the world as a whole—everything except God Most High. For the world is full of guile and deceit and slaughter towards those that are of it, hostile to them within, though showing without an appearance of love. For, as has been handed down in the tradition, "A house is never full of joy through it, but it is full of weeping." And as ath-Tha'ālibī[2] said describing the world—

"Cease from the World and seek her not in marriage; seek not in marriage a slayer of him whom she weds.
What is hoped for from her is not procured by what is feared in her, and what in her is disliked—even though thou hopest—is the greater part.
Verily, the describers have spoken of her and made long their speech, and with me is a description of her that, by my life! is sound.
A juice the later end of which is deadly; and a desired steed which is restive whenever thou wouldst have pleasure in him;
And a fair form, the beauty of which affects men, but it has vile secrets of evil."

And the second possible meaning is that the hearer should apply it to himself in regard to God Most High. For whenever he reflects, he sees that his knowledge is ignorance, since men cannot measure God according to His true

[1] Abū Bakr Dulaf b. Jahdar b. Yūnus ash-Shiblī; d. 334. Ibn Khall., i, pp. 511 ff.; al-Qush., p. 32.

[2] Abū Manṣūr ath-Tha'ālibī (d. 429), the author of the *Fiqh al-lugha* and the compiler of the *Yatīma*, published at Damascus in A.H. 1302. See, too, Dieterici, *Mutannabi und Seifuddaula*, Leipzig, 1847.

measure; and his obedience is hypocrisy, since he cannot fear God according to His true fear; and his love is sickly, since he will not lay aside one of his lusts through his love. And him to whom God has willed good He instructs in the faults of his soul, and then he sees the truth of this verse in himself, although he may hold a high rank among those that are heedless. And on account of that the Prophet said, "I cannot reckon up Thy benefits and praise Thee for them as Thou hast praised Thyself." And he said also, "Verily, I ask pardon of God in the day and the night seventy times." And his asking pardon was only on account of states, that is steps, long in respect to what is behind them, though they may be short in respect to what is before them.[1] For there is no approaching but beyond it there remains an approaching without end, since the path pursued of advance to God Most High is without end, and attaining to the farthest of the steps of approach is impossible.

And the third possible meaning is that the hearer should regard his first states and be well pleased with them; and then should regard those that follow and contemn them on account of his meeting in them veiled things of the Deceitful One.[2] Then he considers that to be from God Most High, and listens to the verse with regard to God Most High in complaint against Fate and Destiny,[3] which is unbelief according to the exposition which has preceded. And there is no verse but it is possible to apply it to different meanings, and that is in proportion to the abundance of the knowledge of the listener and the purity of his heart.

The fourth condition is the Hearing of him who has passed beyond states and stages. He is distant from knowing aught save God Most High to such a degree that he is distant even from knowledge of his own self and its

[1] Apparently he means that there is a great deal of effort but little progress forward.

[2] *Al-Gharūr*; may be either the World or the Devil. On the word in the broad sense see the *Kitāb dhamm al-gharūr*, the tenth of the third *Rubʿ* of the *Iḥyā*.

[3] *Qaḍā* and *qadar*; for an examination of these two terms see Abd ar-Razzāq in J.A., 2e sér., i, 160.

states and intercourse, and is like one stupefied, a diver in the very sea of Witnessing, whose state resembles the state of the women who cut their hands, witnessing the loveliness of Yūsuf, when their wonder went so far that their perceptions were stupefied and failed.[1] Of such as are in this condition the Ṣūfīs use the expression *faniya*, "he has passed away from himself and come to an end" [i.e. he is oblivious to himself], and whenever anyone passes away from himself, he must pass away from all besides himself; then it is as though he passed away from everything except the One—the witnessed one. He passes away also from the act of witnessing, for the heart, whenever it turns aside to view the act of witnessing and itself as a witnesser, is heedless of the thing witnessed. But for him who is infatuated in a thing which he sees there is no turning aside, in his state of seeking to plunge into it, to his act of seeing, nor to his own self through which is his seeing, nor to his heart in which is his pleasure. A drunken man tells no tale about his drunkenness, nor he who is taking pleasure about his taking of pleasure, but his tale is only about that in which he takes pleasure. And an example of this is in knowledge of a thing, for it changes to knowledge of the knowledge of that thing, and the knowledge of the thing, whenever there comes to the knower knowledge of his knowledge, is turned from the thing. And such a condition as this sometimes suddenly appears with regard to created things, and sometimes, also, with regard to the Creator. For the most part it is like swift lightning which stands not and lasts not; if it should last, human strength could not endure it. And often he who is thus affected is agitated under its burdens with an agitation which slays his soul, like what is narrated concerning Abū-l-Ḥusayn an-Nūrī[2] that he was present at an assembly and heard this verse:—

[1] See the story of Joseph in Sūra xii of the Qur'ān. This is the standard Muslim illustration of complete absorption.

[2] Abū-l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad an-Nūrī al-Baghdādī, a comrade of Sarī; d. 295 or 298. Al-Qush., p. 25; de Sacy in *Notices et Extraits*, xii, p. 427, note 9.

"I ceased not alighting, on account of thy love, at a place of alighting, in alighting at which hearts are bewildered."

Then he arose and constrained himself to an ecstasy, and ran wildly on, and happened upon a cane-brake which had been cut, but the stems in which remained like swords. Then he kept running in it and repeating the verse until the morning, and the blood flowed from his legs so that his feet and shanks swelled. And he lived after that a few days and died. May God have mercy upon him!

This is the step of those who are faithfully true in understanding and in ecstasy, and it is the highest of the steps; for Hearing through states is a descent from the steps of perfection. States are mingled with attributes of the flesh and Hearing is a kind of falling short; that only is perfection that the subject should pass away totally from himself and his states. I mean, that he should forget them and that there should not remain to him any paying of attention to them, like as the women paid no attention to their hands and to the knives.[1] So he hears God and with God and in God and from God. This is the rank of him who wades the deep sea of verities and has passed the shore-land of states and works, and has occupied himself with the purity of the Unity and is confirmed in absolute sincerity. Then there does not remain in him anything of it as a root, but his fleshliness totally dies down, and his paying attention to fleshly attributes passes away absolutely. And I do not mean by his 'passing away' the passing away of his body, but the passing away of his heart. And I do not mean by the 'heart' the flesh and blood, but a delicate secret thing which he has, a hidden relationship to the evident heart behind which is the secret thing of the spirit which exists by the command of God, whose are Might and Majesty. He knows it who knows it, and he is ignorant of it who is ignorant of it. And to that secret thing there

[1] In the story of Joseph.

is an existence, and the quality [*ṣūra*, i.e. form as opposed to substance] of that existence is what is present in it. Then whenever there is present in it something else than itself, it is as though only that thing which is present had existence. And a parallel to it is a polished mirror, since it has no colour in itself, but its colour is the colour of what is present in it. And so, too, is a glass, for it imitates the colour of its resting-place, and its colour is the colour of what is present in it. It has not in itself any quality, but its quality is to receive qualities, and its colour is a kind of being prepared to receive colours.

And there speaks clearly of this essence in the heart in relation to what is present in it, the saying of the poet[1]—

"Fine is the glass and fine the wine, so they mingle together
and the thing becomes hard.
It is as though there were wine and no glass, and as
though there were a glass and no wine."

This is one of the stages of the sciences of Revelation. From it begins the phantasy of him[2] who claimed being 'in-dwelt' [*ḥulūl*] and 'becoming one' [*ittiḥād*], and said, "I am the Truth," and around it buzzes the talk of the Christians in claim of a uniting of the divine and the human, or of one being clothed with the other, or taking up its abode in it, according as their expressions vary. This is a pure blunder, which resembles the blunder of him who assigns to a mirror the quality of redness whenever the colour of redness shows in it from what is opposite it.

But such cases as these do not pertain to the science of Intercourse, so let us return to the point; we have mentioned how the steps as to the understanding of things heard stand apart.

[1] The Ṣāḥib, Ibn 'Abbād; see Ibn Khall., i, 215.

[2] Al-Ḥallāj; killed 309. Ibn Khall., i, pp. 423 ff.; von Kremer, *Herrschende Ideen*, pp. 70 ff.; ZDMG., lii, pp. 468 ff.; Fihrist, pp. 190 ff.; al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 387; 'Arīb (ed. de Goeje), pp. 86 ff.; al-Bērūnī, *Athār*, p. 211; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, viii, pp. 57, 92.

The Second Stage.

After understanding and application comes ecstasy. And men have had a long discussion as to the reality of ecstasy; I mean the Ṣūfīs and those philosophers who have considered the relation of Hearing to the soul. As for the Ṣūfīs, Dhū-n-Nūn al-Miṣrī has said of ecstasy that it is a Visitant [*wārid*] of truth which comes disturbing hearts and driving them towards the Truth; then he who gives ear to it in truth, attains truth, and he who gives ear to it in fleshliness, becomes an unbeliever. So it is as though he used being aroused on the part of hearts and driven towards the Truth as an expression for ecstasy, and ecstasy [*wajd*] was that which he found [*yajiduhu*] at the arrival of the Visitant of Hearing, since he calls Hearing a Visitant of truth. And Abū-l-Ḥusayn ad-Darrāj said, talking of what he found in Hearing, "Ecstasy [*wajd*] is an expression for what is found [*yūjadu*] with Hearing." He said also, "Hearing whirls about with me in the exercise-grounds of beauty, and causes me to find the existence of the Truth beside the Veil, and gives me drink from the cup of purity, so that I attain by it to the alighting-places of good-will, and it brings me out to the gardens of delight and ease." And ash-Shiblī said, "That which is external in Hearing is a temptation, and that which is internal is a warning, and to him who knows the signification, listening to the sign is lawful. But he who does not, has summoned temptation and exposed himself to ruin." And someone said, "Hearing is the morning meal of souls for the people of knowledge; for it is a praise that is finer than all other works, and by subtleness of nature there is attainment to its subtleness, and by purity of the secret heart to its purity and its graciousness with those worthy of it." And 'Amr b. 'Uthmān al-Makkī[1] said, "No explanation covers the nature of ecstasy, for it is a secret of God with His faithful

[1] Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Amr b. 'Uthmān al-Makkī, a comrade of Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz; he died in Baghdad, 291. Al-Qush., p. 327.

believers." And someone said, "Ecstasy consists of Revelations proceeding from the Truth." And Abū Sa'īd b. al-'Arābī[1] said, "Ecstasy is lifting of the curtain, and witnessing of the Watcher,[2] and presence of understanding, and observation of the Unseen, and converse with the secret, and intercourse with that which is missing; it consists in thy passing away and coming to an end in respect of what thou art." He said also, "Ecstasy is the first of the stages of those whom God distinguishes and chooses out, and it is the inheritance that comes from belief in the unseen; then, when men taste it, and its light spreads abroad in their heart, there falls away from them all doubt and uncertainty." He said also, "That which curtains off from ecstasy is seeing the traces of the flesh and being entangled in affections and motives; for the flesh is curtained in by its motives. Then whenever the motives are broken away, and the memory is cleansed, and the heart is clean and fine and pure, and exhortation profits the subject, and he alights through secret intercourse in a near alighting-place, and he is addressed and hears with an attentive ear him who addresses him, and with a witnessing heart and a secret thought made evident, then he witnesses what was distant from him, and that is ecstasy [*wajd*], because he has found [*wajada*] what was lacking with him." He said also, "Ecstasy is what comes at a mention that arouses, or a fear that disquiets, or at a rebuke for a slip, or in a conversation concerning one of God's gracious boons, or at something which points to an advantage, or at a feeling of longing for the unseen, or at grief for that which has passed, or at regret for that which has gone, or at an effort towards a state, or at a summoner towards a positive duty, or at intercourse in the secret heart; it is when external and external are face to face, and

[1] Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Baṣrī ibn al-'Arābī; he settled at Mecca and died there in 341. He was a companion of al-Junayd, 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, and an-Nūrī. Al-Qush., p. 35.

[2] *Ar-Raqīb*, one of the names of God, because, as the *Lisān* says, nothing is hidden from Him. See Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1134*a*, and *Lisān*, i, p. 408. It is the forty-third in the numbering of the Most Beautiful Names as usually given.

internal and internal, and unseen and unseen, and secret thought and secret thought; it is the extracting of what is in thy favour through what is against thee out of that in which there was labouring before thee. Then that is written down to thee, after it was apart from thee; so there is established to thee a dignity without a dignity and a renown without a renown, since He is the one who dispenses favours first and to whom the whole command goes back." [1]

This is the external part of the science of ecstasy, and the sayings of the Ṣūfīs of this kind as to ecstasy are very numerous.

As for the Philosophers, one of them said: "There is in the heart a glorious excellency; the force of speech is not able to elicit it with words, but the soul can do it with melodies. Then, when it appears, the soul is rejoiced and moved towards it; so listen to the soul and have secret converse with it, and summon the secret converse of external things." And one of them said: "The consequences of hearing music and singing are that he who was weak in counsel is set to work, and he who was distant from meditation is driven forward, and he who was wearied on account of considerations and plans is sharpened, so that there comes back what was distant, and begins to work what was weak, and is clean what was discoloured, and he becomes lively in every plan and intention and hits the mark and does not go astray and arrives and does not linger." And another said, "Just as thought follows on the paths of science to the thing it deals with, so hearing music and singing follows on the paths of the heart to the spiritual world." And one of them said—he had been asked what was the cause of the spontaneous moving of the extremities of the body according to the measure of melodies and rhythms—"That is passionate love in the reason [*al-'ishq al-'aqlī*]; and he who loves passionately in the reason has no need that he should soothe or coax his beloved with

[1] I am by no means certain of my translation of the last few sentences.

speech, but he soothes and coaxes and has secret intercourse by smiling and glancing and delicate movement of eyelash and eyebrow and signs, and these all speak, only they are spiritual. But as for the passionate lover of the animal kind, he uses speech that he may express by it the fruit of the external part of his weak longing and counterfeit passion." And another said, "He who sorrows let him listen to melodies, for when sorrow enters the soul the light of the soul dies down, but whenever the soul rejoices its light flames up, and its joy appears, and yearning appears in proportion to the possible receiving of him who receives it, and that is in proportion to his purity and cleanness from guile and filthiness."

And the opinions that have been expressed concerning Hearing and ecstasy are very many, but there is no reason why we should adduce many of them; so let us try to understand the idea for which ecstasy is an expression. We say that it is an expression for a condition which Hearing produces as its result, and it is a truthful visitant, fresh, a consequence to Hearing, and the listener experiences it from his soul. This condition must fall in one of two divisions. It can either be referred to acts of revelation and Witnessing—these are on the side of knowledge and admonitions—or it may be referred to changings and states that are not from knowledge, but are such as longing and fear and grief and disquietude and joy and vexation and regret and expansion and contraction of the heart—these all are states which Hearing arouses or strengthens. Then if it is weak in so much that it does not produce an effect by way of external movement or repose or change of condition, so that the external form should be moved contrary to its custom, or goes or stays from looking or speaking or moving contrary to its custom, it is not called ecstasy. But if it shows itself externally it is called ecstasy either weak or strong, in proportion to how it shows itself and to the external change which it produces. And its producing movement is in proportion to the force with which it comes; and the guarding against external change

is in proportion to the force of him who is under the ecstasy and his power to control his limbs. So, sometimes, the ecstasy is strong with regard to external things, yet no external change is produced because of the force of him who is being affected. And sometimes external movement does not appear on account of the weakness of the visitant and its falling short of producing movement and loosing the knot of restraint.

And towards the first sense Abū Sa'īd b. al-'Arābī pointed when he said of ecstasy that it consisted in Witnessing of the Watcher, and in the presence of understanding, and in beholding of the Unseen. And it is natural that Hearing should be a cause of revealing that which before was unrevealed, for revealing takes place through certain causes, one of which is admonition, and Hearing is an admonisher. And another of the causes of revealing is changing of the states, and witnessing of them, and attaining to them, for attaining to them is a kind of knowledge that helps to explain things that were not known before. And another of them is purity of heart; and Hearing produces purity of heart, and the purity is a cause of revealing. And another of them is the arousing alacrity of heart through force of Hearing, and thus the heart is strengthened to witness that which its strength was not equal to before, just as a beast of burden is strengthened to carry what before that it could not. And the work of the heart is seeking after revelation and beholding the secrets of the Kingdom,[1] just as the work of the beast of burden is the carrying of loads. Thus, through these causes, Hearing is a cause of revealing. Further, the heart, when it is pure, often has represented to it the truth in the form of an act of Witnessing, or in a bit of verse that strikes upon the ear which is expressed by the voice of the Hātif[2] when the hearer is awake or by a vision when he is dreaming (and

[1] *Al-Malakūt*; see p. 116 of *Life*.

[2] For the Hātif see *Life*, note 2 on p. 108, and compare the δαίμων of Socrates.

that is one six and fortieth part of prophecy[1]—but the science by which that may be proved is foreign to the science of Intercourse). What is narrated from Muḥammad b. Masrūq al-Baghdādī[2] is a case in point. He said: "I went out one night in the days of my foolishness, and I was drunken and singing this verse—

'In Mount Saynā is a vine which I never pass by but I marvel at those who drink water.'[3]

Then I heard one saying—

'And in Jahannum is a well; not a throat gulps it down, but it tears from its belly the entrails.'

And that was the cause of my repenting and busying myself with science and the service of God." Then consider how the singing worked in purifying his heart, until there appeared to him the essence of the truth in the description of Jahannum by means of an expression with a meaning couched in measured language, and which struck his external ear. And it is related from Muslim al-'Abbādānī[4] that he said: "There came to us once Ṣāliḥ al-Marrī[5] and 'Utba al-Ghulām and 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd[6] and Muslim al-

[1] There is a tradition that Muḥammad said, "Dreaming is one six and fortieth part of prophecy." See note 2 on p. 90 of *Life*, and add al-Bērūnī's dream, text vol. of *Athār*, Introduction, p. xiii.

[2] Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Masrūq al-Baghdādī. A son of his, Abū-l-'Abbās Aḥmad, was of the people of Ṭūs, but lived in Baghdād and was a companion of al-Muḥāsibī and Sarī. He died in Baghdad 298 or 299. Al-Qush., p. 29; *Lawāqiḥ*, i, p. 74.

[3] *Bi-ṭūri saynā'a karmun mā marartū bihā*; so the vulgate text. The SM. quotes it in his commentary as the reading of some MSS., but reads in his text from other MSS. بطرزنا بماء كرم; he suggests that this is the name of some valley, *biq'a*.

[4] For 'Abbādān see Yāqūt, iii, pp. 597 f.; he says that many ascetics have their *nisba* from it. It is on the left bank of the Shaṭṭ el-'Arab, now about twenty-five miles from the sea. I can find nothing about this Muslim.

[5] Abū Yasīr Ṣāliḥ b. Bashīr al-qārī', known as al-Marrī, of the people of al-Baṣra; d. 196. So No. 303 in Wüstenfeld's Ibn Khall., but it is not in the autograph. See, too, *Lawāqiḥ*, i, p. 37.

[6] Abū 'Ubayda 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd al-Baṣri, a wā'iẓ; d. 128 or 177 (?). See Abū-l-Maḥāsin, i, pp. 342 and 485. Muḥyī ad-Dīn b. al-'Arabī gives anecdotes of him in his *Mawāqīt*, ii, p. 202 of ed. of Cairo, 1305. See, too, *Lawāqiḥ*, i, p. 37.

Aswārī,[1] and they alighted by the shore. Then I prepared for them that night some food, and summoned them to it and they came. But when I laid the food before them, lo, a speaker who said this verse, lifting up his voice—

'And meats divert thee from the eternal abode; and the going astray of a pleasure of the appetite is no thing of advantage.'

Then 'Utba al-Ghulām cried a great cry and fell down fainting, and the people wept, and I took away the food, and, by Allāh! they did not taste of it a morsel."

And just as the voice of the Hātif is heard with purity of heart, so there is witnessed also with the eye the form of al-Khaḍir, for he presents himself in varying forms to the possessors of hearts.[2] And under similar conditions the angels present themselves to the prophets, either in their veritable form or in a likeness which resembles their form with some resemblance. The Apostle of God saw Jibrīl twice in his own form and related of him that he blocked the horizon. That is what is meant in the saying of Him Most High, *There instructed him one terrible of strength, a possessor of prudence; then he stood erect and he was in the upper horizon*—to the end of the verse.[3]

And in such states which have their origin in purity, perception swoops down on the secret thoughts of hearts. That perception is sometimes called insight,[4] and therefore the Prophet said, "Beware of the insight of the believer, for he sees in the light of God." It has been related that

[1] Muslim al-Aswārī. The *nisba* is to al-Aswārīya, a village of Ispahan. Yāqūt, i, 317 and 834, gives the spellings *As* and *Us*, but adh-Dhahabī, *Mushtabih*, p. 12, distinguishes and assigns *Us* to the family of Tamīm. I cannot identify this Muslim.

[2] By "the possessors of hearts" al-Ghazzālī seems to mean those who are of an emotional nature and can be affected through the heart.

[3] Qur'ān, liii, 5 ff. Jibrīl is Gabriel, the angel of revelation. No prophet has seen him in his own form except Muḥammad, and he only twice.

[4] *Firāsa*, reckoned as one of the *karāmāt* of the Saints. It is an insight or intuitive perception with which they are divinely gifted and by which they can pierce beneath the surface to the real nature of things. At the present day the word is used most in the sense of physiognomy. See Lane, p. 2368*a*, and the section devoted to the subject in al-Qushayrī, pp. 137 ff.

a man of the Magians used to go about to the Muslims and ask them, "What is the meaning of the saying of the Prophet, 'Beware of the insight of the believer'?" Then they would rehearse to him its interpretation, but that would not satisfy him. At last he came to one of the Shaykhs of the Ṣūfīs and asked him. Then he said to him, "Its meaning is that you should cut off the girdle that is about your middle under your dress."[1] Then he said, "Thou hast said rightly; that is its meaning." Then he repeated the Muslim confession of faith and said, "Now I know that you are a believer, and that your belief is true." And similarly it is related from Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ[2] that he said: "I was in Baghdād among a company of Faqīrs in the Mosque, and there advanced a youth, excellent of odour, handsome of face. Then I said to my fellows, 'It occurs to me that he is a Jew,' but they all disagreed with me in that. Then I went out, and the youth went out and returned to them and said, 'What did the Shaykh say of me?' So they were ashamed, but he pressed them and they said, 'That thou wast a Jew.' Then he came to me and bent over my hands and kissed my head and recited the Muslim confession of faith and said, 'We find in our books that the insight of the very veracious does not fail. So I said, "I will test the Muslims." Then I regarded them and said, "If there is among them a very veracious one it is in this group, for they are speaking of the stories of Him whose glory is exalted and reciting of His might." Then I clothed myself like you, and when the Shaykh scrutinized me and had insight as to me, I knew that he was a very veracious one.' So was the story, and the youth came to be of the great ones of the Ṣūfīs."

And it is to such revealing as this that the saying of the Prophet points, "If the devils were not hovering around

[1] Apparently it was worn secretly, and he posed as a Muslim. The same story is told of Junayd; see de Sacy, *Notices et Extraits*, xii, pp. 429 f.

[2] Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Khawwāṣ, a contemporary of al-Junayd and an-Nūrī. He died in ar-Rayy in 291. (Al-Qush., p. 30; this story is on p. 141.

the hearts of the Sons of Adam, verily they would behold the kingdom of heaven [*malakūt as-samā*]." And the devils hover around hearts only when they are equipped with blameworthy qualities, for such are the pasture-ground of the devil and of his host, and he who cleanses his heart from these qualities and purifies himself, the devil does not circle around his heart. And to this, too, points the saying of Him Most High, *Except thy servants from among them—the purified*, and the saying of Him Most High, *Lo, my servants, thou hast no power over them* [Qur., xv, 40, 42].

And Hearing is a cause of purity of heart, and by means of purity it is a net for truth. This is indicated by what is narrated that Dhū-n-Nūn al-Miṣrī entered Baghdād, and there assembled to him a company of the Ṣūfīs and along with them was a reciter of poems.[1] Then they asked his permission that the reciter should recite something to them, and he gave it. So the reciter chanted, saying—

> "A little of thy love torments me, then how will it be with it when it gains complete mastery? And thou hast joined in my heart all of a love in which others have formerly shared. Dost thou not lament for him who is sore wounded, who weeps when he that is free of care laughs?"

And Dhū-n-Nūn arose and fell upon his face. Then another man arose, and Dhū-n-Nūn said, *He who seeth thee when thou risest*, and the man sat down.[2] And that on the part of Dhū-n-Nūn was insight into the man's heart that he was trying to feign ecstasy. So he showed him that He who was seeing him when he rose was the opponent to his rising on account of anything else than God Most High. And if the man had been sincere he would not have sat down.

[1] *Qawwāl*; this seems to mean the chanter or singer of poems as opposed to the *qāri'*, who chants the Qur'ān.

[2] Qur'ān, xxvi, 218; we are apparently to understand that this man was making only an appearance of ecstasy or had not reached the point at which ecstasy was allowable. The rule is to repress external ecstasy until it burst out and can be suppressed no longer. *Tawājada* means both to feign ecstasy and to press it.

Then, since the result of ecstasy resolves itself into revelations and states, know that each one of these two is divisible into that for which an expression, when one is free from it, is possible, and that for which an expression is fundamentally impossible. Perhaps you will find strange a condition or knowledge the real nature of which you do not know and the expression of the real nature of which is impossible; but do not regard that as strange, for you will find witnesses for it in your ordinary states. As for the knowledge, how many a lawyer there is whom two questions confront, similar in form, but the lawyer gets so far by his natural faculty as to perceive that between them there is a difference as to the decision, yet whenever he tries to state the direction of the difference his tongue does not help him to express it, although he may be the most eloquent of men. So he attains by his natural faculty to perceive the difference, but the expressing of it is impossible to him. And his attaining to see the difference is knowledge which he meets in his heart through natural faculty, and, without doubt, there is a cause for its occurrence in his heart. That difference has a real nature with God Most High, but the lawyer is not able to speak of it, not on account of any falling short in his tongue, but because the idea is too fine in itself for expression to present it. This belongs to what has been thought out by those who apply themselves to looking into complicated things.

And as for the states, how many a man gets so far as to perceive in his heart, on some occasion which may appear in it, a contraction or an expansion, yet he does not know its cause! And a man sometimes thinks about a thing, and it makes an impression on his soul. Then he forgets the cause, but the impression remains upon his soul, and he feels it. And, sometimes, the condition which he feels is a joy which arose in his soul on his thinking about a cause which produces joy; or it may have been a sorrow; then he who was thinking about it forgets, but feels in the impression its consequence. And sometimes that condition is a strange condition which a word expressing joy or sorrow does not

indicate clearly, and for which he cannot come upon a suitable expression revealing what was intended. Thus some people are distinguished above others by a natural faculty of taste in metrical poetry and a power of distinguishing between it and that which is not metrical. And the condition is one which the possessor of a natural faculty of taste attains to perceive in respect that he is not in doubt as to it—I mean as to the distinguishing between that which is good as to metre or bad. Yet he is not able to express the condition by anything which will make clear his meaning to one who has not a natural faculty of taste.

In the soul are strange states, and this is their description.[1] The well-recognized ideas of fear and grief and joy occur only in the case of that Hearing which proceeds from singing that has a meaning. But as for vibrating strings and the other musical tones which have no meaning, they make on the soul a wonderful impression, and it is not possible to express the wonders of that impression. Sometimes it is expressed as a longing; but a longing which he who feels does not know for what he longs, is wonderful. And he whose heart is disturbed when he hears stringed instruments and the *shāhīn* and their like does not know for what he is longing. He finds in his heart a state as though it demanded a thing he does not know what; this befalls even the common herd and those over whose hearts the love neither of man nor of God Most High can get control. There is a mystery in this, and it is that to every longing belong two fundamental bases: the one of them is a quality in him that longs, a kind of relationship with that which is longed for; and the second is a knowledge of the thing longed for, and a knowledge of what attaining to it would be like. Then given the quality in which is the longing and given the knowledge of the appearance of the thing longed for, the matter is clear. But if the knowledge of the thing longed for is not given, and the quality of

[1] This passage is worthy of very careful attention. As an analysis of the spiritual effects of music I know nothing like it in Arabic literature; nor in English, except the book of Mr. Haweis referred to in the *Life*, p. 73.

longing is given and the quality moves the heart and its flame flares up, that entails confusion of mind and bewilderment without fail. If a human being grew up alone so that he never saw the form of women and knew not what sexual intercourse was, and thereafter approached puberty and lust overcame him, verily he would feel in himself the fire of lust, but would not know that he was longing for sexual intercourse, because he did not know what sexual intercourse was and had no experience of the form of women. There is a relationship like this in the soul of the human being with the upper world and the pleasures which he is promised there at the Lote-tree of the Extremity[1] and in the upper Paradises. Only he cannot imagine these things to himself except as qualities and names, like him who has heard the expression 'sexual intercourse' and the name 'woman,' but has not seen the form of a woman even, nor the form of a man, nor his own form in a mirror that he might know by analogy. So Hearing moves in him longing, but abounding ignorance and the being occupied with this world have made him forget himself, and have made him forget his Lord, and have made him forget his abiding-place to which is his desire and his longing by nature. Then his heart demands from him a thing he does not know what, and he is confused and bewildered and disturbed like one who is choking, who does not know how to be saved. This, and things like it, belong to the states, a perception of the completeness of the verities of which is not to be attained, and he who is affected by them is not able to give them expression.

The division of ecstasy into that which can be made manifest and that which cannot be made manifest is now clear. Then know also that ecstasy [*wajd*] is divided into that which itself attacks and that which is forced, and that is called affecting ecstasy [*tawājud*]. Of this forced affecting of ecstasy there is that which is blameworthy, and it is

[1] The *Sidratu-l-muntahà*, the farthest point in heaven to which the knowledge of creatures reaches (Qur'ān, liii, 14). On the unspeakable joys of Paradise, see *Life*, p. 76, note 2.

what aims at hypocrisy and at the manifesting of the Glorious States in spite of being destitute of them. And of it there is that which is praiseworthy, and it leads to the invoking of the Glorious States and the gaining of them for oneself and bringing them to oneself by device; for the Glorious States may be brought through such gaining for oneself. And therefore the Apostle of God commanded him who did not weep at the reading of the Qur'ān that he should force weeping and mourning; for the beginning of these States is sometimes forced while their ends thereafter are true. And how should forcing not be a cause that that which is forced should become in the sequel a matter of nature? Everyone who learns the Qur'ān at first memorizes it by force, and recites it by force, in spite of completeness of meditation and presence of intelligence, and, thereafter, that becomes a regular custom to the tongue, so that the tongue runs on through it in prayer, etc., while he who prays is inattentive. So he recites the whole of a *Sūra*, and his soul returns to him after he has arrived at the end and he knows that he has recited it in a state of inattention. And so a writer writes at first with serious application, then his hand accustoms itself to penmanship and writing becomes to him nature. Then he writes many leaves while his heart is engrossed in thinking of something else.

So there is no path to gaining for oneself anything possible for the soul and the members except by effort and practice at first; and, thereafter, it becomes nature through custom. And that is what is meant by the saying of some, Custom is a fifth humour.[1] Thus it is with the Glorious States. It is not fitting that despair of them should arise when they are lacking, but it is fitting that an effort should be made to acquire them for oneself through Hearing and its like. And, in truth, as to habit, the case has been seen of one desiring to love passionately an individual that

[1] *Al-'āda ṭābi'a khāmisa. Ṭābi'a* means 'a humour' in the Hippocratic sense of the four humours, blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile. It then comes to mean the *mizāj*, constitution or temperament of an animal body, literally, mixture.

at the time he does not love; then he does not cease repeating the mention of it to himself and keeping his gaze upon it and affirming to himself its amiable qualities and praiseworthy characteristics, until he does love it passionately, and that is fixed in his breast with a fixing that passes beyond the bound of his will. Then he may desire after that to be free of it and cannot get free of it. Like this is the love of God Most High and the longing to meet Him and the fear of His anger and other than that of the Glorious States; whenever a man misses them it is fitting that he should apply effort to bring them to himself by companioning with those who are characterized by them, and by witnessing their States and approving of their qualities in the soul and by sitting with them at Hearing and by praying and beseeching God Most High that He would grant him that condition through making easy to him its causes. And among its causes are the companionships of the excellent and of those who fear and love and long and of the humble; he who companions with any individual, to him there come qualities of that individual, though from whence he does not know. And the possibility that love and the rest of the states may result through these causes is indicated by the saying of the Apostle of God when he prayed, "O God, grant me Thy love and the love of those that love Thee and the love of those who bring me near to Thy love." So he (upon whom be peace!) in seeking love has sought aid of prayer.

This is an exposition of how ecstasy is divided into revelations and states, and how it is divided into what can be clearly stated and what can not be clearly stated, and how it is divided into what is produced by effort and what is natural.

Then if you say, "What is the mind of those whose ecstasy does not appear at hearing the Qur'ān—and it is the word of God—but appears at singing, and it is the word of poets? So even if that last is a truth issuing from the benignity of God Most High, and is not a lie issuing from the craft of the devil, yet the Qur'ān is worthier to

cause ecstasy than singing." Then we say, Ecstasy is truth. It is what grows up out of the abundance of the love of God Most High and out of sincerity in desiring Him and in longing to meet Him. That is stirred up by hearing the Qur'ān also, and he who is not stirred up by hearing the Qur'ān, only loves the creation and loves passionately the created. The saying of God Most High indicates that, *Do not hearts rest confidingly in the mention of God*, and the saying of Him Most High, *Repetitions, the skins of those who fear their Lord bristle thereat; then their skins grow soft and their hearts at the mention of their Lord* [Qur., xiii, 28, and xxxix, 24]. And everything that is experienced [*yūjadu*] as a consequence of Hearing, because of Hearing in the soul, is ectasy [*wajd*]. The resting confidingly and the bristling and the fear and the softening of the heart, all that is ecstasy. And God Most High has said, *The Believers are only those whose hearts dread when God is mentioned*, and He Most High said, *If this Qur'ān were revealed to a mountain, verily thou wouldst see it humbling itself and splitting from fear of God* [Qur., viii, 2, and lix, 21]. So dread and humility are ecstasy on the side of states if not on the side of revelations, but this ecstasy sometimes causes revelations and admonitions. With regard to this the Prophet said, "Adorn the Qur'ān with your voices." And he said with regard to Abū Mūsà al-Ash'arī, "Verily, he has been given a pipe of the pipes of the family of Dā'ūd."

And the stories indicating that ecstasy has showed itself in the possessors of hearts at hearing the Qur'ān are many. The saying of the Prophet, "The *Sūra Hūd*[1] and those like it have turned my head white," speaks of ecstasy, for white hair results from sorrow and fear, that is, ecstasy. And it is related that Ibn Mas'ūd recited to the Apostle of God the *Sūra of Women*, and when he came to where God Most High says, *Then how when We bring from every people a witness and bring thee against these as a witness?*

[1] Sūra xi; it is full of stories of the judgments of God.

[Qur., iv, 45], he said, "That is enough," and his eyes were flowing with tears. And in a tradition stands that the Prophet recited this verse, or it was recited in his presence, *Verily with Us are fetters and flame and food that chokes and painful punishment* [Qur., lxxiii, 12]; then he fell fainting. And in a tradition stands that the Prophet recited, *If thou punishest them, lo! they are Thy servants* [Qur., v, 18]; then he wept. And whenever he passed a verse of compassion, he prayed and rejoiced; and rejoicing is ecstasy. And God Most High has praised the people of ecstasy in the Qur'ān, and He Most High said, *And whenever they hear what has been revealed to the Apostle you see their eyes flowing over with tears because of what of the truth they perceive* [Qur., v, 86]. And it is narrated that the Apostle of God was wont to pray with a boiling in his breast like the boiling of a cooking-pot.

And much is transmitted from the Companions and the Followers concerning ecstasy through the Qur'ān. Of them were some who fell swooning, and some who wept, and some who fainted, and some who died in their fainting. It is related that Zurāra b. Awfà [1]—he was one of the Followers—

[1] I can find nothing definite about this authority. In the *Aghānī* there is mention of a daughter of his, العلاء, bint Zurāra b. Awfà al-Jarshīya (*sic*), to whom al-Farazdaq wrote love-poetry. One *Isnād*, as given by the SM., goes back to Bahz b. Ḥakīm (an-Naw., p. 178). Dā'ūd b. Abī Hind al-Qushayrī (Ṭabaqāt of adh-Dhahabī, Wüsten., iv, 42), who d. 40, related traditions from him. In the Cairo vulgate text he is called Zurāra b. Abī Awfà, but that is an error. The SM. gives his full name as Zurāra b. Awfà al-'Āmirī al-Ḥarīshī al-Baṣrī Abū Ḥājib. His line thus goes to al-Ḥarīsh b. Ka'b b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣaṣa'a (Wüsten., *Tabellen*, D 17; Ibn Quṭ., p. 43); in Rabī'a it joins that of the Zurāra b. Yazīd b. 'Amr, who gave his name to Zurāra in al-Kūfa: see al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 282, and Yāqūt, ii, 921, where we must read بنى البكّا for بنى البكّار. I cannot explain the *kunya* Abū Ḥājib; it looks very like a confusion with the more celebrated pre-Islamic Zurāra b. 'Udas and his son Ḥājib: see Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-ishtiqāq*, p. 144; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, ii, pp. 152 f., 464, 467–470, 483 f., 569; Wüsten., K 19, and *Register*, p. 196; Abū-l-Fidā, *Hist. Anteisl.*, pp. 144 ff. For the form of the name Zurāra see *Ishtiqāq*, pp. 98 and 128. The *nisba* al-Ḥarīshī seems to be in doubt. The *Lubb al-lubab* gives الغَرَشى from الحريش and الحريشى from الحريشة, as though irregular like عتكى from عتيك, سليمى from سليمة; compare Wright, *Grammar*[3], i, p. 155.

was acting as Imām in ar-Raqqa, and he recited, *Then when there is a sounding on the trumpet* [Qur., lxxiv, 8], and fell fainting and died in his *miḥrāb*—may God have mercy on him! And 'Umar heard a man reciting, *Verily the punishment of thy Lord surely descends; there is none to keep it back!* [Qur., lii, 8]. Then he cried with a great cry and fell fainting, and was carried into his house and ceased not to be sick in his house for a month. And Ṣāliḥ al-Marrī recited to Abū Jarīr,[1] and he sobbed and died. And ash-Shāfi'ī heard one reciting, *This shall be a day when they shall not speak and shall not be permitted to excuse themselves* [Qur., lxxvii, 35]; then he fainted. And 'Alī b. al-Fuḍayl heard one reciting, *A day when mankind shall rise up for the Lord of the worlds!*[2] and he fell fainting, and al-Fuḍayl said, "May God repay thee what He has taught him from thee!" And similar stories are transmitted from a number of them.

So, too, is the case with the Ṣūfīs. One night of Ramaḍān ash-Shiblī was in his mosque, and he was praying behind an Imām of his, and the Imām recited, *And, verily, if We willed We would bring to thee him whom We inspired* [Qur., xvii, 88], and ash-Shiblī shrieked a great shriek, the people thought that his soul had fled; his face grew red, and his shoulder muscles quivered, and he kept saying, "With such words He addresses the beloved," repeating that over and over. And al-Junayd said, "I entered one day to Sarī as-Saqaṭī and I saw before him a man who had fainted. Then he said to me, 'This man heard a verse from the Qur'ān and fainted.' And I said, 'Recite to him that same verse,' and it was recited and he recovered. So he said, 'How didst thou come to say that?' I said, 'I considered Ya'qūb, his blindness was on account of a created thing and through a created thing he saw, and if his blindness had been on account of the truth he would not have seen through

[1] The name is Abū Jarīr in the text from which I translate. The SM. gives Abū Ḥamīm, but adds that other MSS. read Abū Juhaym and Abū 'Umayr. He does not seem to know who is meant, nor do I.

[2] Qur., lxxxiii, 6. The SM. adds that 'Alī died before his father al-Fuḍayl. For al-Fuḍayl see note 5 on p. 248.

a created thing?[1] Then they approved that." And the saying of the poet points to what al-Junayd said:

"And many a cup I drank for the sake of a pleasure;
and I cured myself of that pleasure with another cup."

One of the Ṣūfīs said, "I was reciting one night this verse, *Every soul tastes of death*,[2] and I kept repeating it over. And lo, the voice of a Hātif came to me and said, 'How oft wilt thou repeat that verse? Thou hast killed four of the Jinn; they had not lifted their heads to heaven since they were created.'"[3] And Abū 'Alī al-Maghāzilī[4] said to ash-Shiblī, "Often there strikes my ear a verse from the book of God Most High and drags me to turn from this world; then I return to my former states and to mankind, and do not remain in that." Then he said, "What struck thine ear out of the Qur'ān by which He dragged thee to Himself, that was favour from Him to thee and benignity on His part towards thee, and when He restored thee to thyself that was solicitude on His part for thee, for it is not well for thee but that thou shouldest be free from force and compulsion in advancing to Him." And a man of the people of Ṣūfīism heard one reciting, *O thou soul who art at rest, return unto thy Lord, well pleased, well pleasing* [Qur., lxxxix, 27]. Then he besought the reciter to repeat it and said, "How often do I say to it, 'Return!' and it does not return!" And he constrained himself to an ecstasy and cried with a great cry, and his spirit departed. And Bakr b. Mu'ādh heard one reciting, *And warn them of the day that hastens on* [Qur., xl, 18], with the rest of the verse. Then he was disquieted and thereafter cried, "Have mercy

[1] See the story of Joseph in Sūra xii of the Qur'ān. Jacob lost his sight by weeping for the loss of Joseph, but recovered it when Joseph's inner garment was brought to him and thrown over his eyes.

[2] Occurs in the Qur'an three times, iii, 182; xxi, 36; xxix, 57. For a mystery connected with the threefold occurrence, see the *Durra*, p. 2 of translation.

[3] Out of humility.

[4] Ash-Shiblī d. 334; as to Abū 'Alī I know nothing; there is an Abū Bakr al-Maghāzilī in Jāmī's list of Ṣūfīs. Al-Maghāzilī means a dealer in, or a parer of, spindles.

on him whom Thou hast warned and who did not approach Thee in obedience after the warning!" Then he fainted. And Ibrāhīm b. Adham,[1] when he heard one reciting, *When the heavens are split* [Qur., lxxxiv, 1], his joints were disquieted to such a degree that he quivered. And it is related from Muḥammad b. Ṣabīḥ[2] that he said, "A man was washing in the Euphrates and there passed by him a man on the bank reciting, *Be ye separated to-day, O ye that sin!* [Qur., xxxvi, 59]. Then the man ceased not being disquieted until he sank and died." And it is mentioned that Salmān al-Fārisī[3] beheld a youth reciting, and he came to a verse and his skin bristled. Then Salmān loved him. And he missed him once and asked concerning him, and was told that he was sick. So he went to visit him, and lo, he was at the point of death. Then he said, "O Abū 'Abd Allāh, hast thou seen that bristling of the skin which is in me? for it came to me in a most beautiful form[4] and informed me that God had pardoned me for it every sin."

And, in general, he who has a heart is not free from ecstasy at hearing the Qur'ān; for if the Qur'ān does not make an impression on it at all, then it is *like unto one who cried aloud to what did not hear save a crying and a shouting—deaf, dumb, blind are they, so they understand not* [Qur., ii, 166]. But on him who has a heart,[5] a word of wisdom which he hears makes impression. Ja'far al-Khuldī[6] said, "There entered one day to al-Junayd, with whom there was a company, a man of the people of Khurāsan, and he

[1] Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Adham b. Manṣūr of Balkh. He was a contemporary of Sufyān ath-Thawrī and al-Fuḍayl b. 'Iyād. Al-Qush. gives almost a page to him, *Ris.*, pp. 9 f. See, too, *Lawāqiḥ*, i, p. 55.

[2] Abū-l-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ṣabīḥ, known as al-Madhkūr and as Ibn as-Sammāk; d. 183. See Ibn Khall., iii, 18, and Abū-l-Maḥāsin, i, 512. Also *Lawāqiḥ*, i, p. 48.

[3] Abū 'Abd Allāh Salmān al-Khayr al-Fārisī; d. 35 or 36? See an-Naw., pp. 292 ff.

[4] With this personifying of a condition compare the personifying of the Qur'ān, Islām, Friday, etc., in the worlds of *malakūt* and *jabarūt*; see *Life*, p. 116.

[5] The SM. explains "an illuminated heart," but this is al-Ghazzālī's usual phrase for those capable of devout ecstasy.

[6] Abū Muḥammad Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr (or Naṣr) al-Khuldī al-Baghdādī; d. 348. Al-Qush., p. 35.

said to al-Junayd, 'When are of equal account to a creature he who praises him and he who blames him?' And one of the Shaykhs said, 'When he has entered a mad-house and is bound with two chains.' Then said al-Junayd, 'This is not your affair.' Thereupon he turned to the man and said, 'When he is certain that he is created.' Then the man sobbed a great sob and died."

And if you say, "But if hearing the Qur'ān avails for ecstasy, what is their mind who gather together to hear singing from reciters [*qawwālūn*] of poems instead of reciters [*qāri'ūn*] of the Qur'ān? Their gathering together and throwing themselves into ecstasy ought to be in the circles of reciters of the Qur'ān and not in the circles of reciters of poetry. And there ought to be sought by every gathering in every party a reciter of the Qur'ān, and not a reciter of poetry, for the word of God Most High is, without doubt, more excellent than singing." Then know that singing is more powerful than the Qur'ān in arousing to ecstasy for seven reasons. The first reason is that all the verses of the Qur'ān do not fit the state of the listener, and are not suited for him to understand and to apply to what is in close connection with him. Then he over whom rules sorrow or longing or regret, how shall he fit to his state the saying of Him Most High, *God commands you concerning your children, to the male there shall be the like of the share of two females*, and the saying of Him Most High, *And those who accuse virtuous women* [Qur., iv, 12, and xxiv, 4]? And so, too, are all the verses in which are expounded the laws of inheritance and of divorce and restrictive ordinances, etc. That which moves the contents of the heart is only what fit it; and poets compose their verses only to elicit by them states of the heart, so that there should be no need, in understanding the state through them, to use force to arouse longing.

It is true that he over whom rules an overwhelming and all-conquering condition which does not leave room for any other than itself, and he with whom is wideawakeness and quick penetration with which he can grasp ideas only

suggested by the expressions, in such a case as his, his ecstasy sometimes comes on at anything heard, as in the case of him for whom there came on at the reminder by God Most High, *God commands you concerning your children* [Qur., iv, 12 and 175], the thought of the condition of death which makes wills necessary, and that there was no escape for any man from leaving his wealth and his children behind him, which are his two beloved things of this world, and leaving one of them to the other and abandoning both of them; so fear and perturbation overwhelm him. Or, as in the case of him who hears the mention of God in His saying, *God commands you concerning your children*, and he is confused by the bare name apart from what is before it and after it, and there comes upon him the thought of the compassion of God for His creatures and His solicitude, in that He Himself rules the division of inheritances, to care for them in their life and death. So he says, "Since He cares for our children after our death, then we need not doubt that He will care for us"; so there is aroused from him a state of hope, and that brings after it joy and gladness.

Or, from the saying of Him Most High, *to the male there shall be the like of the share of two females*, there comes upon him the thought of the pre-eminence of the male in his being a man over the female, and that men whom trading and selling do not divert from the thought [*dhikr*] of God will have the superiority in the other world, and that they who are diverted by other than God Most High from the thought of God Most High really belong to the class of women and not to that of men. Then he fears that he may be curtained or kept back in the pleasant abode of the other world, even as the female is kept back in the wealth of this world.

And such as these sometimes move ecstasy, but only in him in whom are two qualities; the one of them is a condition, overwhelming, absolute, all-conquering, and the other is an effective penetration and a wideawakeness of the utmost and completest kind to call attention to ideas

that are remote through things that are near. And that is of the rarest; so on that account recourse is had to singing, which consists of expressions fitted to states so closely that the states are aroused as quickly as the expression is heard.

And it is related that Abū-l-Ḥusayn an-Nūrī was with a company in a party, and a question in science was discussed among them, but Abū-l-Ḥusayn was silent. Thereafter he lifted up his head and chanted to them—

"Many a cooing pigeon in the early dawn, full of disquietude, has cried among the swaying branches;
She remembered a mate and a time of happiness, and she wept for sorrow and aroused my sorrow.
So my weeping often disquieted her and her weeping often disquieted me.
And, in truth, I would sometimes soothe her yet not make her understand, and she would sometimes complain yet not make me understand;
But I, through emotion, made her perceive, and she also, through emotion, made me perceive."[1]

So he said, and there did not remain one of the people but rose and constrained himself to an ecstasy. And this ecstasy did not result to them from the science in which they were wading, though science is earnestness and truth.

And the second reason is that the Qur'ān is held by most in the memory and is committed to ears and hearts; and whatever is heard for the first time makes a greater impression on the heart, and on the second repetition its impression is weaker, while on the third its impression almost fails. If the possessor of overpowering ecstasy were to strive to bring on his ecstasy by the use of one verse continually on occasions near to one another, within a day or a week, that would not be possible for him. But if he change that verse for another verse the impression on his

[1] These verses are by 'Adī b. ar-Ruḳā'; see Ḥarīrī's preface to his *Maqāmāt* and Chenery's translation, i, pp. 106, 274.

heart will be renewed, although the verse may state the same thought. So, if its poetical expression be new as compared with that of the first verse, it will move the soul, although the thought is the same. But the Qur'ān reciter is not able to recite a new Qur'ān on every occasion and in every party; for the Qur'ān is limited and addition to it is not possible, and it is all held in the memory and repeated often. Aṣ-Ṣiddīq pointed to what we have here mentioned when he said, on seeing the Arabs arriving and weeping at the hearing of the Qur'ān, "We were as you are, but our hearts are hard." Yet think not that the heart of aṣ-Ṣiddīq was harder than the hearts of these rough Arabs, or that it was emptier of the love of God Most High and of the love of His word than their hearts, but the repetition upon his heart had produced callousness with regard to it, and he was slightly impressed by it on account of what had befallen him of familiarity through his much listening. For, on account of custom, it is impossible that a hearer should hear a verse that he had not heard before and should weep, and then should keep on weeping on its account twenty years, and after that time should weep at it on its being repeated, and that the first hearing should not differ from the last except in its being strange and new. To every new thing belongs a pleasure, and to every fresh thing belongs an emphasis, and along with everything to which you are accustomed there is a familiarity which hurts the emphasis, and, therefore, was 'Umar anxious to prevent the people from much circuiting of the Ka'ba, and he said, "I fear that the people will despise this House," i.e. will be familiar with it. And he who arrives as a pilgrim and sees the House for the first time, weeps and cries out and often faints when his glance falls upon it. And he sometimes remains in Makka and does not feel a trace of that in his soul. So, then, the singer has at his disposal new verses of poetry for each occasion, but he has not at his disposal for each occasion a new verse of the Qur'ān.

The third reason is that measure in language has a power, through poetic taste, of making impression on the soul.

For a pleasant voice with measure is not like a pleasant voice without measure; and measure is what is found in poetry as opposed to verses of the Qur'ān. And if the singer were to drag the verse which he is chanting or err in it or turn aside from the limit of that *ṭarīqa* in the melody, the heart of the listener would be disquieted and his ecstasy and Hearing wasted, and the impression would be scared away on account of the lack of fittingness. And whenever the impression is scared away, the heart is disquieted and distressed. And whenever measure makes an impression, the poetry on that account is pleasant.

The fourth reason is that measured poetry varies as to making impression on the soul with the melodies which are called *ṭarīqas* and *dastānāt*.[1] And the varying of these *ṭarīqas* is only by extending what is shortened and shortening what is extended, and by pause in the intervals of the words and by cutting short and joining on in some of the words. This changing is allowable in poetry, but in the case of the Qur'ān it is only allowable to recite as it was revealed, and shortening and lengthening and pause and cutting off and joining on in opposition to what the recitation requires is forbidden or disliked. So, whenever the Qur'ān is read distinctly as it was revealed, there falls away from it that impressiveness the cause of which is the measure of the melodies; it is a cause that has absolute power in making impression, even if it do not convey a meaning, just as in the case of stringed instruments and pipes and the *shāhīn* and the other sounds which do not convey a meaning.

The fifth reason is that the measured melodies are helped and strengthened by rhythms[2] and by other measured

[1] For *ṭarīqa* see note on p. 220. Here, too, the form appears to be the plural *ṭuruq*. On *dastānāt*, as used here, I can shed no light. The SM. reads (i.e. the Cairo printed text of his commentary does) *dastanīyāt*, and he adds that some MSS. have a variant reading دستيانات, and that it is a Persian (or foreign) word. In the *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm* the *dasātīn* (pl. of *dastān*) are the frets on which the fingers are placed in playing the lute. It is also a name for all melodies referred to Bārbud (Iṣtakhrī, p. 262, line 12). Land renders 'ligatures.'

[2] Iqā'āt = rhythms; see *Mafātiḥ*, p. 245.

sounds, apart from those produced by the throat, like the beating of the *qaḍīb* and the *duff* and the rest. For even a weak ecstasy is not aroused except by a powerful cause, and it only becomes strong by a combination of these causes, and each one has a share in the arousing. But it is necessary that the Qur'ān should be protected from such companions as these, for their aspect with the majority of people is an aspect of sport and play; but all the Qur'ān is seriousness with all people. So it is not allowable that there should be mingled with pure truth what is sport according to the commonalty and the external aspect [*ṣūra*] of which is sport according to the select, although they do not view it from the side of its being sport. Yea, it behoves that the Qur'ān should be reverenced and should not be recited on thoroughfares, but in a sitting assembly, and not in a state of sexual impurity, nor in a state of impurity generally. But only those who keep careful guard over their states can attain perfection with regard to the inviolability of the Qur'ān, and he who cannot claim for himself this careful guard and circumspection turns aside to singing. For this reason beating of the *duff* along with the reading of the Qur'ān is not allowable on a night of marriage. Yet the Apostle of God has commanded beating of the *duff* at a marriage and said, "Proclaim the wedding if it be by beating of the *ghirbāl*," or some expression of which that is the meaning.[1] And that is allowable with poetry as opposed to the Qur'ān, and, therefore, when the Apostle of God entered the house of ar-Rubayyi' bint Mu'awwidh,[2] while girls were with

[1] Al-Ghazzālī rightly distrusts his memory. The tradition is given in different forms, but the nearest to that quoted here is given by the SM. and in the *Lisān* (sub *ghirbāl*, xiv, p. 3) as *A'linū-n-nikāḥ waḍribū 'alayhi-l-ghirbāl*, "publish the marriage and beat for it the *ghirbāl*." In al-Ghazzālī's the *ghirbāl* is taken in its original meaning of a sieve; the *Lisān* explains that the word was also used to indicate a *duff* on account of its likeness of form to a sieve.

[2] Ar-Rubayyi' bint Mu'awwidh b. 'Afrā' al-Anṣārīya, one of those who swore allegiance to the Prophet under the tree in the *Bay'atu-r-riḍwān*. An-Naw., pp. 839 ff.

her singing, and he heard one of them say in the course of her singing,

"And with us is a Prophet who knoweth what shall be to-morrow";

then he said, "Leave off that and say what thou wast saying." And what she had said bore witness to his prophetship, but he rebuked her for that and brought her back to the singing, which is sport; for such hearing of witness is pure seriousness, and so is not to be joined to the aspect of sport. Then, whenever the strengthening of the causes by which Hearing becomes a mover of the heart is hindered for this reason, i.e., in order to preserve the inviolability of the Qur'ān, what is incumbent is to turn aside from the Qur'ān to singing, even as it was incumbent upon that girl to turn aside to singing from bearing witness to the Prophetship.

The sixth reason is that the singer sometimes sings a verse which does not fit the state of the hearer, so he dislikes it and rejects it and asks another; every saying does not fit every state. But if people agreed at parties upon a reciter of the Qur'ān, often he would recite a verse which did not fit their state. Then, since the Qur'ān is a medicine for the whole of mankind according to their varying states, so the verses of compassion are a medicine for him who is fearful and the verses of punishment are a medicine for the infatuated and the secure, and to adduce all would be tedious; whenever the hearer is not certain whether what is heard will agree with his state and his soul dislikes it, he encounters through it the danger of disliking the word of God Most High, in so far as he does not find a way to put it aside. And that he should guard himself from that danger is the best of good judgment and a necessary conclusion, since he will not find relief from it except by applying it to his condition as it is. And it is not allowable to apply the word of God Most High except to what God Most High intended, but the saying of a poet it is allowable to apply to other things besides what the poet meant. So

in it is the danger of disliking or of erroneous exposition to suit the state, while, on the other hand, it is incumbent to reverence the word of God and to guard it from such danger. This is what has been given to me concerning the causes of turning aside on the part of the Shaykhs to hear singing in place of hearing the Qur'ān.

And here there is a seventh reason which Abū Naṣr as-Sarrāj aṭ-Ṭūsī [1] mentioned in defence of this use of poetry. He said: "The Qur'ān is the word of God and one of His qualities; and it is a truth which humanity cannot comprehend, because it is uncreated, and created qualities cannot comprehend it. If a grain of its meaning and its dignity were unveiled to the hearts of men, they would split and be confused and bewildered. But pleasing melodies stand in a relationship to natural dispositions, and their relationship is one of fanciful desires [2] and not of necessary desires. And poetry, again, its relationship is that of fanciful desires. Then, whenever the melodies and sounds are joined with what of signs and subtilties are in the verses, the one of them fit the other and becomes still nearer to fanciful desires and lighter upon the hearts of men, because created is joined to created. Thus, so long as humanity remains, and we through our qualities and fanciful desires take pleasure in mournful tunes and pleasing sounds, our being open and unreserved, for the sake of witnessing the enduring of these fanciful desires towards poems, lies nearer than our being open and unreserved towards the word of God Most High, which is His quality and His word, from Him took beginning and to Him

[1] The SM. says that Abū Ḥātim as-Sijistānī (d. 248; Ibn Khall., i, 603) gives traditions from him and that he is quoted several times in the *Risāla*. I know nothing more of him.

[2] So I translate tentatively *ḥuẓūẓ* and *ḥuqūq*. As thus used these words belong to the technical language of the Ṣūfīs and, between them, indicate all the things sought by the *nafs*, or fleshly nature, with the distinction that the *ḥuqūq* are the things which are essentially necessary to the existence of the *nafs*, and the *ḥuẓūẓ* are those which are not essentially necessary, which are mere fancies or pastimes. For the classical use of *ḥaẓẓ* see Lane *sub voce*; for the modern in the sense of caprice, pastime, passion, even sin, see Dozy *sub voce*, and De Sacy, *Chrest.*, i, p. 447; for the Ṣūfī use see *Dict. Techn. Terms*, sub *ḥaẓẓ* and *ḥuqūq an-nafs*, and especially, *khaṭra*, vol. i, p. 417, ll. 10 ff.

returns." This is the sum of his meaning and of his defence.

And it has been related from Abū-l-Ḥasan ad-Darrāj that he said: "I travelled from Baghdād to Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn ar-Rāzi[1] to visit him and salute him. And when I entered ar-Rayy I kept asking about him, and everyone whom I asked about him said, 'What will you with that unbeliever?' And they straitened my breast until I determined to depart. Then I said within myself, 'I have travelled all this road and I will not make little of seeing him.' So I did not cease asking about him until I came upon him in a mosque; he was sitting in the *Miḥrāb* with a man before him, and in his hand was a copy of the Qur'ān and he was reading. And lo, he was an old man, comely and handsome of face and beard. Then I saluted him, and he turned to me and said, 'Whence hast thou come?' And I said, 'From Baghdād.' Then he said, 'And what brought thee?' And I said, 'I have travelled to thee to salute thee.' And he said, 'If in one of those countries a man had said to thee, "Abide with us until we buy thee a house or a slave-girl," would that have withheld thee from coming?' Then I said, 'God did not try me with anything of that kind, and if He had tried me I do not know how it would have been.' Thereupon he said to me, 'Art thou able[2] to repeat anything?' I said, 'Yes,' and he said, 'Give us it.' Then I began saying,

'I saw thee acting constantly in opposition to me, and werest thou prudent, thou wouldest have destroyed what thou wast doing.

It is as though I perceived you, with "would that" as your most excellent saying; *you were saying*, "Oh would that we were!" when "would that" does not avail.'[3]

[1] Died 304; al-Qush., p. 28. Rāzī is, of course, the *nisba* of ar-Rayy, the Ῥάγοι of Tobit.

[2] *Atuḥsin an*; a noticeably early case (al-Qush. died 465) of the modern colloquial idiom.

[3] These verses are an interesting example of Ṣūfī manipulation of the most unpromising material. I have translated them from the text of the SM. (vi,

Then he closed the copy of the Qur'ān and ceased not weeping until his beard and dress were wet, and I had compassion on him for his much weeping. Thereupon he said, 'O my little son, do you blame the people of ar-Rayy saying, "Yūsuf is an unbeliever"? That I am. From the prayer of early dawn I have been reading in the Qur'ān and there has not fallen from my eyes a drop, but the resurrection has come for me at these two lines.'"

So then, although the hearts of men are inflamed with the love of God Most High, yet a new verse will rouse from them what the recital of the Qur'ān does not rouse. That is because of the measure of the poetry and its being in accord with natural qualities; and it is because of its being in accord with natural qualities that human beings have the power of composing poetry. But the composing of the Qur'ān lies outside of the paths and the track of speech, and, on account of that, it is a miracle which does not enter into the power of human beings because of its not being in accord with their nature.[1] It is related that a man came in to Isrāfīl,[2] the teacher of Dhu-n-Nūn al-Miṣrī, and saw him writing on the ground with his finger and singing a verse of poetry. Then Isrāfīl said, "Do you think it right to sing anything?"

p. 560) and with the assistance of the version in the *Risāla* of al-Qushayrī and the commentaries upon it by Muṣṭafà al-'Arūsī and Zakarīya al-Anṣārī (vol. iv, p. 140 of ed. of Būlāq, A.H. 1290). The verses as I read them run—

"Ra'aytuka tabnī dā'iman fī qaṭī'ati
Walau kunta dha ḥazmin lahaddamta mā tabnī
Ka'annī bikūm walaytu afḍalu qawlikum
Alā laytanā kunnā idhā-llaytu lā yughnī."

But in the *Aghānī*, vi, 140, we have the original form and environment. They are by the far from pious al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, afterwards Walīd II of the Umayyad dynasty (reigned A.H. 125–126), written by him against his uncle Hishām, who had usurped the throne. For the story at length see Von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, i, 152, and for the verses *Aghānī*, loc. cit. I do not think there was any deliberate change on the part of the Ṣūfī reciters. Rather, the changes that have arisen are due to oral transmission. That the verses of al-Walīd directed in anger against his uncle could be so turned as to become words of God addressed to the human soul illumines the possibilities in the interpretation of Arabic poetry.

[1] A remarkable proof that a Sacred Book requires a human side to exercise its full influence.

[2] Is this Isrāfīl the Shukrān al-'ābid mentioned in Ibn Khall., i, pp. 292, 294? The printed text of the SM. reads Isrā'īl, but Isrāfīl is certainly right. It stands in Jāmī's list of Ṣūfīs.

He said, "No." Isrāfīl said, "Then thou hast no heart." This is a sign that he who has a heart and experiences its natural qualities knows that verses of poetry and musical tones move it with such a moving as is not encountered through other things than them; and so he imposes upon himself this method of moving his heart either by his own voice or that of another.

(To be continued.)

ART. XXVII.—*Three Years of Buwaihid Rule in Baghdad, A.H. 389–393.* Being a fragment of the History of Hilāl-as-Ṣābī († A.H. 448) from a MS. in the Library of the British Museum (Add. 19,360). By H. F. AMEDROZ.

(*Continued from p. 536, July Number*, 1901.)

NOTE TO III (p. 523).

A notice of Khalaf b. Aḥmad is contained in Ṣafadi's Wāfi bil-Wafayāt (Paris, 2,064, 22*a*). The pedigree does not differ from that given by Dhahabi, but some further information is given about Khalaf, and on the authority of Yāqūt — presumably, therefore, from his Mu'jam al-Udabā. We are told that Khalaf was at one time a rationalist in doctrine, when he became notorious for his persecution of members of the contrary sect. And Yaḥya b. 'Ammāra, who was in Sijistān at the time, had to make his way to Harāt in the disguise of a woman.

[Ṣafadi also gives a notice of Yaḥya (B.M. Add. 23,359, 342*a*), and there calls him b. 'Ammār ash-Shaybāni an-Nīhi. He says he was a strictly orthodox preacher, and a bitter opponent of the Jahmīyya sect (as to which see Shahrastāni, ed. Cureton, p. 60, Haarbrücker's translation, p. 89); that he was very popular; gave a course of public lectures on the entire Qurān; and that a second course was interrupted at Sūra 75 by his death, which occurred in 422 A.H.]

Later Khalaf became a follower of tradition, and then proceeded to persecute his late co-religionists. As an author, in addition to the huge work on the Qurān, which is here said to have consisted of one hundred and twenty volumes, he wrote a work on the interpretation of dreams, entitled Tuḥfat al-Mulūk. Whilst a prisoner of Maḥmūd of Ghazna he swallowed a stupefying draught, by which he deceived his custodians into the belief that he was dead, and he was placed in a coffin and removed by his attendants. Maḥmūd heard of it, and had him re-arrested. He tried the device again, but this time the Sultan had him placed in a closed coffin, and so caused his death.

V.

The campaign of Abu Ja'far al-Ḥajjāj against the Oqailid tribe and 'Ali b. Mazyad (fols. 80–88).

Ibn al-Athīr disposes of these eight folios in some ten lines, saying that al-Ḥajjāj called in the aid of the Khafājah tribesmen, whom he summoned from Syria, and that, after suffering a reverse at Bākarmā, he ended by defeating the enemy at Kūfa and pillaging their camp. The events which led up to this campaign were, briefly, as follows:—

In 381 the troops of Bahā ad-Daula under al-Ḥajjāj had taken Mosul from Abu adh-Dhawwād Muḥammad b. al-Musayyib, the Oqailid chief. He died in 386, whereupon his brothers al-Muqallad and 'Ali both claimed to succeed him, but the latter was preferred as the elder. Al-Muqallad, by gaining over some of the Dailamite troops under al-Ḥajjāj, managed with the help of 'Ali to retake Mosul from al-Ḥajjāj. It was then arranged between the brothers that al-Muqallad should be the ruler there, but that 'Ali should be represented by a deputy, and should share in the revenue. Further dissension followed between them up to 'Ali's death in 390. He was succeeded by a third brother, al-Ḥasan, who became reconciled to al-Muqallad.

On the death of al-Muqallad in 391 his minister, Abu'l-Ḥusain 'Abd Allah b. Ibrāhīm b. Shahrawaih, formed a plan to divide the deceased's property between his son Qirwāsh and a certain Abu Manṣūr Qurād b. al-Ladīd[1] to the exclusion of Qirwāsh's uncle al-Ḥasan. This plan was frustrated, Qurād had to fly, and the uncle and nephew were reconciled (see Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 65, 88, and 116–117), the last episode being also given in this MS., fols. 54–56.

[1] Ibn al-Athīr calls him Abu Manṣūr b. Qurād al-Ladīd. In this volume Hilāl mentions him in 390 as quarrelling with a certain Abu Ṭāhir Yaghmā about property at Bādūrayā (fols. 30, 31); and in 391 as kidnapping an official, who was rescued by Qirwāsh (fol. 70*a*).

In the hostilities now to be related the principal leader of the Oqailids is another uncle of Qirwāsh, named Marḥ b. al-Musayyib, who is not mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr. Ibn Khallikān, in his life of al-Muqallad, calls him Abu'l-Murrakh Mus'ab, and says he died in 397 (Sl. Eng., iii, 418), but in the MS. the name is clearly written 'Marḥ'—see fol. 80*b*, and also fol. 105*b*, where he is again mentioned as succeeding on the death of his brother al-Ḥasan in 392 to the headship of the tribe, and also to Ḥasan's moiety of the Mosul revenue. He is there said to have first employed, and afterwards put to death, a certain Abu 'Abd Allah b. al-Ḥīri, secretary to his brother al-Ḥasan, who had treacherously murdered the above-mentioned Ibn Shahrawaih, Qirwāsh's secretary, and also another official concerned in the collection of Qirwāsh's moiety of the revenue.

[This event is also mentioned in the contemporary chronicle of Elias of Naṣībīn (B.M. Add. 7,197), where the Syriac text confirms the spelling of the name 'Marḥ.' The text is translated by Bäthgen, Abhandl. D.M.G., viii, 3.]

Hilāl tells us (fol. 80) that the Oqailids under Du'aij, a follower of Qirwāsh, were compelled to evacuate the town of al-Madāin. Thereupon, notice is sent to Marḥ, to Qirwāsh, and to Qurād, who were at Mosul, to collect their men. Du'aij with a force returns and besieges al-Madāin, but is forced to retire before the troops of al-Ḥajjāj. Du'aij then applies for help to 'Ali b. Mazyad,[1] and he, distrusting al-Ḥajjāj, sends him a contingent under his brother Abu al-Ghanāim, and, later, joins in person. Their united forces inflict a defeat on the Dailamite and Turkish troops despatched against them under the command of al-Ḥajjāj's brother, Abu Isḥaq, at a place called Bākarmā.[2] But al-Ḥajjāj's force was now doubled in number by the rather unlooked for arrival of a contingent of the Khafājah tribe

[1] The founder of the house that reigned at al-Ḥilla and the ancestor of Ṣadaqah; died in 408. He is mentioned previously by Ibn al-Athīr in 387 as at war with al-Muqallad the Oqailid (vol. ix, pp. 95 and 96).

[2] باكرمى; later on, fol. 107*b*, باكرما. In Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 121, باكرم. The place does not seem to be mentioned by Arab geographers.

under Abu 'Ali al-Ḥasan b. Thumāl.[1] Al-Ḥajjāj had long been urging him to come, for he omitted no opportunity of stirring up strife against the Oqailids, so inveterate was his resentment against them for their past behaviour to him.

[This alludes no doubt to the seizure of Mosul in 386 A.H.]

But Abu 'Ali b. Thumāl was far off, and his coming was uncertain. Hilāl tells a story (fol. 82*a*) to the effect that he remembered being with a certain Abu'l-Qāsim b. Kabshah, a man of great vigour and daring, and long in the service of 'Aḍud ad-Daula as emissary and spy, who said to him: "I see you are corresponding with al-Ḥasan b. Thumāl and are inviting him to come to you, whilst he is putting you off with promises. Now, if the General were to send me with a secretary, I would not return without him but would bring him to you." Hilāl told the General of this, who said, "Ibn Kabshah is a great liar and a great talker of stuff; still, you may send him with a letter, and so get us rid of him." Hilāl accordingly prepared a letter, obtained from the superintendent an allowance for the man's journey, and he started. Those about the General tried to make him believe that Ibn Kabshah would shift for himself and not come back, but soon he arrived, saying that Abu 'Ali b. Thumāl was at Ṣarṣar. This pleased al-Ḥajjāj (it followed closely on his brother's affair with Ibn Mazyad and the Oqailids), and he treated al-Ḥasan b. Thumāl and his men with every consideration. Al-Ḥajjāj was now exposed to insults from his troops on the news arriving of his being superseded as governor of 'Irāq by 'Amīd al-Juyūsh, and he retired to the bridge of boats at Nahrawān. Shortly after he again starts out to join Abu Fatḥ Muḥammad b. 'Annāz,[2] who had been

[1] I can find only one mention of him in Ibn al-Athīr, under 426 A.H., vol. ix, p. 302, where he is stated to have been murdered by his nephew, who thereupon succeeded him as head of the tribe. The first instance of a member of the family being taken into the Government service was in 374 A.H., when Abu Ṭarīf 'Alyān b. Thumāl was made Governor of Kūfa (ib., p. 28).

[2] Ibn al-Athīr (ix, 96) mentions him as in possession of Daqūqā, situate between Baghdad and Irbil, saying how it had been seized in 387 A.H. by a certain Jabra'īl b. Muḥammad; that later it was held by al-Muqallad the Oqailid, and after him by Muḥammad b. 'Annāz. (Hilāl, fol. 37*b*, states that in Shawwāl, 390, news reached Baghdad that al-Muqallad had seized Daqūqā and the neighbouring town of Khānijār, and had left there as his deputy Abu

persuaded to come and assist him against 'Ali b. Mazyad. An engagement follows at Barīqayā (?), when the Oqailids are defeated, Du'aij taken prisoner, and 'Ali b. Mazyad forced to fly.

Al-Ḥajjāj and his allies then pursue and come up with 'Ali b. Mazyad. The latter had gained over a body of the Shaybān tribe who were under Abu'l-Fatḥ b. 'Annāz, and had arranged that when the battle was proceeding they should desert al-Ḥajjāj. They do this, and he and Abu'l-Fatḥ are left with a scanty following, as the Khafājah tribe under Ḥassān, a brother of Abu 'Ali b. Thumāl, had taken the wrong road. Abu'l-Fatḥ, too, threatened defection, but nevertheless al-Ḥajjāj stood firm, and although 'Ali b. Mazyad had carried his tents, and even given thanks to Allah in one of them for his success, he resisted his attacks and finally charged and routed him, capturing his camp with enormous treasure. (This fact is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 121). Abu 'Ali b. Thumāl is charged by al-Ḥajjāj to protect the women in the camp against the Dailamite soldiery, and does so, but fails to prevent the Khafājah tribesmen from doing considerable pillage. Al-Ḥajjāj having returned to his camping-place at Nīl, finds that the flight of the Shaybān tribe and their story of his defeat had caused a subordinate officer of his to prepare to retire to the hills, after first putting his prisoner, Du'aij, to death. Al-Ḥajjāj and Abu 'Ali b. Thumāl move on to Kūfa, and prepare for the attack of the Oqailids under Qirwāsh b. al-Muqallad. At this point the Khafājah tribesmen desert in various directions. Pursued by 'Ali b. Thumāl, at the sound of his trumpets they turn back and demand

Muḥammad Jabra'īl, called Dabbūs ad-Daula.) Muḥammad b. 'Annāz also figures elsewhere in the manuscript. In 389 he treacherously seized and murdered a certain Zahmān b. Hindi and his three sons (fols. 5, 6); in 391 an adherent of his, named Abu'l-Fawāris Behistūn b. Dazīr (who was head of the police, fol. 53*a*), was killed by the Bani Sayyār, a branch of the Shaybān tribe, from whom he was recovering stolen cattle (fols. 65, 66); and in 392 he was himself induced to submit to 'Amīd al-Juyūsh, then governor of 'Irāq (fol. 108). He was also concerned in the contest between the latter and Abu Ja'far al-Ḥajjāj at Baghdad in 397 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 136), and in the hostilities between Badr b. Ḥasanwaih and his son Hilāl in 400 (ib., 150). He died at Ḥulwān in 401, after twenty years' rule (ib., 158).

a money payment in return for having exposed their lives. Eventually they consent to return on condition of being allowed to pillage the country, and proceed to pillage accordingly with terrible results.

Then comes (fol. 86*b*) the story of the engagement and defeat of the Oqailids, which is as follows (text C) :—

The General proceeded to a place called as-Subai', outside Kūfa, wishing to await and encounter the Oqailids at that spot. And Abu 'Ali b. Thumāl said to him: "General, we have ill-treated and oppressed the inhabitants of this district, and they dislike and complain of us. If we have them behind us, in the event of a battle we shall be exposed to a rear attack, to the advantage of our foes. We ought, therefore, to put some distance between us." They accordingly advanced and encamped at a place called as-Ṣābūniyya, two farsakhs distant from Kūfa, Abu 'Ali having about 7,000 horse with him, and the General Abu Ja'far about the same number of Dailamites. In his march to that spot the General had been followed by less than 300 men; the rest held back demanding a money payment, for 'Amīd al-Juyūsh and Abu'l-Qāsim b. Mimmā had been in communication with them, and made them disaffected; but Abu Ja'far sent off Abu'l-Qāsim b. Ẓahīr, who brought in most of the defaulters, for he was a favourite of theirs and they were ashamed to say "No" to him.

The Oqailids arrived 7,000 strong with munitions, catapults, weapons, and quilted doublets,[1] their banners

[1] قزاغند. The word is also written كزاغند. See Dozy, Supp., sub voc. In Dhahabī's Tārīkh al-Islām it occurs in both forms (see B.M. Or. 48, 13*b*, and Or. 49, 25*b*). We read in the latter passage that it was worn in 446 A.H. by the troops of Mu'izz b. Bādīs of Tunis when attacked by the Arabs under Mūnis b. Yaḥya, who said to him:

فاين نطعن هولاء وقد لبسوا الكزاغندات والمغافر قال فى عينيهم فسُمى ابا العينين

See the same incident in Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 389, who concludes with وسُمى ذلك اليوم يوم العين. It was worn also by Saladin in 571 A.H.—Ibn al-'Adīm in the Zubdat al-Ḥalab, Paris, 1666, 192*b*.

flying and their trumpets and drums sounding as they advanced, and they were as impatient for the fight as the Sultaniyeh.[1] Abu 'Ali b. Thumāl had paid a visit to the Mashhad at al-Gharīyeh[2]—peace be upon its inmate!—and had prayed and prostrated himself at the tomb, and besought Allah Most High for aid and victory. And he said to his men, "This will be a place of death and dishonour if you are weak-hearted and slack, but of life and glory if you are firm and victorious." They promised to assist at the risk of their lives in withstanding the enemy.

The General drew up his lines in front of the main group of tents, posted Abu'l-Qāsim az-Ẓahīr on his right and Khusru Shāh on his left, and stationed himself in the centre. And the women appeared riding in litters on camels, with the infantry in front of them with bucklers made of skins and with swords, and Abu 'Ali at their head with the cavalry, the distance between our force and his being considerable. The onslaught took place, and all was confusion, the captured horses being goaded to madness, whilst the prisoners were led away and the Arabs of the Khafājah tribe brandished their spears.[3] A message was sent by Abu 'Ali b. Thumāl to the General telling him the road was blocked and that he must advance towards him. But he replied, "Is this a place for one in my position to advance over, seeing that I must not separate from my forces, nor spread them out before the cavalry in this open ground?" Again and again he pressed him, but this was his answer, until finally Abu 'Ali said, "Send me, then, a body of Persian troops that our people may see them, for their courage will be doubled when they know that you are behind them." So he sent off Abu'l-Qāsim az-Ẓahīr to him with a body of Dailamite cavalry, and with the Turks stationed at Kūfa, who had marched out with the General. But before they reached the scene of the battle the Oqailids

[1] I cannot understand this term.
[2] One of two tall buildings near Kūfa, where is the tomb of 'Ali (Yāqūt, iii, 790).
[3] This passage is obscure.

had been defeated, about a thousand of them having been taken prisoners who were led off to the tents, after having their clothes, beasts, and weapons taken from them.

Abu 'Ali avoided and prevented slaughter, and only one man, a secretary of Rāfi' b. Muḥammad (the Oqailid) was killed. When the two forces met, the Khafājah women and their male and female slaves were mounted on horses and camels, and they now proceeded to the Oqailid camp, which was situate at some distance from the battlefield, and took and pillaged it. The Oqailids turned and fled, those in front not heeding those behind, and the Khafājah tribe took their treasure, weapons, beasts, and baggage."

We are told in conclusion that Abu 'Ali b. Thumāl himself told Hilāl how he pursued the Oqailids to beyond the Mashhad of al-Ḥāir,[1] and that another informant told him of al-Ḥajjāj's alarm at his absence and his return on the following day, want of men having prevented him from taking any prisoners or booty.

The two commanders then returned to Kūfa.

The absence of al-Ḥajjāj on this campaign led to such an outbreak of anarchy and outrage at Baghdad that 'Amīd al-Juyūsh was sent there to restore order. How he succeeded in the task has been already mentioned. But the resentment of al-Ḥajjāj at being thus superseded twice led to actual hostilities. In the next year, 393 A.H., he advanced from Kūfa with his Dailamite and Turkish soldiery, and his Khafājah allies against the forces of 'Amīd al-Juyūsh, by whom he was defeated at an-Nu'māniyya. Mutual acts of aggression followed, each trying to secure the support of the neighbouring Arab tribes, until 'Amīd al-Juyūsh was summoned away to Khūzistān in order to resist the attack of Abu'l-'Abbās ibn Wāṣil (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 123). Al-Ḥajjāj is next mentioned in 395 A.H. as concerned with Qirwāsh, the Oqailid, in the capture at Kūfa of an Alide, Abu 'Ali 'Omar b. Muḥammad b. 'Omar, from whom Qirwāsh took the sum of 100,000 dinars.

[1] The burial-place of Ḥusain (Yāqūt, ii, 189).

[He is mentioned in the MS., fol. 13, as one of the relatives of the wealthy Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. 'Omar b. Yaḥya, then deceased.]

In 397 A.H. al-Ḥajjāj attacked Baghdad itself. 'Amīd al-Juyūsh had appointed Abu'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. 'Annāz to succeed a certain Qulḥ[1] as guardian of the Ṭarīq Khurāsān, and had thereby displeased Badr b. Ḥasanwaih. He and other Arab chiefs thereupon joined forces with al-Ḥajjāj, and together they advanced on Baghdad, which was defended by Abu'l-Fatḥ b. 'Annāz. But on news arriving of the final defeat of Abu'l-'Abbās b. Wāṣil, the Arab contingents melted away and al-Ḥajjāj retired to Ḥulwān. He then succeeded in making terms with Bahā ad-Daula, and was admitted to an interview with him, but secretly for fear of giving offence to 'Amīd al-Juyūsh (ib., p. 136). In 400 A.H. al-Ḥajjāj died at Ahwāz (ib., p. 154).

VI.

The Flight of the Vizier Abu'l-'Abbās ad-Ḍabbi from ar-Rayy (A.H. 392).

Six folios are given to the story of the flight of the vizier Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm ad-Ḍabbī from ar-Rayy to the territory of Badr b. Ḥasanwaih. Ibn al-Athīr merely states the fact under the year 393, but in his mention of the death of the vizier in 398 he gives the cause of his flight (vol. ix, 126 and 147). He was appointed vizier to Fakhr ad-Daula in 385, in succession to the Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād (ib., p. 77), and when in 387 Fakhr ad-Daula was succeeded by his son Majd ad-Daula, under the regency of his mother, he continued in office (ib., p. 93).

[1] The MS. mentions a certain Abu'l-Fawāris Qullaḥ, probably the same person, as attacked by 'Ali b. Mazyad in 389 A.H. at Dair al-'Āqūl (fol. 5*a*), as summoned from Baghdad to assist in expelling the Oqailids under Qurād b. al-Ladīd from Bādūrayā in 390 A.H. (fols. 31, 32), and as meeting 'Amīd al-Juyūsh on his way to take up his appointment as Nāib of Baghdad in 392 A.H. (fol. 98*b*).

The vizier was an author. Specimens of his writings are given in the Yatīmat ad-Dahr, iii, 118. On p. 119 he is said to have ranked next to the Ṣāḥib and to Ibrāhīm as-Ṣābi; and we are told that the loss suffered by letters in his death was repaired by the merits of the Amīr Abu'l-Faḍl 'Ubaid Allah b. Aḥmad al-Mīkāli, of whose works extracts are also given (vol. iv, 247).

Hilāl begins (fol. 109) by referring to certain troubles between the vizier and the army, and to his arrest and subsequent return to office, as having been previously narrated. He then says that for the space of a year the conduct of affairs proved satisfactory, but that the vizier was severe and grasping. Then occurred the death of a nephew of the regent, called al-Iṣfahbadh,[1] and the vizier was suspected of having brought this about by poison. The regent applied for 200 dinars for his obsequies; the vizier thought the money would be better employed in satisfying the demands of the soldiery; and the regent, in her resentment, exclaimed, "How should the murderer perform the mourning for his victim?" Hearing of this, the vizier made arrangements for taking refuge with Badr b. Ḥasanwaih, who distrusted the wisdom of the step but offered him an asylum. A year is spent by the vizier in settling his affairs. He then consults a friend, Abu 'Ali al-Ḥusain b. al-Qāsim, surnamed al-Khaṭīr, who treacherously advises him to fly. His secretary tries to open his eyes, but he persists in trusting al-Khaṭīr, and suddenly quits ar-Rayy. Much commotion follows. Al-Khaṭīr assures the troops that the treasury has been emptied, and offers them the terms they had when in the service of Fakhr ad-Daula. They accept; al-Khaṭīr becomes vizier, and publicly reprobates the name of his predecessor.

Arriving at Barūjird, Abu'l-'Abbās ad-Ḍabbi is not met by Badr b. Ḥasanwaih, either in person or by a representative, but his needs are provided for. He contents himself with

[1] She is called his sister by 'Utbi (*op. cit.*, 371). Her death occurred in 419 A.H. (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 260).

very little, and eventually excuses himself from receiving any money allowance. He now begins to regret his course of action. A friend, consulted by Abu'l-'Abbās' secretary, says that his master's right course is to conciliate Majd ad-Daula's mother and the principal persons at Court. The secretary protests that to do this would require 200,000 dinars, and that they had lost everything for the sake of saving 200. (It may be that this is the foundation for Ibn al-Athīr's statement, vol. ix, p. 147, that the vizier actually spent this sum in trying to regain office.) Within a year and a half his successor, al-Khaṭīr, is arrested. Thereupon, Abu Sa'd Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. al-Faḍl hastens from Hamadhān, confident that his wealth and position, and his connection with the regent, will procure him office. Badr, disliking him, is averse to this, and sends a force of 3,000 men to reinstate Abu'l-'Abbās as vizier. On approaching ar-Rayy, Abu'l-'Abbās is invited by the regent and the leading inhabitants to enter the city, but he is warned by friends that treachery is intended, so he turns back.

Abu Sa'd accordingly becomes vizier, and by spending his own revenue he gains over the ruling personages. But he was severe in his treatment of the troops, and they made an attack on him, whereupon he also took refuge with Badr at Barūjird, and al-Khaṭīr resumed office. Badr refuses to address al-Khaṭīr by the title of vizier, and he in turn refuses Badr the title of Sayyid. This leads to their being on very bad terms, and prompts al-Khaṭīr to sow dissension between Badr and the local chiefs, and also between him and his son Hilāl, which was the main cause of his subsequent revolt against his father.[1] The origin of Badr's dislike towards Abu Sa'd is next explained. When the latter filled the office of Nāẓir at Hamadhān and elsewhere under

[1] They came to open warfare in 400 A.H., and Badr, being worsted, called in the aid of Bahā ad-Daula, who sent a force under his vizier, Abu Ghālib Fakhr al-Mulk. He defeated and captured Hilāl, and forced him to surrender a fortress where he seized vast treasure (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 149–152). The fortress was probably Dazbaz, the citadel of the town of Sābūr Khuwāst, the capital of Badr's dominion (Yāqūt, ii, 572).

Majd ad-Daula, his brother Shams ad-Daula sharing in the revenue, Badr sought to establish a special Khān at Hamadhān for the sale of goods coming from his territories. It brought him in a sum of 1,200,000 dirhams, and he appointed an agent to manage it and farm it out to someone willing to take it. This was not to the liking of Abu Sa'd, who anticipated it would result in a diminution of the revenue of the country. He accordingly sent hired Dailamites to make an attack on the house of the agent, who fled back to Barūjird and, on the plea that he had been heavily robbed, obtained leave to indemnify himself against certain estates belonging to Abu Sa'd. And he recovered thereout 50,000 dinars. Thereupon Abu Sa'd made an insulting remark about open robbery which reached the ears of Badr and irritated him. Consequently, when on the arrest of al-Khaṭīr Abu Sa'd sought to become vizier, Badr sent troops as above stated to try and reinstate Abu'l-'Abbās ad-Ḍabbi. Abu Sa'd remained in office for two years; then the troops revolted and he fled—it is said he was lowered in a basket from the house roof—and arrived suddenly at Karaj,[1] whence he came on to Sābūr Khuwāst. Here he was well received and given liberal allowance for his needs, including some white wine, which had not been provided in the case of Abu'l-'Abbās ad-Ḍabbi, for Abu Sa'd was known to be an easy-going and tolerant man. After a few days he went on to Barūjird.

He was not met on his arrival there by Abu'l-'Abbās ad-Ḍabbi, who excused himself on the ground of an attack of gout, but sent his son to meet Abu Sa'd, and the two exchanged courtesies and entered the city together. Later in the day Abu'l-'Abbās came in a litter to visit Abu Sa'd and embraced him from the litter, addressing him by the

[1] Karkh in the MS. (fol. 114*b*), but Karaj near Barūjird must be intended, known as Karaj Abi Dulaf; see Iṣṭakhri, 196 and 199, and Ṭabari sub 253 A.H., ser. III, p. 1687. Karaj was the cradle of the Buwaihids' power. The head of their house, 'Ali b. Buwaih, afterwards 'Imād ad-Daula, on joining Mardāwīj, the Ziyarid, was appointed by him Governor of Karaj. How Mardāwīj attempted to recall the appointment and was frustrated by 'Ali, is related by Ibn al-Athīr (viii, 200).

title of vizier. This he made a point of doing, for Abu Sa'd had addressed him from ar-Rayy after his fall from office by the title of Ustādh ar-Ra'īs, and he now wished to give him to understand that misfortunes do not deprive a vizier of his title. They met but this once.

A life of the vizier Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm ad-Ḍabbi is given by Yāqūt in the volume of the Mu'jam al-Udabā above referred to (Bodl. Or. 753, fol. 17*a*). After quoting from the Yatīmat ad-Dahr the estimate of his literary eminence, and his connection with the Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād, he mentions his flight from ar-Rayy, and his fruitless expenditure with a view to regaining office; his death, followed closely by that of his son Abu'l-Qāsim, his wish to be buried in the Mashhad of al-Ḥusain, and his son's offer of 500 dinars to the Sharīf Abu Aḥmad[1] for a tomb there, which was refused, but a free site granted, the Sharīf himself attending the interment; all of which is stated by Ibn al-Athīr (ix, 147).

The remainder of Yāqūt's narrative is given on the authority of one 'Hidāk,' which is doubtless a copyist's error for 'Hilāl,' for the person mentioned by this authority as his informant is the Qāḍi Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bārūdi, the identical person from whom Hilāl derived the information concerning the vizier's flight from ar-Rayy and his subsequent doings at Barūjird contained in the foregoing narrative. What follows is clearly, therefore, taken from an earlier portion of Hilāl's History. First, the death in 385 A.H. of the Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād is related, and his last advice to his sovereign, Fakhr al-Mulk, and how on his death the latter at once proceeded to lay hands on the dead man's property (see Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 77, who

[1] Abu Aḥmad al-Ḥusain b. Mūsa, surnamed at-Ṭāhir, or the 'pure,' father to ar-Raḍī and al-Murtaḍā, was fifth in descent from the Imām Mūsa al-Kāẓim, through his son Ibrāhīm al-Jazzār, and was the Naqīb or head of the descendants of 'Ali, having been dismissed four times from this office and reappointed. In 394 A.H. he was named Chief Qāḍi of Baghdad by Bahā ad-Daula, but the Caliph, al-Qādir billah, refused to confirm his appointment. He was also judge for criminal matters—al-Muẓālim, and leader of the pilgrimage. He died in 399 A.H. (Dhahabī, B.M. Or. 48, 262*a*).

mentions an instance of similar conduct on the part of the Fatimide al-'Azīz towards his vizier — Yāqūt b. Killis). Then follows an account of the Ṣāḥib's funeral and the story of the graceless doubt on the part of the Ṣāḥib's dependent, the Qāḍi 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad, as to whether he had been deserving of Allah's mercy, which was followed by the Qāḍi's arrest and fine, as stated by Ṣafadi (see infra, p. 771, n. 1). The Ṣāḥib's successor in office was Abu'l-'Abbās ad-Dabbī, but a principal Kātib of the deceased one Abu 'Ali al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Ḥamūla, who had great influence with the troops, and who was then engaged in opposing the efforts of Qābūs b. Washmagīr to recover Jurjān after his eighteen years' banishment, made Fakhr ad-Daula an offer of eight million dirhams for the post of vizier, and announced his coming in person. Fakhr ad-Daula decided to meet him, and insisted on Abu'l-'Abbās doing likewise. He in turn offered six million dirhams if he might continue sole vizier, and be dispensed from meeting his rival. In the result they were named joint viziers, Abu 'Ali being pacified by a rebate of two million dirhams, and the two jointly made liable for a sum of ten millions, so the terms were not unfavourable to the monarch. Each received similar honours, the duties of the office being performed by them in turn, and letters being couched in their joint names. Both concurred in the business of seizing the Ṣāḥib's property, and in laying fines on his partisans, and the Qāḍi al-Bārūdi has some edifying stories to tell of their doings. At Iṣpahān they extorted large sums. The town of Istirābādh and its district was given over to the care of one Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Rāfi'. He invited the leading inhabitants to his house, delayed admitting them till the heat of the day was come, and then gave them highly salted food with nothing to drink. Later water was brought in, and with it writing materials, and under compulsion of thirst a sum of ten million dirhams was extorted from the guests. The reputation of the inhabitants of Qazwin for violence made the officials slow to commence

operations there, and rightly so, for the official who, on the strength of his familiarity with the inhabitants and their wealth, undertook the task, was attacked in his house and murdered. The funds so acquired for Fakhr ad-Daula were squandered within a short period of his death, which occurred in 387 A.H. Under his successor, Majd ad-Daula, power was vested in the Queen mother, as mentioned in the above narrative. Jurjān was at this point conquered by Qābūs, and the state of the army opposed to him demanded the presence of one of the viziers. The choice, which was determined by lot, fell on Abu 'Ali b. Ḥamūla, who after some engagements with Qābūs, found himself in need of supplies from ar-Rayy. These his co-vizier neglected to send, and he had to return discomfited. Dissension followed between the viziers, and the opinion began to prevail that their joint and inharmonious tenure of office was producing mischief, and that one of them ought to be dismissed. Abu 'Ali, confident of being the favourite with the army, was so negligent that Abu'l-'Abbās got an order from the regent for his arrest and conveyance to a fortress, where he had him murdered. He then continued sole vizier until 392 A.H., when we are told, briefly, that the death of the regent's brother and what followed thereon led to his flight to Barūjird and his death there in 398. The speedy death of his son Abu'l-Qāsim was said to have been caused by poison administered at the instigation of Abu Bakr b. Rāfi', whom we may believe to have been, at least, capable of the deed, and who thereupon proceeded from Hamadhān to Barūjird to collect the deceased's estate, of which he was reported to have retained for himself a sum of over 600,000 dinars. This proceeding on his part had a precedent—if, indeed, a precedent was needed—in one of the acts of the vizier Fakhr al-Mulk, whose story is next to be related.

VII.

Fall of the Vizier Abu Ghālib b. Khalaf (A.H. 393).

Under this date is recorded the fall of the vizier Abu Ghālib Muḥammad b. 'Ali b. Khalaf, who later bore the title of Fakhr al-Mulk, and the appointment of Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Sūdmandh as his successor.

The life of Fakhr al-Mulk is given by Ibn Khallikān (Sl. Eng., iii, 278), and a notice of him is contained in Dhahabi's Tārīkh al-Islām (B.M. Or. 49, 60*b*), and also in the Mirāt az-Zamān (B.M. Or. 4,619, 203*a*). All the accounts agree in extolling his virtues and abilities, Dhahabi saying that even as a boy he was nicknamed by his relatives 'the little vizier,' and that in respect of business aptitude and financial success not even the great viziers of the age, such as al-Muhallabi, Ibn al-'Amīd, or the Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād, came up to his level.

Born in 354 A.H., his official career began, Dhahabi tells us, in the finance department at Wāsiṭ. In this narrative he is first mentioned as left in charge of public affairs at Shīrāz by al-Muwaffaq during his campaign against Ibn Bakhtiyār (fol. 14*b*). He was evidently one of the vizier's adherents,[1] for he was in his company when he was arrested, and was himself for a time imprisoned, until Abu al-Khaṭṭāb was persuaded, against his own inclination, to release him and to appoint him deputy to 'Amīd al-Juyūsh (fol. 36*a*). He shared the hostility of al-Muwaffaq to 'Amīd al-Juyūsh and to his father, Abu Ja'far Ustādh Hurmuz, and after the retreat of Ṭāhir b. Khalaf from Kirmān he complained that Abu Ja'far had seized vacant fiefs for himself and for his relatives, and caused Ibn Sūdmandh, then an 'Ārid, to be sent to look into the matter. At this date Abu Ghālib was

[1] How on al-Muwaffaq's return to Shīrāz, after his flight to ad-Dīwānī, he got to distrust him (fol. 94), has been already mentioned.

already vizier (fols. 47, 48). He is also concerned in two other incidents, neither of which seems to bear out the character for justice (*'adl*), in which respect Dhahabī places him even above the other viziers of the period. The first (fol. 75–78) was his journey to Nāiband[1] and Sīrāf early in 392, by express command of Bahā ad-Daula, to enquire into and superintend the getting in of the enormous estate left by a certain Abu at-Ṭayyib al-Farrukhān b. Shīrāz. He it was who had mainly provided for the financial necessities of Ṣamṣām ad-Daula in Fars, and on the death of his vizier, Abu'l-Qāsim al-'Alā b. al-Ḥasan (in 387, Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 94), he was considered the fittest person to succeed him, and was appointed to reside in Ahwāz, with deputies in Shīrāz and Fasā. But his administration was not successful, and he was replaced by Abu 'Alī b. Ustādh Hurmuz ('Amīd al-Juyūsh). On the accession of Bahā ad-Daula he was at first arrested and fined, but later was sent on an expedition against the Zuṭṭ, when he died. His great wealth being much talked about, Abu Ghālib was specially sent to enquire into it. A confidential servant of the deceased gave information to the vizier which enabled him to get in property of enormous value, but he nevertheless caused him to be tortured with such severity that he committed suicide. The vizier's enemies at court suggested that he had caused the man's death in order to conceal the amount of property he had kept for himself, and we are told that this made an impression on Bahā ad-Daula and contributed to the subsequent arrest and fall of the vizier (fol. 78*a*).

The second incident (fols. 116–118) is the murder of a Kātib Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Isḥaq. In the year 392 Ibn Isḥaq had been sent by the vizier Abu Naṣr Sābūr[2] to

[1] This place, which is variously pointed in the MS., is described as distant 15 farsakhs from Sīrāf, and is marked on the coastline to the south of that place on St. John's Map of Persia. I am indebted for its identification to Mr. G. le Strange.

[2] The life of the vizier Sābūr b. Ardashīr is given by Ibn Khallikān (Sl. Eng., i, 554). He succeeded Abu Manṣūr b. Ṣāliḥān as vizier to Bahā ad-Daula in 380, and had had intervals of office up to this date. He died in 416, as did also his predecessor. In 383 he founded the Dār al-'Ilm or Academy of Sābūr, mentioned in the Risalatu'l-Ghufrān (J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 648, n. 3; see Ibn

Baghdad together with Abu'l-Qāsim b. Mimmā, with instructions to arrest there a certain member of the Alide party concurrently with the arrest, by Sābūr himself, of another at Wāsiṭ. But Ibn Mimmā gave notice to the Alide, who escaped, and the other being warned, escaped also, and only returned on receiving the promise on oath of indemnity. This failure contributed to the dismissal of Sābūr and his flight to al-Baṭīḥa to avoid arrest. We are told that his successors in the Nāẓirship of Baghdad, though they assumed the title of viziers, were laughed at for so doing, as the duties no longer justified the assumption. And the subsequent desolation of the place is vividly described (fols. 71–75). We are now told (fol. 116) that Ibn Isḥaq had proved very oppressive and arbitrary in his conduct at Baghdad, exacting fines from the merchants, and imprisoning and ill-treating the Katholikos.[1] On the fall of Sābūr he fled to Awānā, and thence to al-Baṭīḥa. He afterwards managed to regain the favour of Bahā ad-Daula, who sent him to the neighbourhood of ar-Rūdhān (in Fars, near the border of Kirmān; Iṣṭakhri, 125, 126) to take charge of a part of the crown lands there, which he administered with financial success to the satisfaction of Bahā ad-Daula. This was not to the taste of the vizier Abu Ghālib. Accordingly, when Bahā ad-Daula was engaged in fighting Abu'l-'Abbās b. Wāṣil,[2] the vizier

al-Athīr, ix, 246–7, and Dhahabī, Or. 48, 19*b*). We learn from the Mirāt az-Zamān of Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzi (Paris, 1506, 69*a*) that this Academy stood in the Karkh suburb between the two walls; that on the entry of Ṭughril Beg it was burnt and the contents pillaged and scattered, many of the volumes being removed to Khurāsān; and that this led to the foundation, in 452 A.H., of another library in the street of Ibn Abi 'Aun in West Baghdād, which was endowed with a thousand volumes. It is possible that this refers to the short-lived library of Hilal's son, Ghars an-Ni'ma, mentioned ante, p. 509.

[1] His name was Yuwānīs, and his appointment late in the year 391 is recorded at fol. 71*a*. His predecessor, Mar Mārī b. Ṭūbi, died in the previous year (fol. 53*a*). For the Nestorian Church and Katholikos, see al-Bīrūnī, pp. 282–284.

[2] His revolt against his master, Muhadhdhib ad-Daula, whom he expelled from al-Baṭīḥa, as he did Lashkar Sitān from al-Baṣra; his defeat of 'Amīd al-Juyūsh; the flight of Bahā ad-Daula before him from Ahwāz, which he occupied and pillaged; and his eventual defeat by the vizier Abu Ghālib, and death, are related by Ibn al-Athīr under the years 394–397, vol. ix, 127–130 and 137. In this narrative he is mentioned on fol. 76*a* as in possession of 'Abbādān, at a date when al-Baṣra still belonged to Lashkar Sitān, and in the autograph of

had him imprisoned and rigorously treated. Then, hearing Bahā ad-Daula had been enquiring about Ibn Isḥaq, and fearing he might be required to send him to the Court, he cunningly offered him a mission to Kirmān to enquire into and redress the fiscal administration of Abu Ghālib al-Ḥasan b. Manṣūr,[1] telling him to proceed to Fasā, where he was to receive money for the journey. The vizier then instructed a body of Zuṭṭs to assassinate him. They accordingly stopped the caravan with which he was travelling, seized him on the pretext of holding him as a hostage for one of their body whom the vizier had imprisoned, and, after removing him to a distance, murdered him. But a chamberlain who was travelling with him found out the truth of the matter, and talked about it. This alarmed the vizier, and he bought the man's silence. But it was reported as evidence of Bahā ad-Daula's regard and concern for Ibn Isḥaq that, on a subsequent occasion, he warned a personal attendant of his to be on his guard against falling a victim to the machinations of the vizier.

The concluding folios of the MS. (118–119) are occupied with the story of the vizier's arrest in the beginning of

Elias of Nāṣibīn (B.M. Add. 7,197), his attack on Muhadhdhib ad-Daula is given under 393 A.H. (In the Syriac text of the passage he is called a Cushite or Ethiopian, for which the Arabic equivalent of az-Zanjī is given by Bäthgen in his translation, loc. cit.) Dhahabī, in the Tārīkh al-Islām (B.M. Or. 48, 249*b*, under 397 A.H.), notices his death, calling him Abu'l-Ghanāim, and says that people used to tell him he would be a king, and laughingly ask him for future employment and favours; that he did eventually rule at Sīrāf and al-Baṣra; that he attacked Ahwāz and drove away Bahā ad-Daula (the event referred to in the text); then conquered al-Baṭīḥa, when Muhadhdhib ad-Daula went off to Baghdad, and lost his baggage on the road, so that he was forced to ride on a cow; that later, unable to withstand the vizier Abu Ghālib, he sought help from Ḥassān al-Khafāji; then fled to Badr b. Ḥasanwaih, and was finally put to death at Wāsiṭ, after being captured, according to Ibn al-Athīr, by Muḥammad b. 'Annāz.

[1] 'As-Sīrāfi Dhu al-Sa'ādatain' (Dhahabī, B.M. Or. 49, 77*b*). In 402 he was operating with the Khafaja tribe against the Oqailids, and his allies laid a plot against him, which he discovered and punished by slaughtering many of them (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 165, 166). In 409 he succeeded Ibn Fasanjis as vizier of Sulṭān ad-Daula (ib., 219, 220), and in 412 he was murdered by the Dailamite troops at Ahwāz, when serving as vizier to Musharrif ad-Daula, who in 411 had taken 'Irāq from his brother Sulṭān ad-Daula. The latter had, in violation of his promise, employed Ibn Saḥlān as his vizier, and no doubt Abu Ghālib had taken the side of Musharrif ad-Daula (ib., 224 and 228). This is the Abu Ghālib whom de Slane distinguishes from the vizier Fakhr al-Mulk in his English version of Ibn Khallikān (i, 455, n. 7).

the year 393, and how he was succeeded by Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Sūdmandh. The latter had come to 'Irāq, in the capacity of secretary, with the vizier Abu Manṣūr b. Ṣāliḥān[1] during the reign of Sharaf ad-Daula. He was next appointed Nāẓir of certain districts of Ahwāz, and eventually was named 'Ārid of the Dailamites. It is under this title that he is mentioned as employed by al-Muwaffaq in the murder of the Dailamites of Ibn Bakhtiyār's faction at Jīraft (fol. 17); as one of the persons sent to rebuke Bulfaḍl b. Buwaih (fol. 27); as present at the Government office on the last appearance there of al-Muwaffaq (fol. 34*b*); as sent by the vizier Abu Ghālib to enquire into the dealings of Ustādh Hurmuz with the fiefs in Kirmān after the retreat of Ṭāhir b. Khalaf (fol. 48); and as in command of the troops sent by Bahā ad-Daula against ad-Dīwāni (fol. 92*a*). We are now told (fol. 119) that he was promoted under al-Muwaffaq, and that "after his death he proceeded to Kirmān, as already stated." (This is presumably the mission referred to above, fol. 48, death being written in error for the fall of al-Muwaffaq, as his death occurred only in the following year, 394.) The success of Ibn Sūdmandh on this mission made a favourable impression on Bahā ad-Daula. This roused the resentment of the vizier Abu Ghālib, who had him arrested and disgraced. But he managed to communicate through an intermediary with Bahā ad-Daula, and he, recollecting the vizier's dealings with the estate of al-Farrukhān, gave Ibn Sūdmandh permission to arrest him and to take his place as Nāẓir of Baghdād. Ibn Sūdmandh accordingly went to the vizier's residence on the day fixed for his arrest, and after attending his presence left and waited outside, where he had men posted in readiness to effect the arrest. And the vizier and all his adherents and suite were arrested. Fines proportioned to their means were laid on each one of them, the vizier being required to pay within a fixed period 100,000 dinars of

[1] He was appointed vizier by Sharaf ad-Daula in 374, confirmed in office by Bahā ad-Daula in 379, dismissed in 380, restored in 382, and he resigned finally in 383 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 28, 71); died in 416 (ib., 246).

Qāsān, which amounted, we are informed, to four million dirhams of the then currency. Moreover, he was subjected to some violence and pressure, besides . . . . [At this point the MS. abruptly breaks off.]

Of Ibn Sūdmandh's subsequent career I can find no information, and how long Abu Ghālib remained in disgrace is uncertain. But at some date prior to 397 he was reappointed vizier and given the title of Fakhr al-Mulk, for in that year he defeated Ibn Wāṣil, who had seized al-Baṭīḥa (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 138); in 400 he defeated Hilāl, the revolted son of Badr b. Ḥasanwaih, and made him surrender the fortress of Dazbaz and its treasures, as already stated (and we are told in the Mirāt az-Zamān, loc. cit., that on this occasion he retained for himself a sum of above three million dinars, which on his death the vizier ar-Rukhkhajī succeeded in recovering from the persons with whom it had been deposited); later, he was engaged in warfare with the Khafāja tribe, in consequence of their attacks on pilgrims; and in 405 he was forced to recognize the growing power of 'Ali b. Mazyad by granting him the territories of the Bani Dubays, whom 'Ali had defeated, and whom the vizier had encouraged in their resistance to him (ib., pp. 165–175). The last five years of his life he passed as Governor of 'Irāq in succession to 'Amīd al-Juyūsh, who had died in 401 A.H.

Fakhr al-Mulk was put to death by Sulṭān ad-Daula, the son and successor of Bahā ad-Daula, in 407 A.H. The story told by Ibn Khallikān, of his attributing his fall to a woman having imprecated the vengeance of Allah on him for his refusal to redress an outrage committed by one of his favourites, occurs also in Ibn al-Athīr (ix, 182), where the name of the favourite is stated to be 'Alamkār. It is noticeable that the name of the man mentioned in this narrative (fol. 94*a*) as employed by the vizier to test the real sentiments of al-Muwaffaq towards him is Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alamkār, who is called the chief Ustādh.

Dhahabi is loud in praise of the vizier's good qualities, and says he was put to death unjustly. The rule of his

predecessor in 'Irāq, 'Amīd al-Juyūsh, was praised by all, and, amongst others, by 'Utbi (p. 303), and he goes on to say that his successor, "the vizier of viziers," surpassed him in general well-doing. This narrative brings into relief other and different characteristics. He is depicted as jealous, grasping, and cruel. But it may be that our historian is also the warrant for his virtues. Dhahabi says that Hilāl's Kitāb al-Wuzarā contained an exhaustive and prolix account of the vizier, and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzi (op. cit., fol. 203*b*), after describing his generosity to his followers and his public improvements, including a hospital, quotes Ibn as-Ṣābi for the statement that a bequest of his was found giving one-third of his property in alms among the descendants of Abu Ṭālib and of al-'Abbās, with the poor in general, and specifying their names and families, and the place where the property, which was of great value, was to be found. Indeed, Hilāl was himself a recipient of his bounty. Ṣafadi, in his notice of him (B.M. Add. 23,359, 225*b*), says that Hilāl's conversion to Islām led to the vizier depositing with him a sum of 30,000 dinars, and that he succeeded in retaining this sum. For, having frankly disclosed the truth to the vizier ar-Rukhkhaji his official superior, he was told to keep the money for his support.

[Mu'ayyad al-Mulk Abu 'Ali al-Ḥusain b. al-Ḥasan ar-Rukhkhaji was Wakīl to the vizier at the time of his death, and it was by him that his property, which amounted to 1,200,000 dinars, and also the sums deposited with various persons, were traced and got in. Ibn al-Athīr mentions him first in 409, i.e. two years after the vizier's death, as in the service of Sulṭān ad-Daula (ix, 216, 217); and again in 413, as vizier of Musharrif ad-Daula, and as helping to effect a compromise of the two brothers' claims. He adds that on the fall of Fakhr al-Mulk he had been induced by Musharrif ad-Daula (not Sulṭān ad-Daula as one would have expected) to accept the post of vizier (ib., 230, 231). In 414 he was dismissed, and was succeeded by al-Maghribi, as to whom see Ibn Khallikān (Sl. Eng., i, 450). Later, ar-Rukhkhaji was in the service of Jalāl ad-Daula (ib., 235

and 286), and in 431 he died, having exercised great influence during the period of his retirement (ib., 317.)]

VIII.

The remainder of the MS. consists of shorter episodes, some of which are of interest.

On fols. 7–11 is set out a letter from Maḥmūd of Ghaznah to the Caliph al-Qādir billah in 389, telling how he had defeated the Samanid sovereign and conquered Khurāsān, and had caused the Caliph's name to be inserted in the public prayer, that of his predecessor, al-Ṭai', not having yet been discontinued. The style of the letter is very similar to that of the Kitāb Yamīni; perhaps it also was composed by 'Utbi.

Each of the three following years is prefaced with a notice of the day on which it began, according to both the Alexandrian Era and that of Yezdegird, i.e. the Persian Era. Many of the current events are dated according to the Persian reckoning, for which see al-Bīrūni, Sachau's translation, p. 218.

The chronicle of isolated events includes deaths, some of persons who can be identified, murders, and accidents, the coming and going of prominent persons,[1] natural phenomena such as comets, excessive cold, and an inundation, and appointments to office, in many instances to that of ''Adl,' which is expressed by saying that the Qāḍi accepts the appointee's 'Shahādah.'[2] Ibn al-Athīr (ix, 115) tells a story

[1] Amongst others that of the Chief Qāḍi Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad and Abu'l-Ḥusain 'Ali b. Mīkāl, who passed through Baghdad in 389 A.H. on their way to perform the pilgrimage, who were received with much state by the principal officials (fol. 4*b*). The former was a native of Hamadhān and Chief Qāḍi of ar-Rayy. He owed his advancement to the Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād, and, like his patron, held Mu'tazilah doctrines. Nevertheless, on the Ṣāḥib's death, he doubted whether he had found mercy, as he had given no sign of repentance. This was held to be odious conduct, having regard to his obligations to the deceased, and it led to his being arrested and dismissed by Fakhr ad-Daula, and fined three million dirhams. He died in 414 or 415 (Ṣafadī, B.M. Add. 23,358, 178*b*). The latter is possibly the same person as the Khwāja Ḥusain 'Ali Mīkā'īl, who is mentioned in the Chahār Maqāla as the bearer of a letter from Maḥmūd of Ghaznah to Ma'mūn Khwarizmshāh (see E. G. Browne's translation, London, 1900, p. 119).

[2] As to the nature of this office and its duties, see Ibn Khaldun, Proleg. lxxiv, and Dozy, Supp., sub voc. *'adl.* See also "The Letters of Abu-l-'Alā," by D. S. Margoliouth, Oxford, 1898, p. 100.

showing how 'Aḍud ad-Daula protected the independence of the Qāḍis in making the appointments. Dhahabi (Or. 48, 19*a*) relates how in 382 A.H. al-Mu'allim, the favourite of Bahā ad-Daula, took steps to reduce the number of 'Udūl, which had risen to 303, by dismissing all those whose appointments were subsequent to the death, in 381, of the Qāḍi 'Ubaid Allah b. Ma'rūf, who had been in office since 368. And it is shown by the "Qānūn A'māl ash-Shuhūd" (Tunis, 1292 A.H.) that in Tunis at that date the number of these officials was subject to limitation, and, moreover, that the offices of Shāhid and 'Adl were not identical, the latter being apparently of the mercantile class, as they are spoken of as generally having a shop—دكان.

Acts of violence are frequent. Several have been incidentally mentioned. One, with which the narrative opens, was the arbitrary arrest and dismissal of a Naqīb Abu al-Qāsim al-Ḥusain b. Mimmā by Abu Shujā' Bakrān b. Bulfawāris, the Nāẓir of Baghdad and a relative of Bahā ad-Daula.[1] It led to Bakrān being replaced by his brother Abu Ḥarb Shīrzīl (fols. 1, 2). Another is the burning of a Christian church by the populace in 392 (fol. 78*b*), mentioned also by Dhahabi (Or. 48, 21*b*).

In the year 389 the inhabitants of the quarters of the 'Aṭṭābiyyīn and of the Syrian Gate, enraged at an attempt to impose a tax on silk and cotton goods, attacked and burnt the Dār al-Ḥumūli, where the accounts of the various Dīwāns, or government offices, were kept. The matter was compromised by the tax being levied on silk only (fol. 3).

[For an account of the 'Aṭṭābi silks and the derivation therefrom of the word 'tabby,' see "Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate," by G. le Strange (J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 876).[2] A previous attempt, in 375, to impose a similar tax at Baghdad had provoked resistance, and had been

[1] His maternal uncle according to Dhahabī (Or. 48, 19*a*), uncle to his son Jalāl ad-Daula according to Ibn al-Athīr (ix, 119). His death in 391 is recorded at fol. 60*b*.

[2] The welcome appearance of the author's completed work, Oxford, 1900, enables me to add the reference thereto, p. 138.

abandoned (see Dhahabi, Or. 48, 15*b*, and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzi, op. cit., 182*b*).]

Under the head of disorder may fairly be included the celebration of the Shi'a festival of al-Ghadīr. Hilāl says that it was celebrated by that sect in the quarters of al-Karkh and Bāb at-Ṭāq by street decoration and illuminations and by the sacrifice of a camel; that the Sunnites, wishing to have a counter celebration in their part of the town, pretended that the eighth day after was the anniversary of the day when the Prophet and Abu Bakr entered the cave, and proceeded to celebrate this event in a similar fashion; and that they likewise fixed the eighth day after the festival of 'Āshūrā as the anniversary of the murder of Mus'ab b. az-Zubair, visiting his tomb at Maskin [1] just as the other sect visited the tomb of al-Ḥusain at al-Ḥāir (fol. 6).[2] The festival of al-Ghadīr originated in a tradition that at a spot called the Ghadīr, or Pond, of Khumm, on the way between Mecca and Medina, the Prophet had declared 'Ali to be his successor (see al-Bīrūnī, p. 333; de Sacy, Chrest. Ar., 2nd ed., 193; and Ibn Khallikān, Sl. Eng., iii, 383). Its celebration at Baghdad was introduced compulsorily by Mu'izz ad-Daula in 352, the shops being closed and the streets perambulated by women with their hair unloosed, faces blackened, and other signs of lamentation for the fate of Ḥusain (see Dhahabi, Or. 48, 3*a*, on the authority of Thabit b. Sinān, and see also Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 407).

The Sunnite festival is described by Dhahabi (Or. 49, 15*a*) as mere nonsense, and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzi (op. cit., 191*b*) adds that the incident of the Cave occurred, as was well known, in Ṣafar,[3] and not in Dhu-l-Ḥijjah, but that the whole thing was a mere excuse for disorder and plunder. Both these historians emphasize this aspect of the festival, and the rival celebrations were frequently prohibited, e.g., by the above-

[1] On the Dujail river near Awānā. Mus'ab was killed there in 72 A.H., in a battle against 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (Yāqūt, iv, 529).
[2] See Yāqūt, ii, 188–9, and al-Bīrūnī, p. 326.
[3] See al-Bīrūni, p. 329.

mentioned Mu'allim, the favourite of Bahā ad-Daula, in 382 (Dhahabī, Or. 48, 19*a*), and by 'Amīd al-Juyūsh in 393 (fol. 118 of the MS.). On rare occasions it passed off peaceably, as in 402 (Dhahabī, Or. 49, 2*b*), and in 442, when the two factions joined their forces to oppose an active head of the police (Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzi, op. cit., 235*b*), but the next anniversary was again disorderly (ib., 236*b*).

The institution of the festival of al-Ghadīr was an indication of the Shi'a tenets of the Buwaihid princes, of which a strong instance is given by Ibn al-Athīr (viii, 403).[1] The Dailamites, in general, adhered to that sect, whereas the Turks were then, as always, strong Sunnites. It is noticeable that on the celebration of the festival in 402 A.H. (Dhahabī, loc. cit.) it was they who provided this sect with ornaments for their decorations.

Hilāl's account of the festival is copied almost verbatim by Dhahabi (Or. 48, 21*a*), and is also told in different language by Ibn al-Athīr (ix, 110).

The soldiers, too, are frequently mutinous. In 390 they refused to march to Fars until they received their arrears of pay and allowances. The vizier Sābūr compromised the matter by agreeing to pay up the arrears to those who set out, and to consider the claims of those who remained (fol. 38*b*). But the matter was not settled. Sābūr's proposal was to pay one-third of the amount at starting, one-third at Ahwāz, and the remainder on arriving at Shīrāz, and that payment to the others should be deferred. Thereupon the Turkish soldiers attacked his house, and he fled. Collision followed with the populace. The Alide party repulsed the Turks, pelting them with bricks from the roofs. Next day the Turks, who were joined by the Sunnite party, attacked the Alide quarters of Baghdad, and a body of Dailamites were sent to hold the bridge. Some leading Alides then opened negotiations, and, disclaiming all responsibility for the vizier's action, induced

[1] Mu'izz ad-Daula, on occupying Baghdad in 334, even thought of deposing the Abbasids altogether, as usurpers of the Caliphate, and of substituting the Fatimide Caliph or some other descendant of 'Ali, but was dissuaded by one of his advisers (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 339).

the troops to refrain from outrages. The Turks, however, insisted on the money in hand being paid over, and the Dailamites required a share also. In the end no troops started at all (fol. 52). Again, an energetic head of the police having been appointed, and proving successful in checking disorder, the Turks forced him to resign (fol. 53).

On one occasion, too, the Dailamite troops mobbed the house of the vizier Sābūr, from discontent at the debased state of the currency, "for transactions at the time took place in silver" (fol. 37*b*). This must have resulted from the appreciation of gold,[1] and, if I rightly understand another passage in the MS. (at fol. 31*a*), the appreciation was enormous The passage in question relates to the oppressive and vexatious acts of an agent of the Oqailid chief Qurād b. al-Ladīd at Bādūrayā, which, we are told, bore hardly on the owners of estates and on the cultivators of the soil, and one of such acts was that "payments in respect of safe conduct and protection (i.e. from Arab attacks), which used to be made in silver—the value of which as compared with the gold dinar was as 150 to 1—he reckoned (for the purpose of payment) in gold, at the current rate of exchange, namely, 20 dirhams to the dinar of the old issue, the result being to augment the tax and make it more burdensome." The text is as follows:—

ورد ما كان يُوخَذ من مال الخفارة والحماية ورقًا قيمة الدينار به
ماية وخمسون درهمًا الى العين مصارفة عشرين درهمًا بدينارٍ عتيقٍ
فتضاعف التقرير وزاد التثقيل

The only other indication of the relative value of the precious metals is at the close of the MS., fol. 119*b*, where 100,000 Qāsāniyyah dinars exacted from the vizier Abu Ghālib are said to be equivalent to 4,000,000 dirhams,

[1] The fluctuations in the relative values of the dirham and the dinar are mentioned by v. Kremer (op. cit., pp. 7, 8), and he concludes that the tendency during this century was towards stability.

i.e. at the rate of 40 to 1—a less astounding figure than the foregoing, although greatly in excess of what we are told, on fol. 103*a*, was the rate fixed by 'Amīd al-Juyūsh in the previous year, 392, for the coinage he then struck, viz. 25 dirhams to the 'Ṣāji' dinar.

In 389, dirhams were struck which are called 'Fatḥiyyah' (fol. 5*a*), and in 392 the Kārah of coarse grain is said to cost three 'Muṭī'iyah' dinars, rising later to five dinars (fol. 79*a*). These three terms do not appear in Sauvaire's list of Arabic numismatic terms (see Journ. Asiat., ser. VII, vols. xv, xviii, and xix). The term 'Qāsāniyyah' is mentioned (No. 106, vol. xviii, p. 509) as occurring in Ibn al-Athīr (ix, 246 and 308).

Two instances occur in the narrative of great individual wealth. One of these, the estate of al-Farrukhān, which the vizier Abu Ghālib went to Sīrāf to collect (fols. 75–78), has been already mentioned. The other is the estate of an Alide, Abu-l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. 'Omar b. Yaḥya, who died in 390 (fols. 12, 13). Ṣafadi, who notices his death (Or. 5,320 2*b*), makes him seventh in descent from Zayd the son of 'Ali Zayn al-'Ābidīn, and says that he was the head of the descendants of 'Ali, and that he was fined a million dinars in gold by 'Aḍud ad-Daula,[1] and imprisoned, until released by Sharaf ad-Daula. This fine is also mentioned by Dhahabi (Or. 48, 219*a*), and by Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzi (op. cit., 184*b*)—for he is doubtless the person there referred to under the name of Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Yaḥya—who says that he was also fined a similar sum by Bahā ad-Daula. He puts his yearly revenue from land at

[1] These fines — 'Muṣādarah' — were frequent throughout the century. Instances are given by v. Kremer, op. cit., p. 9. On p. 11 he discusses their origin and motive, and whilst admitting the practice to be, on principle, indefensible and dangerous, considers that it did no injury to the community as a whole, and that in the absence of any system of State credit, it was the readiest way of meeting a deficit. He observes that they are mentioned by the historians without a word of disapproval. But it is to be observed that in this very narrative (fol. 98) Hilāl mentions among the causes which led the inhabitants of Baghdad to rejoice at the appointment of 'Amīd al-Juyush as their governor, a letter he had written to the principal inhabitants in which he promised to have done with such fines. And I have met with passages in other historians where to have refrained from exacting these fines is recorded of a sovereign or governor whose rule is eulogized as beneficent.

one and a half million dirhams, which increased largely under Sharaf ad-Daula, who, again, as he says, exacted from him a sum of a million dinars. This, however, does not accord with Ṣafadi's notice.

He relates that an official, Abu al-Ḥasan 'Ali b. Ṭāhir, reported to Sharaf ad-Daula that the Alide possessed in the year 398 — probably an error for 388 — as much as 800,000 jarībs of cultivated land (some 265,000 acres), and that his estates brought him a revenue of a million dinars. The Alide heard of this, and thereupon went to Sharaf ad-Daula, and after protesting his gratitude for his release from prison, and for the restoration of his property, said that his wish was to make over a moiety of it to Sharaf ad-Daula's son. But the monarch told him that were his wealth twice what had been reported it was the gift of Allah, and that he should keep it all; his son did not need it. Ṣafadi adds that Ibn Ṭāhir fled to Egypt, and did not return till the Alide was dead. And this explains the statement about him in the MS. (fol. 61*b*), where he is said to have returned to Baghdad in 391 after his flight to Egypt by reason of Muḥammad b. 'Omar. On his return he was suspected of having come for some mischievous purpose on the part of the Fatimide Caliph against the Abbasside dynasty, and shortly after was set on in his house and murdered.

Hilāl gives details of the proceedings for ascertaining the Alide's estate, and how the amount due therefrom to the public treasury was fixed at 50,000 dinars; that this arrangement affected only the property in Fars, but that as regards the landed estates, it was settled that one-half should go to the royal domain and one-half to the heirs; and that in the result the share of the sovereign, by being made to include the best of the land, amounted, in fact, to two-thirds of the whole.

Lastly, a curious story is told by Hilāl, on the authority of a leading merchant of Bukhārā, about the conquest of the place by the Il-Khanian Turks and the expulsion of the Samanid ruler, news of which had reached Baghdād in

the year 390. His story was that, when the Il-Khanian troops arrived, the Samanid Khatībs ascended the pulpits of the mosques, and after reminding the people of the benevolent rule of the Samanids, exhorted them to fight on their behalf and to entreat Allah to aid their efforts. The population of Bukhārā and Transoxiana were, as he says, mostly fighting men. On hearing this appeal the people applied to their Faqīhs for a Fetwa as to whether they ought to fight. The answer was that they ought not to do so. Had the contest been a religious one, to fight would have been their duty, but in a merely temporal dispute it was not lawful for a Moslem to risk his life. And inasmuch as the Il-Khanian customs and religious tenets were unimpeachable, they had better abstain from strife. This contributed greatly to the Il-Khanians' success and to the fall of the Samanid dynasty. The former entered Bukhārā and ruled mildly and well.

[This passage has been published by Baron v. Rosen under the title of "Die Erzählung des Hilāl as-Sābī von der Einnahme Bukhara's durch Bughrā Khān" in the *Zapiski*, Imp. Russ. Archeolog. Soc., vol. ii, 3 and 4, pp. 272–275 (B.M. Ac. 5,584). He observes that the merchant's memory was at fault in making Bukhārā fall, not before Ilak Khān, but before Bughrā Khān, who according to the other authorities, had been dead some years. He adds that a complete copy of Hilāl's history is greatly to be desired.]

Such is Hilāl's narrative of these years of Bahā ad-Daula's rule. It is a narrative only, for the historian as a rule refrains from personal appreciation of his characters, and from drawing any general conclusions from the events he narrates. The story is that of a decaying power. The Buwaihid dynasty had run the brief course, so frequent in the East, from the hardy and successful adventurer to his degenerate descendants. Of the three founders of the family, two at least, 'Imād ad-Daula and Rukn ad-Daula, were strong rulers. There is something of dignity in the story that the younger brother, Mu'izz ad-Daula, when already an independent ruler, remained standing in

the presence of his elder, 'Imād ad-Daula, even when told to be seated (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 353); and, what is rarer in Oriental history, something of pathos in the lament of Rukn ad-Daula towards the close of his career, after the attempt of his son 'Aḍud ad-Daula to dispossess his cousin, the son of Mu'izz ad-Daula, of his dominions, that he saw Mu'izz ad-Daula nightly in his dreams reproaching him for failing to protect his orphan son; for, adds the historian, Rukn ad-Daula had been deeply attached to Mu'izz ad-Daula and had stood to him in place of a father (ib., 481). In character Mu'izz ad-Daula was far inferior to his brothers. In his youth he gave proof of personal valour (ib., 205), but he was capable, too, of acts of gross treachery and ingratitude (ib., 242–3). His son and successor at Baghdad, 'Izz ad-Daula Bakhtiyār, was a wholly incompetent ruler, and when death had deprived him of the protection of his uncle Rukn ad-Daula he succumbed at once to the renewed attack of 'Aḍud ad-Daula. With him the power of the Buwaihid dynasty reached its zenith.[1] At his death dissensions broke out between his sons, of whom Bahā ad-Daula was the survivor, and the few personal acts recorded of him in this narrative evince no qualities calculated to arrest the decay of the dynasty.[2] His death, again, was followed by internecine warfare between his sons, and in 447 the dynasty fell before Ṭughril Beg the Saljūq.

[In Note 1 on page 518 'Ramm' should be read 'Zumm,' being the Kurdish word ; see de Goeje, Bibl. Geogr. Arab., pt. vi, p. 33, n. 1, correcting the text of Iṣṭakhri and of Muqaddisi, and the Gloss. Geogr., sub 'Ramm.'—And in Note 1 on page 526, خروم should in both places be read جروم.]

[1] The Court of 'Aḍud ad-Daula was the resort of the leading men of letters of the age. For an account of his buildings and improvements at Baghdad, see "Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate," pp. 234 et seq. and 319.

[2] Bahā ad-Daula, like other members of the Buwaihid dynasty, bore a Dailamite name—Khāshād. It does not appear in this MS., but is disclosed by a MS. of the history of Mayyāfāriqīn by Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqi, to which I have had access. This historian, who was writing in 572 A.H., should be added to the list of those who have quoted Hilāl's history. He does so with reference to the accession of the Caliph al-Qādir billah in 381 A.H.

A.

[90b] قال ابو نصر و كلّفنى من هذا العُود و الرسالة ما حملنى فيه على الغرر و المُخاطرة ثم لم اجد بدًا من القبول و الطاعة و رجعتُ الى شيراز وقصدتُ دار ابى الخطّاب ليلًا فقال لى ما الخبر فان القيامة قد قامت على الملك بهرب الموفّق و تصوّر انه سيتمّ عليه به فساد عظيم فاعلمتُه ما جيتُ فيه فقال ليس يجوز أن اتولّى ايصال الكتاب و ايراد ما تحمّلته فى معناه على الملك و هو يعلم ما بينى و بينكم و لكن أُمضِ الى المظفّر ابى العلا عُبيد الله بن الفضل و اسئله ان يكتم خبرك فى ورودك و ان توصل الكتاب كانهُ وصل مع بعض الركابيّة و يستُر الامر [91a] ويعرفُ ما عند الملك فيه فصرتُ اليه و واقفتُه على ما واقفنى عليه ابو الخطّاب فلشدّة حرص المظفّر على اعلام بهآ الدولة الخبر وازالة قلقه به ما باكر الدار و عرضَ الكتاب و لم يكتم وُرودى بل ذكره فسكنتْ نفس الملك الى هذه الجملة فقال فما الذى يُريدُ قال التوثقة على يدى الشريف الطاهر ابى احمد المُوسوىّ فاجاب اليها و وعد بها و راسلنى ابو الخطّاب بان اقتصر فيها ولا استوفيها و وعدتُ بذاك ثم لم افعله و عملتُ لليمين نُسخَةً استقصيتُ القول فيها و حضرتُ الدار بها وحضر الشريف الطاهر ابو احمد و المظفّر ابو العلا فخرج الىّ الامين ابو عبد الله و قال لى الملك يقول ما الذى نقترحه من التوثقة

فاخرجتُ النسخة من كُمّى و سلمتُها اليه و قلتُ هذه نسخة اصحبنيها الموفّق و رسم لى الرغبة الى الكرم الفايض [91b] فى ان يُتحرّر بخطّ مولانا الامين و أن يُشرف بتلفُّظ الحضرة العالية بها بمحضرٍ من الشريف الطاهر فقال أقومُ واعرضها ودخل و عرضها فلما رأى الملك طولها و تاكّد الاستيفآ فيها قال لابى الخطّاب اليس رسمنا لك مراسلة ابى نصر بالاقتصار و التخفيف قالْ قد فعلتُ و وعد ثمّ لم يفعل فتقدّم الى الامين بتحريرها فحرّرها حرفًا حرفًا واحضرتُ المجلس وحضر الشريف الطاهر ابو احمد و المظفّر ابو العلا و ابو الخطّاب و الاثير ابو المسك عنبر والامين ابو عبد الله وبدا الملك بقراتها فلما مضى شطرها قطعها بان قال قولاً استفهم به سيّامنها ثمّ عاد لاستتمامها فقبّلتُ الارض و رفع راسهُ و قال ما لك قلتُ الخادم الغايب يسئل الانعام بأن يكون قراة هذا التشريف بغير عارضٍ يقطعه فاغتاظ غيظًا بان فى وجههِ ثُمّ [92a] اعاد قرأتها من اوّلها الى اخرها فلمّا فرغ منها قبّلتُ الارض فقال اىّ شئٍ تُريد ايضًا قلتُ التشريف بالتوقيع العالى فيها فاستدعى دواةً و كتب تلفّظتُ بهذه اليمين و التزمتُ الوفآ بها على ما اقترحهُ من ذلك و اخذتُها وخرج الشريف الطاهر ابو احمد و المظفّر ابو العلا وخرجتُ الى الموفّق ليرد معنا

B.

فحدّثنى القاضى ابو القسم على بن المحسّن التنوخىّ قال كان هذا الرجل وهو عبد الله بن عثمن من ولد الواثق بالله يشهدُ بنصيبين عند الحكّام فيها وعند صدقة بن علىّ بن المُؤمّل خليفة القاضى ابى علىّ التنوخىّ والدى على القضاء [58 a] بها و اليه مع الشهادة الخطابة فى المسجد الجامع وكان يفسد على صدقةٍ و يُحاول ان يقوم مقامه فى خلافة والدى و اجتمع صدقةٌ و اهل نصيبين على ان كتبوا محضرًا بتفسيقه و شهدوا بذلك عند صدقة شهادةً سمعها و قبلها و انفذ الحكم بها و كتب الى والدى بالصورة و أُنفَذ اليه المحضر و السِجِلّ عليه فقبل ذلك والدى و أمضى الحكم به وانفذه و اشخص الواثقى الى بغداد فلمّا ورد خاطبه خطابًا قبيحًا و اوقع به مكروهًا و اعتقله فى حبس الشُرطة حتّى خاطبه فى امره ابو الفرج عبد الواحد بن محمد الببّغا الشاعر للبلديّة الّتى كانت بينه وبين الواثقى فاطلقه و نزل غرفةً فى القَرضة بازآ دار المملكة وذلك فى ايّام عضد الدولة قال القاضى ابو القسم وكان يواصله ابو العبّاس احمد بن عيسى المالكىّ [58 b] لصداقةٍ بينهما وبلديّةٍ فحدّث ابو العبّاس قال حضرتُ عنده ليلةً فى غرفته و قلتُ له الصواب ان تستعطف القاضى ابا علىٍّ التنوخىّ وتوسّط بينك وبينه ابا فرج الببّغا و تصلح امرك معه قال و انا أُحاطبه واكرّر هذا الرّاى عليه وهو مُعرضٌ عنى فقلتُ له اسمعتَ ما اشرتُ عليك به فقال لى يابا العبّاس انت

جاهل انا مُفكر كيف اطفى شمع هذا الملك الذّى نحن بارزآ داره و اخذ ملكه وانتَ تقول لى استصلح التنوخىّ قال ابو العبّاس فلمّا سمعتُ قوله قلتُ سلامًا و قمتُ من فورى منصرفًا عنه وخايفًا من اذيّةٍ تتطرق علىّ به و قطعتُه قال القاضى ابو القسم فلمّا ظهر من حديثه فيما ورآ النهر بخراسان ما ظهر و قلّد الخليفة اطال اللّه بقآه ابا الفضل ولـده ولايـة عهدِهِ وطعن على الواثقى فانكر امـره بلغه [59a] حال المحضر الذّى كان أنفذ الى والدى من نصيبين بتفسيقه من جهة بعضِ من اخبر به بحديثه فاستدعيتُ الـى الدار العزيزة استدعًا حثيثًا لم تجرِ عادة به فمضيتُ ودخلتُ على ابـى الحسن بن حاجب النُعلمن فقال لى ما الذّى جرى منك فأنّ الطلب لك ما ينقطع قلتُ ما اعلم انّه حدث ما يقتضى ذلك وكتب بخبرى فخرج الجواب باتّه بلغنا حال محضرٍ أُنفذ الـى والده من نصيبين بتفسيق الواثقىّ واتّه اسجل به فتطالبه بأحضاره واحضار السجلّ عليه فاقرأنى ذلـك وقلتُ السمع والطاعـة و انصرفتُ وانا خايف من ان يكون هذا المطلوب قد ضاع فيما ضاع لنا و تشاغلتُ بالتفتيش عنه فوجدتُه وحملتُه مـن غـدٍ و سلمتُه فلمّا حُمل الـى حضرة الخليفة اطال الله بقآه ردّه و قال [59b] للرئيس سله هـل حفظ على والده اقراره على ما اسجل به فسألنى عن ذلـك فقلتُ نعم قد كان اقرّ عندى به و رسم احضار القُضاه و الشهود و الفقهآ ففعل ذاك وحضر القوم و منهم القاضى ابو محمّد بـن الاكفانىّ و القاضى ابو الحسن الخرزىّ و ابو حامـد الأسفراينى و الشهود بأسرهم و عُمل

كتاب على سجلّ والدى بانفاذى ما سمعتُه من حكمه به واشهدتْ الجماعة المذكورة على نفسى فيه وكان ذلك فى جملة مما أُنفذ الى خراسان و جُرح الواثقى به و حكى القاضى ابو القسم ان هذا الواثقىّ دخل بغداد بعد ما جرى له بخراسان و نزل داراً ورآ دارِهِ بباب البصرة ثم انتقل عنها لمّا عُرف خبره وشاع امره واته راه فى بعض الايّام بالكرخ وهو لا يعرفه قال فرأيتُ رجلاً عليه قبأ [60a] واذارى وعمامة شاهجانيّة وهو يمشى مُخنبًا و يداه معقودتان من ورأيه كفعل الخراسانيّة وكان معى ابو العبّاس المالكىّ فلمّا راه سلّم عليه و قبّل كتفه فنهره وزبره بلفظ الفارسيّة الخراسانيّة فقال له المالكىّ انما سلمتُ عليك و عندى انك صديقنا الذى يعرفنا و نعرفه فاذا انكرتَ ذلك فالله معك و التفَتَ الىّ و قال تعرفُ هذا الرجل فلتُ لا قال هذا الواثقىّ الذى ادّعى ولاية العهد بخُراسان

C.

[86b] و برز صاحب الجيش الى الموضع المعروف بالسُبيع من ظاهر الكوفة و أراد ان يجعل انتظاره لبنى عقيل و لقّاه لهم فيه فقال له ابو على بن ثُمال يا صاحب الجيش قد اشانا معاملة أهل البلد و ثقلنا الوَطأة عليهم وهم كارهون لنا و شاكون منّا و متى كانوا فى ظهورنا عند وقوع الحرب لم نأمن ثورتهم من ورأينا و معاونتهم لاعدائنا علينا والصواب ان نجعل بيننا و بينهم بُعدًا فساروا و نزلوا

فى القرية المعروفة بالصابونية على فرسخين من الكوفة و مع ابى
على بن ثُمال نحو سبع مائة فارس و مع صاحب الجيش ابى
جعفر نحو العدّة من الديلم و لمّا خرج صاحب الجيش الى هذا
الموضع لم يتبعه من الديلم الّا دون ثلثمايه رجلٍ و تاخّر الباقون
عنه و طالبوه بالمال و اطلاقه لهم و قد كان عميد الجيوش و ابو القسم
بن مقلا راسلاهم و افسداهم [87a] فردّ ابو جعفر الظهير ابا القسم
اليهم حتّى اخرج اكثر المتاخّرين لانّهم استحبّوا منه و تذمّموا من
الامتناع عليه و ورد بنو عقيل فى سبعة الف رجلٍ بالعُدد
و المنجانيقات و الاسلحة و القزاغندات و طلعت رأياتهم و ضُربت
بوقاتهم و دبادب مواكبهم و رجفوا كما ترجف السلطانيّة و قد كان
ابو على بن ثمال قصد المشهد بالغُرِيّ على ساكنه السلم و زار و صلّى
و تمرّغ على القبر و سئال اللّه تعالى العون و النصر و قال لاصحابه
هذا مقام الموت و الذلّ بالفشل والجور ومقام الحياة و العزّ بالثبات
و الظفر فوعدوه المساعدة و بذل نفوسهم فى المدافعة و رتّب
صاحب الجيش مصافّه بين يدى بيوت الحلّة وجعل الظهير ابا
القسم فى ميمنته و خسرُشاه فى ميسرته ووقف هو فى القلب و برز
النسوان فى الهوادج على الجمال و بين ايديهنّ الرجالة بالدَرَق
والسيوف [87b] و تقدّم ابو على فى الفرسان و صار بيننا و بينه مدىً
بعيدًا ووقع التطارُد فلم يكن الا و لا حتى و أقتنا الخيل المغنومة
مجنونة و الرجال الماشُورُون يقادُون والعرب من بنى خفاجة و فى
ايديهم الرماح المتدفقة و ارسل ابو على بن ثمال الى صاحب

الجيش بان سدّ و تقدّم الينا فقال له ما هذا مقام التقدّم لمثلى و لا يجوز ان أفارق مصافّى واصحر للخيل فى هذا البرّ فراجعه دفعات و هو يجيبه بهذا الجواب حتّى قال له ابو علىّ فى آخر قوله فأنفد الىّ جماعة من العجم ليشاهدهم القوم فتضعفُ نفوسهم و يعلموا انك و رانا فانفذ اليه الظهير ابا القسم فى عدّةٍ من فُرسان الديلم و اتراك كانوا بالكوفة و خرجوا مع صاحب الجيش فما وصلوا الى موضع المعركة حتّى انهزم بنو عقيل وأُسر منهم نحو الف رجلٍ و حملوا الى البيوت بعد ان أُخذت ثيابهم و دوابّهم [88a] و اسلحتهم و كفّ ابو على عن القتل و منع منه فلم يقتل الّا ابو على بن القلعىّ كاتب رافع ابن محمّد و قد كان نسآ بنى خفاجة و عبيدهم و امآوهم عند تلاقى الجمعين ركبوا الخيل و الجمال و صاروا الى معسكر بنى عقيل و بينه و بين موضع الحرب بُعد و كبسوه و نهبوه وولّى بنو عقيل لا يلوى اوّل منهم على آخر و غنم بنو خفاجة اموالهم و سلاحهم و كُراعهم و سوادهم

Art. XXVIII.—*Note on the principal Rājasthānī Dialects.*

By G. A. Grierson, C.I.E, I.C.S.

There are many closely related dialects spoken in Rājputānā. No less than fifteen variations of the local speech have been counted in the Jaipur State alone. Omitting minor local variations, I have a list of sixteen real dialects spoken over the area in which Rājasthānī is a vernacular. An examination of them shows that they fall into four main groups, which may be called Mēwātī, Mālwī, Jaipurī, and Mārwārī. These may be considered as the four main dialects of the Rājasthānī language. I propose in this note to show the principal grammatical forms of these four, and to show their connection with the border languages, Western Hindī and Gujarātī. It may be taken as a general statement that Rājasthānī is a language intermediate between these two, and partaking of the characteristics of both. On the whole it is nearer Gujarātī than Western Hindī.

Rājasthānī is bounded on the north by the Braj, and on the east by the Bundēlī, dialect of Western Hindī. On the south it comes generally into contact with Marāthī, but has little in common with that language. On the west it shades off from Mārwārī into Gujarātī, except in the north-west, where it merges through the desert dialects into Sindhī. I shall not touch on this last relationship in the present paper.

Mēwātī is spoken in north Rājputānā, in the Alwar State, and in the south-east Panjab and neighbouring parts of the North-Western Provinces. The Ahīrwāṭī, spoken in the country round Delhi, is probably a form of it, but I have not yet established this to my satisfaction. Mālwī is spoken in the Mālwā country, round Indōr, over a wide tract. To the east it extends as far as Bhōpāl, where it meets Bundēlī,

and to the west it is stopped by the Bhīl dialects spoken in the hills south of Udaipur. It also occupies the north-western districts of the Central Provinces. A peculiar form of it, called Rāngṛī, is spoken by Rajputs. Jaipurī may be taken as representing the dialects of Eastern Rājputānā, as far east as Gwāliōr, in which State Bundēlī is the principal form of speech. Mārwārī may be considered as typical of the language of Western Rājputānā, including the great States of Mārwār and Udaipur or Mēwār. In the east of the latter State, however, the dialect is nearer Jaipurī.

The pronunciation of the Rājasthānī dialects is well marked, especially towards the west. As in Gujarātī, there is a strong tendency to cerebralize the letter *n* when it is medial or final, an archaic survival from Prakrit. The broad sound of *ā*, as in the word 'all,' is frequent, especially when the vowel is nasalized at the end of a word. There is a cockney tendency to drop the letter *h*, and, as is also the case in other parts of India, *c* and *ch* are commonly sounded as if they were *s*. In a portion of the Mālwā country, known as the Suṇḍwār, an *s* is regularly pronounced as *h*, so that its inhabitants call their home 'Huṇḍwār.'

I now propose to run quickly through the principal grammatical forms of the four dialects, and shall give for the sake of comparison, on the one hand, the corresponding forms in Braj and Bundēlī, and, on the other hand, those in Gujarātī. I assume that the reader is familiar with Hindī. The mark ˜ over a vowel indicates nasalization.

NOUNS.

A. Postpositions

	Braj.	Bundēlī.	Rājasthānī.				Gujarātī.
			Mēwātī.	Mālwī.	Jaipurī.	Mārwārī.	
Agent ...	*nẽ*	*nẽ*	nai	(ē) nē	(ai) or nai	(ai) or ...	(*ē*)
Genitive ...	*kau, kē, kī*	*kō, kē, kī*	kō, kā, kī	{ rō, rā, rī; kō, kā, kī	kō, kā, kī	rō, rā, rī	*nō, nā, nī*
Dative ...	*kaũ*	*khō*	nai	nē, kē, kũ, hē	nai, kai	nai	*nē*
Ablative ...	*sō̃, tẽ*	*sō̃, sẽ*	saĩ, taĩ	ũ, sē, sũ	sũ, saĩ	sũ	*thī*

In the above, note that the oblique genitive ends in *ā*, as in Gujarātī, not in *ē*, as in Braj and Bundēlī. The forms commencing with *r* are typical of Rājasthānī. The dative postpositions commencing with *n* are typical of Rājasthānī and Gujarātī. So is the *ē* or *ai* of the Agent.

B. Declension.

(*a*) Strong masculine tadbhava noun. *ghōṛau*, 'a horse.'

	Braj.	Bundēlī.	Rājasthānī.				Gujarātī.
			Mēwātī.	Mālwī.	Jaipurī.	Mārwārī.	
Singular.							
Direct ...	*ghōṛau*	*ghwāṛō*	ghōṛō	ghōḍō	ghōḍō	ghōḍō	*ghōḍō*
Agent ...	...	...	...	ghōḍē	ghōḍai	ghōḍai	*ghōḍē* or *ghōḍāē*
Oblique ...	*ghōṛē*	*ghwāṛē*	ghōṛā	ghōḍā	ghōḍā	ghōḍā	*ghōḍā*
Plural.							
Direct ...	*ghōṛē*	*ghwāṛē*	ghōṛā	ghōḍā	ghōḍā	ghōḍā	*ghōḍā*(*-ō*)
Agent ...	...	...	...	ghōḍā	ghōḍā	ghōḍā	*ghōḍā*(*-ō*)-*ē*
Oblique ...	*ghōṛaũ* or *ghōṛani*	*ghwāṛan*	ghōṛā or ghōṛan	ghōḍā	ghōḍā	ghōḍā	*ghōḍā*(*-ō*)

(*b*) Strong feminine tadbhava noun. *ghōṛī*, 'a mare.'

	Braj.	Bundēlī.	Rājasthānī.				Gujarātī.
			Mēwātī.	Mālwī.	Jaipurī.	Mārwārī.	
Singular.							
Direct ...	*ghōṛī*	*ghwāṛī*	ghōṛī	ghōḍī	ghōḍī	ghōḍī	*ghōḍī*
Agent ...	...	...	...	ghōḍī	ghōḍī	ghōḍī	*ghōḍīē*
Oblique ...	*ghōṛī*	*ghwāṛī*	ghōḍī	ghōḍī	ghōḍī	ghōḍī	*ghōḍī*
Plural.							
Direct ...	*ghōṛiyã̄*	*ghwāṛiyã̄*	ghōṛyã̄	ghōḍyã̄	ghōḍyã̄	ghōḍyã̄	*ghōḍī*(-*ō*)
Agent ...	...	...	...	...	ghōḍyã̄	ghōḍyã̄	*ghōḍī*(-*ō*)-*ē*
Oblique ...	*ghōṛiyaũ*	*ghwāṛin*	ghōṛyã̄	ghōḍyã̄	ghōḍyã̄	ghōḍyã̄	*ghōḍī*(-*ō*)

(*c*) Weak masculine tadbhava noun. *ghar*, 'a house.'

	Braj.	Bundēlī.	Rājasthānī.				Gujarātī.
			Mēwātī	Mālwī.	Jaipurī.	Mārwārī.	
Singular.							
Direct ...	*ghar*	*ghar*	ghar	ghar	ghar	ghar	*ghar*
Agent ...	...	...	...	ghar	ghar	ghar	*gharē*
Oblique ...	*ghar*	*ghar*	ghar	ghar	ghar	ghar	*ghar*
Plural.							
Direct ...	*ghar*	*ghar*	ghar	gharā, ghar	gharā	ghar	*ghar*(*-ō*)
Agent ...	...	...	...	gharā̃	gharā̃	gharā̃	*ghar*(*-ō*)-*ē*
Oblique ...	*gharau* or *gharani*	*gharan*	gharā̃	gharā̃	gharā̃	gharā̃	*ghar*(*-ō*)-*e*

In the above we again note the typical Rājasthānī and Gujarātī oblique form in *ā*, instead of *ē*. In Rājasthānī the plural of the *ā* is *ã̄*. It will also be noted that Mālwī, Jaipurī, and Mārwārī have a special form for the Agent case, instead of using the oblique form with the postposition *nē* or its equivalent.

Mālwī has also a plural formed by suffixing *hōr*, which reminds us of the Kanaujī *hwār* and the Naipālī *hēru*.

ADJECTIVES.

These follow the genitive postpositions in their inflection. Thus: Braj, Masc. Dir. *acchau*, Obl. *acchē*; Fem. *acchī*, good.

PRONOUNS.

A. Personal Pronouns.

First Person.

	Braj.	Bundēlī.	Rājasthānī.				Gujarātī.
			Mēwātī.	Mālwī.	Jaipurī.	Mārwārī.	
Singular.							
Direct ...	*maĩ, haũ*	*mē, maĩ*	maĩ	mũ, hũ	maĩ	hũ	*hũ*
Oblique ...	*mohi, mō, muj*	*mō, mōy*	mũ	ma, mā	ma, mũ, maĩ	mha, ma, mhaĩ, maĩ	*ma, mārā*
Genitive ...	*mērau*	*mō-kō, mērō, mō-nō*	mērō	mārō, mhārō	mhārō	mārō, mhārō	*mārō*
Plural.							
Direct ...	*ham*	*ham*	ham, hamā	mhẽ, āpā	mhẽ, āpā	mhẽ	*amē, āpᵃṇē*
Oblique ...	*hamaũ, hamani*	*ham*	ham	mhā, āpā	mhā, āpā	mhā, mā	*am, amārā, āpaṇ, āpᵃṇā*
Genitive ...	*hamārau*	*ham-kō, hamārō, hamāō*	mhārō	mhāṇō, āpᵃṇō	mhā-kō, āpᵃṇū	mhārō, mārō	*āmārō, āpᵃṇō*

Second Person.

	Braj.	Bundēlī.	Rājasthānī.				Gujarātī.
			Mēwātī.	Mālwī.	Jaipurī.	Mārwārī.	
Singular.							
Direct ...	*taĩ, tū*	*tai, tũ*	tū	thū	tū	tũ, thũ	*tũ*
Oblique ...	*tohi, tō, tuj*	*tō, tōy*	tū	thā	ta, tũ, taĩ	ta, taĩ, tha, thaĩ	*ta, tārā*
Genitive ...	*tērau*	*to-kō, tērō, tō-nō*	tērō	thārō	thārō	thārō	*tārō*
Plural.							
Direct ...	*tum*	*tum*	tum, tam, tham	thẽ	thē	thē	*tamē*
Oblique ...	*tumhaũ, tum*	*tum*	tum	thã	thã	thã	*tam, tamārā*
Genitive ...	*tumhārau, tihārau*	*tum-kō, tumārō, tumāō*	thārō	thãṇō	thã-kō	thãrō	*tamārō*

In these two pronouns the distinguishing points of Rājasthānī leap to the eye. The declensional base of the singular in Braj and Bundēlī is *mo-*, *muj*, or *mē-*; *to-*, *tuj*, or *tē-*. In Rājasthānī it is *ma-* or *mũ*; *ta-*, or *tũ*, in this agreeing with Gujarātī. In the plural it is *mhā* and *thā* instead of *ham*. There is also a tendency in Rājasthānī to aspirate the first consonant in the singular, so that we get *mhā* and *thā*. Mēwātī alone shows signs of agreement with its neighbour Braj in the formation of the genitive. On the other hand, in the second person, its plural agrees with Gujarātī in having *tam*, not *tum*, which it optionally aspirates to *tham*. In the genitive plural Mālwī has the termination *ṇō*, which corresponds to the *nō* which Gujarātī uses for substantives, and which appears in the genitive of *āp* in all Indo-Aryan languages. Note also the aspirated forms of the plural in Rājasthānī, and the use of *āp* to mean 'we,' apparently only employed, as in Gujarātī, when the 'we' includes the person addressed, which seems to be an idiom borrowed from Muṇḍā or Dravidian languages.

B. Demonstrative Pronouns.

This—

	Braj.	Bundēlī.	Rājasthānī.				Gujarātī.
			Mēwātī.	Mālwī.	Jaipurī.	Mārwārī.	
Singular.							
Direct ...	*yah*	*jō*	**yō**	**yō**	**yō**, fem. **yā**	**ō, yō**, fem. **ā, yā**	*ā*
Oblique ...	*yāhi, yā*	*jā*	**yaīh**	**iṇī, yāṇī**	**ī**	**iṇ, iṇī, anī, ī**	*ā*
Plural.							
Direct ...	*yē*	*jē*	**yai, yaīh**	**yī**	**yē**	**ē, ai**	*ā*
Oblique ...	*inhaũ, ini*	*in*	**in**	**iṇā, yāṇā**	**yā̃**	**iṇā̃, aṇā̃, yā, ā̃**	*ā*

That—

	Braj.	Bundēlī.	Rājasthānī.				Gujarātī.
			Mēwātī.	Mālwī.	Jaipurī.	Mārwārī.	
Singular.							
Direct ...	*wō, wah*	*ū, bō*	**wō, woh, un**	**ū**	**wō**, fem. **wā**	**ū**, fem. **wā**	*ē*
Oblique ...	*wāhi, wā*	*ū, bā*	**waīh**	**uṇī, wāṇī**	**ū̃**	**uṇ, uṇī, waṇī, wī̃**	*ĕ*
Plural.							
Direct ...	*wē, wai*	*bē*	**wai, waīh**	**wī**	**wai**	**wai**	*ē*
Oblique ...	*unhaũ, uni*	*un*	**un**	**uṇā̃, wāṇā̃**	**wā̃**	**uṇā̃, waṇā̃, wā̃, wyā̃**	*ē*

C. Other Pronouns.

	Braj.	Bundēlī.	Rājasthānī.				Gujarātī.
			Mēwātī.	Mālwī.	Jaipurī.	Mārwārī.	
Relative ...	*jau, jaun*	*jō*	**jō**	**jō**	**jō, jyō**	**jō, jikō**, fem. **jikā**	*jē*
Oblique ...	*jāhi, jā*	*jā*	**jhaĩ**	**jaṇī**	**jĩ**	**jiṇ, jaṇ, jaṇī**	*jē*
Correlative ...	*sō*	*sō*	...	...	**sō**	**sō, tikō**, fem. **tikā**	*tē*
Oblique ...	*tāhi, tā*	*tā*	...	...	**tĩ**	**tiṇ, tiṇī**	*tē*
Interrogative.							
Masc., fem.	*kō, kau*	*kō*	**kauṇ**	**kūṇ**	**kuṇ**	**kuṇ, kaṇ**	*kōṇ*
Oblique ...	*kāhi, kā*	*kā*	**kaĩh**	**kaṇī**	**kuṇ**	**kuṇ, kaṇ**	*kōṇa, kō*
Neuter ...	*kahā, kā*	*kā*	**kē**	**kãĩ**	**kãĩ**	**kãĩ, kãĩ**	...
Indefinite.							
Masc., fem.	*kōū, kōī*	*kōū*	**kōī**	**kōī**	**kōī**	**kōī**	*kōī*
Neuter ...	*kuch*	*kachū*	**kimaĩ**	**kāĩ**	**kaı, kyō**	**kãĩ, kãĩ**	*kaĩ, kāĩ*

In the above pronouns, the differences between Rājasthānī and Braj and Bundēlī are not so great, but it will be seen that there are several sets of forms which are peculiar to Rājasthānī.

VERBS.

A. Verbs Substantive.

It will be observed that the conjugational roots used are those which are common to the languages of other parts of India. The Mēwātī *sā̃* is, of course, only a phonetic spelling of the Jaipurī *chū̃*. The conjugational forms are the same as those which occur in all other Indo-Aryan languages. The only peculiarities which need be noted in Rājasthānī are that, in the present, the first person plural ends in *ā̃*, and that, as usual, the plural of the past tense ends, as in the case of adjectives, in *ā*.

	Braj.	Bundēlī.	Rājasthānī. Mēwātī.	Mālwī.	Jaipurī.	Mārwārī.	Gujarātī.
PRESENT. *Singular.*							
1.	*haũ*	*hõ, ãw*	hũ, sũ	hũ	chũ	hũ	*chũ*
2.	*hai*	*hē, āy*	hai, sā, sai	hē	chai	hai	*chē*
3.	*hai*	*hē, āy*	hai, sai	hē	chai	hai	*chē*
Plural.							
1.	*haĩ*	*hẽ, ãy*	hã, sã	haĩ, hã	chã	hã	*chīē*
2.	*hau*	*hō, āw*	hō, sō	hō	chō	hō	*chō*
3.	*haĩ*	*hẽ, ãy*	haĩ, saĩ	hai	chai	hai	*chē*
PAST. *Singular.*							
Masc. ...	*hau, hutau*	*hatō, tō*	hō, thō, sŏ	thō	chō	hō	*hatō*
Plural.							
Masc. ...	*hē, hutē*	*hatē, tē*	hā, thā, sā	thā	chā	hā	*hatā*

B. The Finite Verb.

In Rājasthānī the conjugation of the verb, with one important exception, proceeds on the same lines as those which obtain in the other languages of the Western Group, including Panjābī, Western Hindī, of which Braj and Bundēlī are dialects, and Gujarātī. The one exception is the conjugation of the Definite Present, which departs from the method adopted in Western Hindī, and follows that of Gujarātī. It will be sufficient, therefore, to give only a few of the principal tenses of the intransitive verb *cal*, 'go.' Transitive verbs, of course, use the passive construction in the case of tenses derived from the past participle.

(*a*) Old Present. This tense is, as in other cognate languages, usually employed as a Present Subjunctive. Its conjugation is practically the same in all Indo-Aryan languages. In Rājasthānī we may note that, as in the verb substantive and in the simple future, the first person plural ends in *ã*, and that, except in Mēwātī, which in this particular agrees with its neighbour Braj, the third person plural is not nasalized.

			Rājasthānī.				
	Braj.	Bundēlī.	Mēwātī.	Mālwī.	Jaipurī.	Mārwārī.	Gujarātī.
Singular.							
1.	*calaũ*	*calũ*	calŭ	calū	calŭ	calŭ	*cālũ*
2.	*calai*	*calē*	calai	calē	calai	calai	*cālē*
3.	*calai*	*calē*	calai	calē	calai	calai	*cālē*
Plural.							
1.	*calaĩ*	*calẽ*	cală	cală	cală	cală	*cālīē*
2.	*calau*	*calō*	calō	calō	calō	calō	*cālō*
3.	*calaĩ*	*calẽ*	calaĩ	calē	calai	calai	*cālē*

(*b*) Imperative. This tense is practically the same in all Indo-Aryan languages.

	Braj.	Bundēlī.	Rājasthānī.				Gujarātī.
			Mēwātī.	Mālwī.	Jaipurī.	Mārwārī.	
Sing. 2 ...	*cal*	*cal*	cal	cal	cal	cal	*cāl*
Plur. 2 ...	*calau*	*calō*	calō	calō	calō	calō	*cālō*

(*c*) Future. Two forms of this tense occur, which we may call the Simple Future and the Periphrastic Future respectively. The Simple Future is the direct derivative of the Prakrit Future, *calissāmi* or *calihāmi*; thus, *cal^{a}syū* or *cal^{a}hū*. The Periphrastic Future is formed by suffixing an adjective, probably a participle, to the Present Subjunctive, as in the Hindī *calū-gā*, which probably means 'I am gone (*gā*) that I may go (*calū*).' Some dialects use one form and some another, and some both.

Simple Future.

	Braj.	Bundēlī.	Rājasthānī.				Gujarātī.
			Mēwātī.	Mālwī.	Jaipurī.	Mārwārī.	
Singular.							
1.	*calihaũ*	*calihõ̃*	...	...	cal^{a}syũ	cal^{a}hũ	*cālīś*
2.	*calihai*	*calihẽ*	...	...	cal^{a}sī	cal^{a}hī	*cāl^{a}śē*
3.	*calihai*	*calihẽ*	...	...	cal^{a}sī	cal^{a}hī	*cāl^{a}śē*
Plural.							
1.	*calihaĩ*	*calihẽ̃*	...	...	cal^{a}syā̃	cal^{a}hā̃	*cāliśũ*, *cāl^{a}śũ*
2.	*calihau*	*calihõ*	...	...	cal^{a}syō	cal^{a}hō	*cāl^{a}śō*
3.	*calihaĩ*	*calihẽ̃*	...	...	cal^{a}sī	cal^{a}hī	*cāl^{a}śē*

Periphrastic Future.

	Braj.	Bundēlī.	Rājasthānī.				Gujarātī.
			Mēwātī.	Mālwī.	Jaipurī.	Mārwārī.	
Singular.							
Masc. 1 ...	*calaũ-gau*	*calũ-gō*	calũ-gō	calũ-gā or -gō	calũ-lā or -lō	calũ-lo or -gō	...
Plural.							
Masc. 1 ...	*calaĩ-gai*	*calẽ-gẽ*	calā̃-gā	calā̃-gā	calā̃-lā	calā̃-lā or -gā	...

(*d*) The Periphrastic Present. This is the ordinary present with which we are familiar in Hindōstānī. In that language, as in Braj and Bundēlī, it is formed by conjugating the present tense of the verb substantive with the present participle. Thus, *maĩ cal^{a}tā hū̃*, 'I am going.' In Rājasthānī, instead of the present participle being used, the simple present is conjugated together with the verb substantive. The same idiom is used in Gujarātī. Thus, to take Jaipurī as an example, we have—

	Singular.	*Plural.*
1.	*maĩ calũ chũ*, 'I am going.'	*mhẽ calã chã*, 'we are going.'
2.	*tũ calai chai*, 'thou wast going.'	*thẽ calō chō*, 'you are going.'
3.	*wō calai chai*, 'he was going.'	*wai calai chai*, 'they are going.'

The following are the forms which this tense takes in the various languages in the first person singular. In Braj and Bundēlī only the masculine forms are shown.

Braj	... ...	*cal^{a}tu haũ.*
Bundēlī	... ...	*calat hõ* or *calat āw.*
Mēwātī	... ...	**calũ hũ.**
Mālwī	... ...	**calũ hũ.**
Jaipurī	... ...	**calũ chũ.**
Mārwārī	... ...	**calũ hũ.**
Gujarātī	... ...	*cālũ chũ.*

(*e*) Participles and Infinitives. The following are the most usual forms in these languages :—

	Present Participle.	*Past Participle.*	*Infinitives.*
Braj ...	*calatu*	*calyau*	*cal^{a}naũ, caliwaũ.*
Bundēlī ...	*calat*	*calō*	*calan, cal^{a}bō.*
Mēwātī ...	**cal^{a}tō**	**calyō**	**cal^{a}ṇū, cal^{a}bō.**
Mālwī ...	**cal^{a}tō**	**calyō**	**cal^{a}ṇō.**
Jaipurī ...	**cal^{a}tō**	**calyō**	**cal^{a}ṇū, cal^{a}bō.**
Mārwārī ...	**cal^{a}tō**	**calyō**	**cal^{a}ṇō, cal^{a}ṇū, cal^{a}bō.**
Gujarātī ...	*cāl^{a}tō*	*cālyō*	*cāl^{a}vũ.*

The differences are slight, but it will be seen that when they exist the Rājasthānī dialects agree among themselves, and with Gujarātī, but differ from Braj and Bundēlī.

It will be seen from the above that the Rājasthānī dialects form a group among themselves, differentiated from Western Hindī on the one hand and from Gujarātī on the other hand. They are entitled to the dignity of being classed as together forming a separate, independent language. They differ much more widely from Western Hindī than does, for instance, Pañjābī. Under any circumstances they cannot be classed as dialects of Western Hindī. If they are to be considered as dialects at all, then they are dialects of Gujarātī.

In the inflexion of nouns they agree with Gujarātī and differ from Western Hindī. The postpositions they use in the declension of nouns are either peculiar to them, or else agree more often with Gujarātī than with Western Hindī.

In the formation of the two personal pronouns they have taken an entirely independent course, and in the few cases in which the inflexions of these agree with the inflexions in another language it is again Gujarātī in which we must look for the points of agreement. The forms of the demonstrative and other pronouns occupy a position intermediate between Gujarātī and Western Hindī.

The conjugation of the verb differs but slightly in all these languages, but even in this Rājasthānī has struck out a path for itself in the formation of the first and third persons plural. In one important point, the formation of the present definite, it agrees with Gujarātī in adopting a principle which is altogether foreign to the genius of Western Hindī.

Taking the dialects separately, Mēwātī is the one which most nearly resembles Western Hindī. Here and there we find in Mālwī a point of agreement with Bundēlī, while Jaipurī and Mārwārī agree most closely with Gujarātī.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the Indo-Aryan dialects of the Himālayas are closely connected with Rājasthānī. The connection of the various nationalities is both political and linguistic. The resemblance between Naipālī and Kumaunī, on the one hand, and Rājasthānī on the other, has long been recognized, but the resemblance continues all along the Himālayas as far west, at least, as Chambā. Nay, even the Gūjars who wander through the hills beyond our north-western frontier and over the *margs* of Kashmīr speak a language which in its grammatical form is essentially the same as that of Jaipur.

ART. XXIX.—*Translation of an Arabic Manuscript in the Hunterian Collection, Glasgow University.* By T. H. WEIR, B.D., Assistant to the Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages in the University of Glasgow.

[IN the Hunterian MS. the following tractate is ascribed to Ibnu'l 'Arabī, d. 638 A.H. = 1240 A.D. In one of the Berlin MSS., however, it is called Risālatu'l Balbānīyah, by Muḥammad al Balbānī (Ahlwardt, 3,250); in another Suyūṭī is given as the author (Ahlwardt, 1,830). In the British Museum MSS. (Arabic Catalogue, No. DCCCLXXXI, ix, and Supplementary Catalogue, No. 245, x) the author is given as Auḥad al Dīn 'Abdallah al Balyānī, d. 686 A.H. These MSS. have been used in the Translation. The Librarian of the Royal Library, Berlin, most kindly sent the two mentioned above (as well as a third imperfect one) to the care of the Glasgow University Librarian.]

The Kitābu'l Ajwibah—and it is also called the Kitābu'l Alif—by the learned Imâm, the Strong One of the Age, the most Great Shaikh Muḥyī al Dīn Abū 'Abdallah Muḥammadi ibn 'Alī, Ibn 'Arabī, al Ṭā'ī, al Ḥātimī, al Andalusī—may God sanctify his mighty Secret.

The Saying of the most Great Shaikh Muḥyī al Dīn 'Arabī—may God sanctify his mighty Secret—in Explanation of the saying of him (upon whom be peace): "Whoso knoweth himself knoweth his Lord."

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, and Him we ask for aid: Praise be to God before whose oneness there was not a before, unless the Before were He, and after whose singleness there is not an after, except the After be He. He is, and there is with Him no after nor before, nor above nor below, nor far nor near,

nor union nor division, nor how nor where nor when, nor times nor moment nor age, nor being nor place. And He is now as He was. He is the One without oneness, and the Single without singleness. He is not composed of name and named, for His name is He and His named is He. So there is no name other than He, nor named. And so He is the Name and the Named. He is the First without firstness, and the Last without lastness. He is the Outward without outwardness, and the Inward without inwardness. I mean that He is the very existence of the First and the very existence of the Last, and the very existence of the Outward and the very existence of the Inward.[1] So that there is no first nor last, nor outward nor inward, except Him, without these becoming Him or His becoming them.[2]

Understand, therefore, in order that thou mayest not fall into the error of the Ḥulūlīs[3]:—He is not in a thing nor a thing in Him, whether entering in or proceeding forth. It is necessary that thou know Him after this fashion, not by knowledge (*'ilm*), nor by intellect, nor by understanding, nor by imagination, nor by sense, nor by the outward eye, nor by the inward eye, nor by perception. There does not see Him, save Himself; nor perceive Him, save Himself. By Himself He sees Himself, and by Himself He knows Himself. None sees Him other than He, and none perceives Him other than He. His Veil[4] is [only a part of] His oneness; nothing veils other than He. His veil is [only] the concealment of His existence in His oneness, without any quality. None sees Him other than He — no sent prophet, nor saint made perfect, nor angel brought nigh[5] knows Him. His Prophet

[1] The Arabic is اعنى انّه هو وجود حروف الاول الخ.

[2] بلا صيران هذه الاحرف وجوده الخ.

[3] Who believe in incarnations of God.

[4] That is, phenomenal existence.

[5] Koran, iv, 170, وَلَا ٱلْمَلَآئِكَةُ ٱلْمُقَرَّبُونَ.

is He, and His sending is He, and His word is He. He sent Himself with Himself to Himself. There was no mediator nor any means other than He. There is no difference between the Sender and the thing sent, and the person sent and the person to whom he is sent. The very existence of the prophetic message is His existence.[1] There is no other, and there is no existence to other, than He, nor to its ceasing to be (*fanā'*), nor to its name, nor to its named.

And for this the Prophet (upon whom be peace) said: "Whoso knoweth himself knoweth his Lord." And he said (upon him be peace): "I know my Lord by my Lord." The Prophet (upon whom be peace) points out by that, that thou art not thou: thou art He, without thou; not He entering into thee, nor thou entering into Him, nor He proceeding forth from thee, nor thou proceeding forth from Him. And it is not meant by that, that thou art aught that exists or thine attributes aught that exists, but it is meant by it that thou never wast nor wilt be, whether by thyself or through Him or in Him or along with Him. Thou art neither ceasing to be nor still existing. *Thou art He*, without one of these limitations. Then if thou know thine existence thus, then thou knowest God; and if not, then not.

And most of 'those who know God' (*al 'urrâf*) make a ceasing of existence and the ceasing of that ceasing a condition of attaining the knowledge of God, and that is an error and a clear oversight. For the knowledge of God does not presuppose the ceasing of existence nor the ceasing of that ceasing. For things have no existence, and what does not exist cannot cease to exist. For the ceasing to be implies the positing of existence, and that is polytheism. Then if thou know thyself without existence or ceasing to be, then thou knowest God; and if not, then not.

And in making the knowledge of God conditional upon the ceasing of existence and the ceasing of that ceasing,

[1] وجود حروف النبأ وجوده.

there is involved an assertion of polytheism. For the Prophet (upon whom be peace) said, "Whoso knoweth himself," and did not say, "Whoso maketh himself to cease to be." For the affirmation of the other makes its extinction impossible, and [on the other hand] that of which the affirmation is not allowable its extinction is not allowable. Thine existence is nothing, and nothing cannot be added to something, whether it be perishing or unperishing, or existent or non-existent. The Prophet points to the fact that thou art non-existent now as thou wast non-existent before the Creation. For now is past eternity and now is future eternity, and now is past time. And God (whose name be exalted) is the existence of past eternity and the existence of future eternity and the existence of past time, yet without past eternity or future eternity or past time ever existing. For if it were not so He would not be by Himself, without any partner, and it is indispensable that He should be by Himself without any partner. For His 'partner' would be he whose existence was in his own essence, not in the existence of God, and whoever should be in that position would not be dependent upon Him. Then, in that case, there would be a second Lord, which is absurd: God (whose name be exalted) can have no partner nor like nor equal. And whoever looks upon anything as being along with God or apart from God or in God, but subject to Him in respect of His divinity, makes this thing also a partner, [only] subject to God in respect of divinity. And whoever allows that anything exists side by side with God, whether self-subsisting or subsisting in Him or capable of ceasing to exist or of ceasing to cease to exist, he is far from what smells of a breath of the knowledge of the soul. Because, whoever allows that he is existent beside God, subsisting in Him, then in Him becoming extinct, and his extinction becoming extinct, then one extinction is linked to another, and that is polytheism upon polytheism. So he is a polytheist, not one who knows God and himself.

Then if one say: How lies the way to the knowledge

of the soul and the knowledge of God (whose name be exalted) ?—

Then the Answer is: The way of the knowledge of these two is, that thou understand that God is, and that there is not with Him a thing. He is now as He was.

Then if one say: I see myself to be other than God and I do not see God to be myself,—

Then the Answer is: The Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace) meant by the soul thine existence and thy reality, not the 'soul' which is named 'commanding,' 'upbraiding,' and 'pacified';[1] but in the 'soul' he pointed to all that is beside God (whose name be exalted), as the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace) said: "O my God, show me things as they are clearly," meaning by 'things' whatever is beside God (whose name be exalted), that is, "Make me to know what is beside Thee in order that I may understand and know things, which they are — whether they are Thou or other than Thou, and whether they are of old, abiding, or recent and perishing." Then God showed him what was beside Himself, without the existence of what is beside Himself. So he saw things as they are: I mean, he saw things to be the essence of God (whose name be exalted) without how or where. And the name 'things' includes the soul and other than it of things. For the existence of the soul and the existence of other things are both equal in point of being 'things,' that is, are nothing; for, in reality, the thing is God and God is named a thing. Then when thou knowest the things thou knowest the soul, and when thou knowest the soul thou knowest the Lord. Because he whom thou thinkest to be beside God, he is not beside God; but thou dost not know Him, and thou seest Him and dost not understand that thou seest Him. And when this secret is revealed to thee thou understandest that thou art not what is beside God, and that thou art thine own end and thine own object in thy search after thy Lord, and that thou

[1] For 'soul' here we would say 'flesh'; see Mr. Gibb's "Ottoman Poetry," p. 198.

dost not require to cease to be, and that thou hast continued and wilt continue without when and without times, as we mentioned above. And thou seest all thine actions to be His actions, and all His attributes to be thine attributes. Thou seest thine outward to be His outward and thine inward to be His inward, and thy first to be His first and thy last to be His last, without doubting and without wavering. And thou seest thine attributes to be His attributes and thine essence to be His essence, without thy becoming Him or His becoming thee, either in the greatest or least degree. "Everything is perishing except His Face";[1] that is, there is no existent but He, nor existence to other than He, so that it should require to perish and His Face remain; that is, there is nothing except His Face: "then, whithersoever ye turn, there is the Face of God."[2]

It is as if one did not know a thing and afterwards knows it. His existence does not cease, but his ignorance ceases, and his existence continues as it was, without his existence being exchanged for another existence, or the existence of the not-knowing person being compounded with the existence of the knowing, or intermixing, but [merely] a taking away of ignorance. Therefore, think not that thou requirest to cease to be. For if thou requiredst to cease to be, then thou wouldest in that case be His veil, and the veil other than God (whose name be exalted); which requires that another than He should have overcome Him in preventing His being seen; and this is an error and an oversight. And we have mentioned above that His veil is [only a part of] His oneness, and His singleness is not other than it. And, thus it is permitted to him who is united to Reality to say, "I am the Truth," and to say, "Praise be to Me." But none attains to union except he see his own attributes to be the attributes of God (whose name be exalted), and his own essence to be the essence of God (whose name be exalted), without his attributes or

[1] Koran, xxviii, 88.
[2] ii, 109.

essence entering into God or proceeding forth from Him at all, or ceasing from God or remaining in Him. And he sees himself as never having been, not as having been and then having ceased to be. For there is no soul save His soul, and there is no existence save His existence.

And to this the Prophet (upon whom be peace) pointed when he said: "Revile not the world, for God—He is the world," pointing to the fact that the existence of the world is God's existence without partner or like or equal. And it is related from the Prophet (upon whom be peace) that he said that God (whose name be exalted) said [1]: "O my servant, I was sick and thou visitedst Me not, I begged of thee and thou gavest not to Me," with other like expressions; pointing to the fact that the existence of the beggar is His existence, and that the existence of the sick is His existence. And when it is allowed that the existence of the beggar and the existence of the sick are His existence, it is allowed that thy existence is His existence, and that the existence of all created things, both accidents and substances, is His existence. And when the secret of an atom of the atoms is clear, the secret of all created things, both external and internal, is clear, and thou dost not see in this world or the next aught beside God, but the existence of these two Abodes, and their name and their named, all of them, are He, without doubt and without wavering. And thou dost not see God as having ever created anything, but thou seest "every day He is in a business," [2] in the way of revealing His existence or concealing it, without any quality, because He is the First and the Last and the Outward and the Inward. He is outward in His oneness and inward in his singleness: He is the first in His essence and His immutability, and the last in His everlastingness. The very existence of the first is He, and the very existence of the last is He, and the very existence of the outward is He, and the very

[1] To Moses.
[2] Koran, lv, 29.

existence of the inward is He.[1] He is His name and He is His named. And as His existence is 'necessary,' so the non-existence of all beside Him is necessary. For that which thou thinkest to be beside Him is not beside Him. For He will not have aught to be other than He. Nay, the other is He, and there is no otherness. The other is with His existence and in His existence, outwardly and inwardly.

The person to whom this description is applicable is endowed with many qualities without limit or end. But just as he who dies the death of the body[2] loses all his qualities, both praiseworthy and blameworthy, so in the Ṣūfī death[3] all the qualities, both blameworthy and praiseworthy, are cut off, and God (whose name be exalted) comes into his place in all his states. Thus, instead of his essence comes the essence of God (whose name be exalted), and in place of his attributes come the attributes of God (whose name be exalted).

And so the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace) said, "Die before ye die," that is, know yourselves before ye die. And he (upon whom be peace) said: "God (whose name be exalted) has said: The worshipper does not cease to draw near to Me with good works until I love him. Then, when I love him, I am to him hearing and sight and tongue and hand unto the end," pointing to the fact that he who knows himself sees his whole existence to be His existence, and does not see any change take place in his own essence or attributes, seeing that he was not the existence of his essence, but was merely ignorant of the knowledge of himself. For when thou 'knowest thyself,' thine egoism is taken away, and thou knowest that thou art not other than God. For, if thou hadst had an independent existence, so that thou didst not require to cease to be or to

[1] Arabic as on p. 816.

[2] من مات بصورته.

[3] الموت المعنوى.

'know thyself,' then thou wouldest be a Lord beside Him; and God forbid that He should have created a Lord beside Himself.

The profit of the knowledge of the soul is, that thou understandest and art sure that thy existence is neither existent nor non-existent, and that thou art not, wast not, and never wilt be.

From this the meaning of the saying, "There is no god but God," is clear, since there is no god other than He nor existence to other than Him, so that there is no other beside Him—and no god but He.

Then if one say: Thou makest void His sovereignty,—

Then the Answer is: I do not make void His sovereignty. For He is still Ruler as well as ruled, and is still Creator as well as created. He is now as He was as to His creative power and as to His sovereignty, not requiring a creature nor a subject, because He is the Creator and the created, and the Ruler and the ruled. When He called into being the things that are He was [already] endowed with all attributes. And He is now as He was then. In His oneness there is no difference between what is recent and what is original. The recent is the result of His manifesting Himself, and the original is the result of His remaining within Himself. His outward is His inward, and His inward is His outward: His first is His last and His last is His first; and all is one, and the One is all. The definition of Him was, "Every day He is in a business," and there was nothing beside Him, and He is now as He was then, and there is in reality no existence to what is beside Him. As He was in past eternity and past time "every day engaged in a business," and there was no existent thing beside Him, so He is the same now as He was, "every day engaged in a business," and there is no business and there is no day, as there were in past eternity and past time no business and no day. And the existence of the created things and their non-existence are the same thing. And, if it were not so, there would of necessity be an origination of something fresh which was not [before]

in His oneness, and that would be a defect, and His oneness is too sublime for that!

Therefore, when thou knowest thyself after this fashion, without adding a like or an equal or a partner to God (whose name be exalted), then thou knowest it as it really is. And it was thus he said (upon whom be peace), "Whoso knoweth himself knoweth his Lord." He did not say, "Whoso maketh himself to cease to be, knoweth his Lord," for he (upon him be peace) understood and saw that there is nothing beside Him. Thereupon he pointed out that the knowledge of the soul was the knowledge of God (whose name be exalted). That is, "Know that thy existence is not thy existence nor other than thy existence. For thou art not existent nor non-existent, nor other than existent nor other than non-existent. Thy existence and thy non-existence are His existence, and yet without there being any existence or non-existence, because thy existence and thy non-existence are actually His existence." So if thou seest things (without seeing another thing along with God) to be Him, thou knowest thyself; and, verily, to know thyself after this fashion is to know God, without wavering and without doubt, and without compounding anything of what is of recent origin with what is original, in any way.

Then if one ask: How lies the way to union, when thou affirmest that there is no other beside Him, and a thing cannot be united to itself?—

Then the Answer is: No doubt there is in reality no union nor division, nor far nor near. For union is not possible except between two, and if there be but one, there can be no union nor division. For union requires two either similar or dissimilar. Then if they are similar they are equals, and if they are dissimilar they are opposites, and He (whose name be exalted) spurns to have either an equal or an opposite; so that the union is something else than union, and the nearness something else than nearness, and the farness something else than farness. So there is union without union, and nearness without nearness, and farness without farness.

Then if anyone say: Explain to us this 'union without union'; and what is the meaning of this 'nearness without nearness' and this 'farness without farness'?—

Then the Answer is: I mean that thou, in thy stages of drawing nigh and of being far off, wast not a thing beside God (whose name be exalted), but thou hadst not the 'knowledge of the soul,' and didst not understand that thou art He without thou. Then when thou art united to God (whose name be exalted)—that is, when thou knowest thyself (although the knowledge itself does not exist [1])—thou understandest that thou art He. And thou wast not aware before that thou wast He, or He other than He. Then, when the knowledge comes upon thee, thou understandest that thou knowest God by God, not by thyself.

To take an example: Suppose that thou dost not know that thy name is Maḥmūd, or thy named Maḥmūd. Then if the name and the named be in reality one, and thou thinkest that thy name is Muḥammad, and after some time comest to know that thou art Maḥmūd, then thy existence goes on, but the name Muḥammad is cut off from thee, by thy coming to know thyself, that thou art Maḥmūd, and wast Muḥammad only by ceasing to be thyself. And 'ceasing to be' presupposes an affirmation of existence, and whoever posits an existence beside Him makes a partner to Him (exalted and blessed be His name). So nothing positive is taken away from Maḥmūd, nor does Muḥammad cease to be in Maḥmūd, or enter into him or proceed forth from him, nor Maḥmūd into Muḥammad; but as soon as Maḥmūd knows himself, that he is Maḥmūd and not Muḥammad, he knows himself by himself, not by Muḥammad. For Muḥammad never existed at all, then how could anything that does exist be known through him?

So, then, the knower and that which he knows are both one, and he who unites and that with which he unites are one, and seer and seen are one. For the knower is His attribute and the known is His essence; and he who unites

[1] اي عرفت نفسك بلا وجود حروف العرفان.

is His attribute, and that with which he unites is His essence; and the attribute and that to which it is attributed are one. And this is the explanation of the saying "Whoso knoweth himself knoweth his Lord."

So whoever understands this example knows that there is no union nor division, and he knows that the knower is He and the known is He, and the seer is He and the seen is He, he who unites is He and that with which he unites is He. There does not unite with Him other than He, and there is not separated from Him other than He. And whoever understands this is free from the polytheism of polytheism, and, if not, then he has not felt a breath of freedom from polytheism.

Most of 'those who know' (who think that they know themselves and know their Lord, and that they are free from the delusion of existence) say that the Path is not to be traversed except by ceasing to be, and the ceasing of that ceasing. And that is due to their not understanding the saying of the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace). And because they must blot out polytheism, they point at one time to the negation, that is, the cessation, of existence, and at another to the cessation of that cessation, and at another to effacement, and at another to annihilation. And all these explanations are unadulterated polytheism. For whoever allows that there is anything beside Him, and that afterwards it ceases to be, or allows a cessation of its extinction, he affirms the existence of something that is beside Him, and whoever does this makes a partner to God. May God guide them and us to the middle of the Path!

Hymn.

Thou thoughtest, a-thinking, that thou wast thou,
And thou art not thou and never wast thou.
For if thou wert thou, then wert thou a Lord
And a Second of Two. Leave what thou art thinking.
There is no difference between the beings of Him and Thee:
He is not distinct from thee nor Thou from Him.

For if thou say, in ignorance, that thou art Another,
Thou art stubborn, and if thine ignorance cease, thou art docile.
Thy union is flight and thy flight is union,
And thy far is near. In this thou art blessed.
Leave intellect and understand through intuition,
Lest that pass thee by against which thou art guarding.
And make no partner to God of anything at all,
In order that it may be well with thee: in polytheism thou wast at ease.

Then if one say: Thou demonstratest that thy knowledge of thyself is the knowledge of God. And he who knows himself is other than God; then how can other than God know God, and how can it be united to Him?—

Then the Answer is: He who knows himself understands that his existence is not his own existence, but his existence is the existence of God, without his existence becoming the existence of God (whose name be exalted) and without his existence entering into God or proceeding forth from Him, or his existence being along with Him or in Him. But he sees his existence in the condition in which it was before it was at all. So there is no extinction nor effacement nor extinction of extinction. For the extinction of a thing presupposes its independent existence first, and its independent existence presupposes its subsisting by itself, not by the power of God (whose name be exalted)—which is clearly absurd.

Understand, therefore, that the knower's knowledge of himself is God's knowledge of Himself, because his soul is nothing but He. And the Prophet (upon whom be peace) meant by the 'soul' the existence. And whoever attains to this state, his existence is no more, outwardly or inwardly, aught but the existence of Him (whose name be exalted). Nay, his existence is the existence of God (whose name be exalted), and his word the word of God (whose name be exalted), and his act the act of God, and his claim to the knowledge of God is a claim to the knowledge of himself. But thou hearest the claim as from him, and

seest the act as from him, and thou seest his existence to be other than God, as thou seest thyself to be other than God, by reason of thine ignorance of the knowledge of thyself. Then if "the believer be the mirror of the Believed,"[1] he is He, in His own eye, that is, in His own sight, for his eye is the eye of God and his sight is the sight of God. And he is not He in thine eye, or thy knowledge, or thy understanding, or thy imagination, or thy thought, or thy vision. But he is He in His eye and His knowledge and His vision. So if one say "I am God," then hearken to him, for it is God (whose name be exalted) saying "I am God," not he. But thou hast not attained to that to which he has attained; for if thou hadst attained to that to which he has attained, thou wouldest understand what he says, and say what he says, and see what he sees.

And, generally, the existence of things is His existence, without their existing at all. But do not fall into an ambiguity by imagining from these demonstrations that God is created. For one of 'those who know' has said, "The Ṣūfī is uncreated"; and that is after the perfect unveiling and the cessation of doubts and imaginings. But this saying (*luqmah*) is only for him who has a nature wider than the two worlds,[2] and as for him whose nature is like that of the two worlds, it does not concern him, for it is nobler than the two worlds.

And, universally, thou mayest understand that seer and seen, and Creator and created, and knower and known, and perceiver and perceived are one. He sees his existence in His existence, and knows his existence by His existence, and perceives his existence by His existence, without any quality of the perception and seeing and knowing and without the form itself of the perception and seeing and knowing existing.[3] It is as if his existence were without quality, and his seeing himself without quality, and his

[1] A saying attributed to the Prophet.

[2] Material and immaterial.

[3] بلا وجود حروف صورة [سورة *or*] الادراك والرؤية والمعرفة.

perceiving himself without quality, and his knowing himself without quality.

Then if one ask and say: In what light regardest thou all the hateful and lovable things? For if thou seest, for instance, refuse or carrion, thou sayest it is God (whose name be exalted),—

Then the Answer is: God forbid that He should be any such thing! But our discourse is with him who does not see the carrion to be carrion, nor the refuse as refuse. Nay, our discourse is with him who has sight and is not born blind. For he who does not know himself is blind and cannot see. And until the blindness depart he will not attain to these spiritual matters. But this discourse is with God, not with other than God and not with the blind. For he who attains to this station knows that he is not other than God. And our discourse is with him who has resolution and energy in seeking to know himself in order to know God, and who keeps fresh in his heart the image of his seeking and his longing for union with God; and not with him who has neither aim nor end.

Then if one ask and say: God (whose name be exalted) has said, "The eyes do not perceive Him, but He perceives the eyes."[1] But thou sayest the contrary of that. Therefore, what thou sayest is not true,—

Then the Answer is: All that we are saying is the sense of the expression "The eyes do not perceive Him," that is, there is no one, and no one has sight, able to perceive Him. Then if we suppose that there is another than He in existence, we must allow that that other perceives Him. But God (whose name be exalted) has warned us in His saying "The eyes do not perceive Him" that there is no other beside Him; meaning, no other perceives Him, but He who perceives Him is God (whose name be exalted). So there is no other except Him. He it is who perceives His own essence, not another. So "the eyes do not perceive Him," simply because the eyes are nothing but His own

[1] Koran, vi, 103.

existence. And if anyone say, "The eyes do not perceive Him, only because they are of recent origin, and what is recent does not perceive what is old and permanent," he does not yet know himself, since there is nothing and there are no eyes except Him. He, then, perceives His own existence, without the existence of the perception and without quality.

HYMN.

I know the Lord by the Lord, without doubt or wavering.
My essence is His essence in truth, without defect or flaw.
There is no becoming between these two, and my soul it is which manifests that secret.
And since I knew myself without blending or mixture,
I attained to union with my Beloved, without far or near.
I obtained gifts of the Lord of Affluence without upbraiding and without recrimination.
I did not lose to Him my soul, nor does it remain to the lord of dissolution.

Then if one ask and say: Thou positest God and deniest the existence of aught else. What, then, are these things which we see?—

Then the Answer is: These discourses are with him who does not see aught beside God. And he who sees aught beside God (whose name be exalted), we have no question and answer with him, for he does not see other than what he sees. And he who knows himself does not see other than God, and he who does not know himself has not seen God; and every vessel exudes that which is in it. And we have explained much above, and if we should explain more than that, he who does not see would not see, nor understand, nor perceive; and he who sees, sees and understands and perceives already; and "a sign is sufficient to him who attains." And as for him who has not attained, he would not attain by teaching (*ta'līm*), nor instruction, nor by reiteration, nor by learning, nor by intellect; but only by

the attraction of a shaikh who has attained and an intelligent instructor, travelling on the Path, being guided by his light, and walking in his strength, and so attaining to the end, if it be the will of God (whose name be exalted).

May God (whose name be exalted) grant success to us and you in all that He desires and loves, of word and deed, and theory and practice, and light and guidance. Verily, He is over all things powerful and fit to Answer.

Finis.

ART. XXX. — *The Identity of Piyadasi (Priyadarśin) with Aśoka Maurya, and some connected Problems.* By VINCENT A. SMITH, M.R.A.S., late of the Indian Civil Service.

PART I.

The Identity of Piyadasi (Priyadarśin) with Aśoka Maurya.

IN my paper entitled "The Authorship of the Piyadasi Inscriptions"[1] the question of authorship was treated on the assumption that the place of Piyadasi in history was unknown. This mode of treatment was adopted because I desired to examine afresh, and with perfect impartiality, the commonly accepted identification of Piyadasi with Aśoka Maurya. Before I undertook that examination I did not feel absolute certainty that the doubts as to the identification long ago expressed by Professor H. H. Wilson and recently again put forward by Bābū P. C. Mukherjī might not have some basis in fact. The problem of the Aśoka chronology is involved with the question of the identification of Aśoka with Piyadasi, and nearly the whole of the chronology of the history of ancient India depends upon the determination of the date of Aśoka. For these reasons I felt compelled, in order to satisfy my own mind, to thoroughly examine the evidence for the identification of Aśoka with Piyadasi, and to see whether or not it is open to any doubt. The result of the examination is that to my mind no doubt is any longer possible respecting either the identity of Aśoka Maurya with Piyadasi, or respecting the approximate dates of the accession both of Aśoka and of his grandfather Candragupta. By

[1] Ante, p. 481.

"approximate dates" I mean dates with a margin of possible error not exceeding two years.

The questions referred to have not been fully threshed out in any English book of recent date, and it will, I think, be useful to place the evidence in a convenient and readily intelligible form before the readers of this Journal. Although very little novelty can fairly be looked for in the treatment of problems which have been discussed from time to time for more than sixty years, the reader who happens to be familiar with the old disquisitions may find that the ancient arguments have been strengthened by recent discoveries and some fresh observations.

I avail myself of the opportunity to discuss the alleged existence of another Aśoka, distinguished as Kālāśoka by the Ceylonese chroniclers, and certain connected questions of ancient Indian history and chronology.

More than sixty years ago, when the question of the identification of Piyadasi with Aśoka Maurya was first mooted, Turnour pointed out that the identification is expressly made by the ancient Ceylonese chronicle known as the Dīpavaṁsa, which was probably composed in the fourth century A.D.[1] The passages which affirm the identification are translated as follows by Oldenberg:—

"Two hundred and eighteen years after the Parinibbâna of the Sambuddha, Piyadassana was anointed king. When Piyadassana was installed, the miraculous faculties of royal majesty entered into him. . . . . Heaven-born birds, sweet-voiced cuckoos, constantly sang to men, (attracted) by the splendour of Asoka's merit. The great Nâga, whose age endures through a Kappa, the attendant of four Buddhas, wearing a gold chain, came, (attracted) by the splendour of Asoka's merit. The glorious Piyadassi honoured him with garlands of jewels. . . . . This grandson of Candagutta, the son of Bindusâra, (King Asoka), whilst a mere prince, was subking of Ujjeni, charged with

[1] "The result is that the Dîpavaṃsa—be it in that very version which we possess or in a similar one—was written between the beginning of the fourth and the first third of the fifth century. We do not know as yet the exact date of the composition of the Mahâvaṃsa, but if we compare the language and style in which the two works are written there will scarcely be any doubt as to the priority of the Dîpavaṃsa." (Oldenberg, "The Dîpavaṃsa," Introd., p. 9.)

collecting the revenue. . . . . Asoka ruled in Pâṭaliputta, best of towns; three years after his coronation he was converted to Buddha's faith. . . . . Aṣokadhamma, after his coronation, obtained the (above-mentioned) miraculous faculties; exceedingly splendid and rich in meritorious works (he was) universal monarch of (Jambu)dîpa. They crowned Piyadassi after full twenty years (?)[1]; he passed three years doing honour to Pâsaṇḍa infidels. . . . . Asoka joyfully made known to the fraternity of Bhikkhus; 'I am, venerable sirs, a relative of the religion of the teacher Buddha.' . . . . After having heard the word spoken by King Asokadhamma, learned Moggaliputta . . . . answered the question of Asokadhamma. . . . . King Asokadhamma, the ruler of the earth, having heard this speech, addressed both prince Mahinda, his son, and his daughter Sanghamittā. . . . . In the city of Pâṭaliputta ruled Prince Dhammâsoka, a great king, who was a believer in the faith of Buddha." . . . .

(xv, 88) (Ariṭṭha thus addressed Asoka:) "Your son, sire, your offspring, O great King Piyadassana, Thera Mahinda, has sent me to your presence." . . . . (xvi, 5) "Prince Piyadassana bowing paid his reverence to the Bo-tree."[2]

These passages prove conclusively that the compiler of the Dîpavaṁsa used as synonyms the various names Asoka, Asokadhamma, Dhammāsoka, Piyadassi, and Piyadassana.

The writer of the Mahāvaṁsa, who drew from the same source as the compiler of the Dîpavaṁsa, repeats the history from which the above passages are quoted, but gives the king the names Asoko and Dhammāsoko only.

Whatever be the value of the Ceylonese tradition as evidence for the facts and chronology of Aśoka's reign, the language of the Dîpavaṁsa is conclusive evidence to prove that in the fourth century A.D. the names Aśoka and Piyadasi were convertible terms, and is good evidence to prove that Aśoka and Piyadasi were as a matter of fact identical. Religious bias and other motives have obviously caused the Ceylonese narrative of the events of Aśoka's reign to depart widely from the sober, historical truth, but

[1] The translation is in accordance with the text, which seems to be here faulty.
[2] Oldenberg, "The Dîpavaṁsa," pp. 146–193; sections vi, 1, 2, 12–15, 18, 23, 24; vii, 8, 14–16, 18; xv, 88; xvi, 5.

it is difficult to imagine any motive which could have induced the chronicler to incidentally identify Aśoka with Piyadasi if, as a matter of fact, the two names were not applicable to the one sovereign. If no evidence as to the identity of Aśoka and Piyadasi existed other than the testimony of the Dīpavaṁsa, that testimony alone would suffice to establish a *primâ facie* case for the identity and to throw the burden of proof on the party denying it.

That the case is much more than a *primâ facie* one, and is, in fact, fully proved, will appear from the arguments which will now be adduced.

The Chinese pilgrims, to whom we are so much indebted for our knowledge of ancient India, offer very clear and intelligible evidence of the identity of Aśoka Maurya and Piyadasi. Both Fā-hien and Hiuen Tsiang describe the position and topography of the Lumbini Garden, the traditional birthplace of Gautama Buddha, in such a manner that no doubt can exist as to the identification of the site of the garden at Rummindeī in the Nepalese Tarāi. The later pilgrim describes the great stone pillar at this site, crowned by the figure of a horse, which was erected by Aśoka Rāja. That pillar still exists, and bears an inscription mentioning the horse statue, now lost, and stating that the monument was erected by Piyadasi Rāja. The identity of the existing pillar with that seen by Hiuen Tsiang being beyond all question, the necessary inference is that Aśoka Rāja and Piyadasi Rāja were identical.

The same argument applies to the Niglīva pillar recording the visit of Piyadasi to the *stūpa* of Konakāmana (Kanakamuni) Buddha, which appears to be the pillar mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang as having been erected by Aśoka Rāja near the *stūpa* of Kanakamuni. But in this case the argument is not absolutely conclusive, because the Niglīva pillar no longer occupies its original position, and the *stūpa* of Kanakamuni has not yet been identified.[1]

[1] See "Report on Explorations in the Nepalese Tarāi," by Bābū P. C. Mukherjī, with Prefatory Note by V. A. Smith, now in the press. The notices of the *stūpa* published by Dr. Führer are fictions.

The Rummindeī pillar is the only inscribed Piyadasi pillar which can be identified with absolute certainty as a monument ascribed by Hiuen Tsiang to Aśoka, but this one is quite enough to prove that the Aśoka of the pilgrims is the Piyadasi of the inscriptions.

A double synchronism of Indian and Greek kings, while giving a firm foundation for the chronology of the history of ancient India, incidentally serves also as cogent evidence of the identity of Aśoka Maurya with Piyadasi of the inscriptions. The Brahmanical Purāṇas, the Ceylonese chronicles, and the Jain books all agree in representing Aśoka, emperor of all India, as being a member of the Maurya clan, son of Bindusāra, and grandson of Candra Gupta.

The Greek and Roman historians, of whom in this connection Justin is the most important, agree in relating that a king named Candra Gupta (Sandrokoptos, Sandrocottus, Androkottos), of low origin, succeeded immediately after the death of Alexander the Great (B.C. 323) in driving the representatives of Macedonian power from the Panjāb, and in dethroning the king of Magadha, whose throne he usurped. Candragupta then became lord of all India. The words of Justin imply that the successful rebellion in the Panjāb headed by Candragupta occurred as soon as possible after the death of Alexander in the summer of B.C. 323.[1] The personality of the great Macedonian was the only bond which held together the incongruous parts of his vast empire, and even if no definite historical statement existed, we should feel justified in inferring that the liberation of the Indian provinces from the Macedonian yoke must have followed very quickly upon Alexander's death at Babylon in May or June, B.C. 323. The revolt of the Panjāb may, therefore, be referred with confidence to the cold season of B.C. 323–22. The news of Alexander's death

[1] "India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottus was the leader who achieved their freedom," etc. (Justin, xv, ch. iv, transl. by McCrindle in "The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great," p. 327.)

could not have been ascertained and have become generally known throughout the province before July or August, B.C. 323, and military operations on any considerable scale could not have been begun before October, after the close of the rains. The Panjāb must have been cleared of the Macedonian officers and troops during B.C. 322, and the usurpation of the throne of Magadha by Candragupta may be dated almost with certainty in B.C. 321. This date is strictly in accordance with the language of Justin, who states that "Sandrocottus having thus won the throne was reigning over India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness." These words imply that the seizure of the supreme power in India by Candragupta was antecedent to the greatness of Seleucus, who recovered Babylon in B.C. 312, and assumed the title of king in 306. Seleucus cannot be said to have begun to lay the foundations of his future greatness earlier than B.C. 321, when he was first appointed Satrap of Babylon by the partition effected at Triparadeisos. On the other hand, it is impossible to assign an earlier date than B.C. 321 to the acquisition of supreme power by Candragupta, inasmuch as Alexander's death occurred in B.C. 323, and in the interval the Panjāb had to be conquered, and a powerful army organized for and marched to the conquest of distant Magadha. I shall presently show that a later date than B.C. 321 or 320 for the accession of Candragupta is not admissible.

The particulars related by the Greek and Roman historians of Nandrus, king of India, whom Candragupta dethroned and supplanted, agree sufficiently with those related by Indian literary tradition of the last Nanda, who was dethroned and supplanted by Candragupta Maurya, to show that the Candragupta of the historians of Alexander is the Candragupta Maurya of Indian and Ceylonese tradition.[1]

Now Hindoo, Buddhist, and Jain traditions agree in

[1] The common reading *Alexandrum* in Justin's text, which makes nonsense, has been rightly corrected to *Nandrum* by Gutschmid (*Rhein. Mus.*, 12, 261; quoted by McCrindle, op. cit., p. 327, note).

stating that the son and successor of Candragupta was Bindusāra, whose son and successor was Aśoka Maurya. This evidence is confirmed by the only Indian inscription which mentions either Aśoka or Candragupta by name, that is to say, the famous inscription recorded by Rudradāman at Girnār in A.D. 150. That inscription states that the canals appertaining to the Girnār lake were constructed by the governor appointed by Aśoka Maurya, the embankments of the lake having been formed in the time of King Candragupta Maurya.[1] The inscription therefore proves that the Aśoka who was sovereign of Gujarāt long before A.D. 150 was a Maurya who reigned subsequently to Candragupta, who also was sovereign of Gujarāt. The Aśoka and Candragupta of the inscription must therefore be the Maurya kings bearing those names who are celebrated by a great mass of ancient tradition as emperors of India.

The Candragupta Maurya of the Indian tradition who usurped the throne of the last Nanda is clearly the Candragupta who, according to Justin, usurped the throne of Nandrus. The Candragupta of the Greek and Roman writers was, therefore, Candragupta Maurya, and the accession of the first Maurya must be placed in B.C. 321. When it is said that such and such an event of Indian history in the third or fourth century B.C. must be placed in such and such a year, the expression should, of course, be understood with reasonable latitude. Almost all the details of ancient Indian history are wanting; we know nothing, for instance, as to the time of year at which any particular king ascended the throne, and from this cause alone an error of one year, or even more, in a date expressed in terms of B.C. may easily occur. But in the case of Candragupta the date can be fixed with unusual exactitude, because an anterior limit is fixed by the death of Alexander in May or June, B.C. 323, and a posterior limit is fixed by the synchronism which determines the date of Candragupta's grandson, Aśoka, with a very small possible margin of error.

[1] Bhagwān Lāl Indrajī and Bühler in *Ind. Ant.*, vii, 262.

The year B.C. 321 may be accepted with confidence and with practical accuracy as the date of the accession of Candragupta to the throne of Magadha, and consequently to that of at least all Northern and Western India, including the peninsula of Gujarāt. The actual conquest of a province so distant as Gujarāt may, of course, not have taken place till some years later.

According to the Purāṇas and the Ceylonese chronicles Candragupta reigned twenty-four years.[1] This concurrent testimony, which fits in well with the other evidence, may be accepted. The Purāṇas assign to the reign of Bindusāra twenty-five years, whereas the Ceylonese chronicler extends the reign to twenty-eight years. The difference is not very considerable, but the shorter period fits into the other evidence better than does the longer, and should, therefore, be preferred. The collective length of the two reigns together as being forty-nine years may be accepted with confidence because it fits in exactly with the Greek synchronisms both of Candragupta and of his grandson Aśoka. Accepting as true the statement that Candragupta and his son Bindusāra reigned collectively for a period of forty-nine years, and also accepting, for the reasons above stated, the year B.C. 321 as the date of the accession of Candragupta, the accession of Candragupta's grandson, Aśoka, must have taken place in the year B.C. 272 (321–49).

I shall now proceed to show that the same year, B.C. 272, is obtained as the date of the accession of Aśoka from the synchronism of Piyadasi with Magas of Cyrene and the other Greek kings mentioned in the Thirteenth Rock Edict. The two calculations are absolutely independent, the one being based on the date of the death of Alexander the Great, May or June, B.C. 323, while the other is based on the date, B.C. 258, of the death of Magas, king of Cyrene, in Northern Africa.

[1] Owing to a clerical error in the text, the Mahāvaṁsa is usually quoted as stating that the reign of Candragupta lasted thirty-four years. The blunder is corrected by the commentary, as pointed out by Professor Rhys Davids ("Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon," p. 41, note).

In the famous passage of the Thirteenth Rock Edict which names the contemporary Greek sovereigns King Piyadasi prides himself on the fact that the conquests of the Buddhist Law of Piety have been extended not only throughout his empire, but also, by means of missionaries, to the distance of six hundred *yojanas*, even unto the realm of King Antiochus, and, beyond his borders, unto the realms of the four kings named Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas, and Alexander. Inasmuch as the names of Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, and Alexander were borne by many of the successors of Alexander the Great, no one of these four names is in itself sufficient to establish a synchronism between the Greek and Indian sovereigns. The only decisive name is that of Magas of Cyrene, who is the only known king of that name, and is admitted by all authorities to have died in B.C. 258. Magas was half-brother of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, who died in B.C. 246, and who must be the Ptolemy referred to in the inscription as a contemporary of Magas. The Antiochus of the inscription can only be Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, who married the daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and was murdered in B.C. 246 (or 247). The Antigonus of the inscription cannot be any other than Antigonus Gonatas, who was either fighting for or in occupation of the throne of Macedonia from B.C. 283 to 239. His rival and contemporary, Alexander, son of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus (B.C. 272 to *circa* B.C. 258), is clearly the Alexander mentioned in the inscription.

The death of Magas having occurred at some time in the year B.C. 258, and that of Alexander of Epirus at about the same time or a little earlier, the date of the edict cannot possibly be much later. When the fact is remembered that the Hellenistic kingdoms of Asia and Africa were in frequent and easy communication with the Indian empire, it is certain that only a very moderate interval can have elapsed between the deaths of Magas of Cyrene and Alexander of Epirus and the communication of those events to the emperor of India. Seleucus Nikator is known to have sent two embassies to India, namely, that headed by Megasthenes,

which was accredited to Candragupta, and that headed by Deimachus, which was accredited to the son of Candragupta. Patrocles, admiral of the fleet of Seleucus, also visited and described India. Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt followed the example of Seleucus and sent an envoy named Dionysius to the court of the Indian emperor, and caused his admiral Timosthenes to examine and report on the coasts of the country.[1] These few recorded facts imply an extensive unrecorded intercourse between the Indian empire and the Hellenistic kingdom of the third century B.C. The deaths of Magas of Cyrene and Alexander of Epirus must have been known to the emperor of India in the year B.C. 256 at the very latest, and the Thirteenth Rock Edict, consequently, cannot be assigned a later date. That edict is dated in the thirteenth year from the coronation of the emperor Piyadasi, which event, therefore, cannot be placed later than B.C. 268 [256 + 12]. But, considering the facilities for communication, the date B.C. 257 for the edict is more probable. The coronation of Piyadasi must then be placed in the year B.C. 269. The language of the inscriptions proves that the coronation (*abhiṣeka*) was not coincident with the accession of Piyadasi, and, if it be assumed that the Ceylonese chroniclers have preserved a genuine tradition in allotting three complete years as the interval between the accession and the coronation, the latter event must be assigned to the year B.C. 272. But that very year, B.C. 272, has already been ascertained by an absolutely independent calculation, starting from the death of Alexander the Great in B.C. 323, to have been the date of the accession of Aśoka, grandson of Candragupta.

Universal tradition, supported by the Rudradāman inscription, describes Aśoka Maurya as emperor of India. Both the contents and the distribution of the Piyadasi

[1] Pliny, Solinus, and Strabo, as translated by McCrindle in "Ancient India," pp. 7, 14, 20. Strabo calls the son of Candragupta by the name Amitrochades, or, in another passage, Allitrochades. The first form of the name is probably a transliteration of the Sanskrit compound *amitraghāta*, 'slayer of foes,' which must have been a title of Bindusāra, son of Candragupta. Similarly, Aśoka in his inscriptions uses his title *Piyadasi*, 'the Humane,' and not his personal name.

inscriptions prove beyond the possibility of dispute that Piyadasi was emperor of India. The proof is complete that both Aśoka and Piyadasi succeeded to the supreme power in India in or about the year B.C. 272. Inasmuch as it is impossible that there can have been two emperors of India at the same time, Aśoka Maurya and Piyadasi must be identical.

Candragupta, emperor of India (B.C. 321–297), was the contemporary of Seleucus Nikator, king of Syria (B.C. 312–280), and of Antigonus I, king of Macedonia (B.C. 323–301). Aśoka Maurya, emperor of India, grandson of Candragupta, reigned from B.C. 272 to about B.C. 231, and was the contemporary of Antiochus Theos, who reigned over Syria from B.C. 261 to 247 or 246, and was grandson of Seleucus Nikator. Aśoka was also the contemporary of Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia, who reigned from B.C. 283 to 239, and was the grandson of Antigonus I.

Grandfathers and grandsons respectively synchronize. Thus, in every way, the identity of Aśoka Maurya with Piyadasi, the author of the rock and pillar inscriptions, is conclusively proved. The chronology of Aśoka and of his grandfather Candragupta is also proved with equal certainty, subject to a possible error not exceeding two years.[1]

In the discussion of the chronology of the Maurya period I have made no reference to the dates given by the Ceylonese chronicles, which have been regarded by so many writers as authoritative, or at least as important elements in the discussion. The reason for the omission is that I regard the dates in the Ceylonese chronicles anterior to the reign of Duṭṭhagamini (*circa* B.C. 160) as possessing no authority whatever, and as being consequently of no importance. A very cursory perusal of the Dīpavaṁsa, the earlier of the two chronicles compiled by the monks of the Mahāvihāra, is sufficient to show that the real history in that work does not begin till chapter xix, which treats of the reign of Duṭṭhagamini. The first eighteen chapters,

[1] The chronological argument is an elaboration of that given by M. Senart in "Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi."

although based to a small extent on fact, are in the main a tissue of incredible miracles and absurdities. The pretentious detail of the monkish chronicles in providing dates for every event seems to have dazzled the eyes of critics, and to have induced a belief that so much detail could not be simply false. But whenever the dates can be tested they are found to be wrong. The two leading dates of the Ceylonese chronicles are those for the death of Gautama Buddha, B.C. 543, and for the coronation of Aśoka Maurya, B.C. 325, or A.B. 218. Ever since Turnour's time it has been obvious and generally acknowledged that both these dates cannot possibly be correct, if it be admitted that Candragupta was contemporary with Seleucus Nikator, and that Aśoka Maurya, grandson of Candragupta, was contemporary with Antiochus Theos, grandson of Seleucus. Those two synchronisms being indubitably facts, either of the two leading dates given by the Ceylonese chronicles must be wrong, because those dates cannot be made to tally with the synchronisms. So far all, or nearly all, modern writers on the subject may be said to agree. But some of them, as Turnour, persuade themselves that the date 543 B.C. for the death of Gautama must be correct, while others, as Cunningham, maintain the correctness of the interval of 218 years between the death of Gautama and the coronation of Aśoka. Both parties are illogical. The admission that either one or the other of two connected dates must be about sixty years wrong destroys the authority for the other date. The only logical course, if either date be rejected, is to reject the other also. This logical course I have followed, and it is fully justified by the palpable absurdity of the so-called history in both the Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa anterior to the reign of Duṭṭhagamini. Neither of those chronicles, unless when supported by external testimony, can be safely used as authority for events prior to B.C. 160.

PART II.

Kālāśoka.

The alleged existence of an Aśoka I, or Kālāśoka, distinct from Aśoka II, or Dharmāśoka, the Maurya, rests solely on the authority of the Ceylonese monks. Considerable difference of opinion on the question of the existence of Aśoka I has been expressed by eminent scholars. Cunningham did not hesitate to denounce Kālāśoka as "fabulous," whereas Oldenberg and Burnouf and other writers have been inclined to believe in him. After a careful study of the evidence, which appears to be all accessible in English or French, and not to require special philological knowledge for its proper appreciation, I am fully convinced that Aśoka I, or Kālāśoka, of the Ceylonese chronicles is an absolute fiction.

The monks relate that Ajātaśatru, the contemporary of Gautama Buddha, slew his father, King Bimbisāra. So far the story, which is alluded to in the Jātakas, may be true. But when the chroniclers go on to relate that Ajātaśatru was succeeded by four generations of kings, all parricides, the limits of credibility have been passed. When they further proceed to turn the Puranic genealogies upside down and to make out Aśoka I, or Kālāśoka, to be son of Susunāga (Siśunāga), and to state that Kālāśoka was succeeded by ten sons, who reigned for twenty-two years, who were succeeded by the Nine Nanda brothers, who also reigned for twenty-two years, the absurdity of the narrative is patent.[1] Unfortunately, the Purāṇas, which assign the impossible period of a hundred years to the Nine Nanda brothers, are at this stage of the history equally absurd; and it is plain

[1] The Nine Nandas are mentioned in the Mahāvaṁsa, as translated by Wijesiṁha. Turnour omits the word Nanda. The Dīpavaṁsa (v, 97–99) mentions only the ten sons of Kālāśoka, and omits the second period of twenty-two years.

that for some reason, not now easy to discover, both Brahmanical and Buddhist writers have falsified the narrative concerning the immediate predecessors of the Maurya dynasty.

There is a general agreement that the last Nanda was dethroned and succeeded by Candragupta Maurya, with whom the authentic dynastic history of India may be said to begin. The Purāṇas know of only one Aśoka, the Maurya, whose full name is given as Aśoka vardhana; and this Aśoka is the only king of that name in early times known to Nepalese, Kāśmīrī, Tibetan, and Chinese tradition, or mentioned in an inscription. The absurd tale about Kālāśoka in the Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa is the sole warrant for belief in the existence of such a person, and is far from being sufficient to justify the belief. The only Aśoka known to authentic history is Aśoka vardhana Priyadarśin, grandson of Candragupta Maurya.

Although no explanation of the story of the Nine Nandas has been suggested, the invention of Kālāśoka can be explained in a manner which is plausible and seems to be adequate. The traditional statements of the date of Aśoka Maurya varied greatly. One writer places him 160 years after the death of Gautama Buddha, but this date is not ordinarily accepted.[1] Two rival dates were in common use. According to one school Aśoka was dated in round numbers a century, and according to another school he was dated two centuries, after the death of Buddha (100 and 200 A.B. respectively). The Indian tradition, as represented in nearly all the Tibetan, Mongolian, Nepalese, and Chinese books, has adopted the earlier date. The Ceylonese tradition, of which the proximate parentage is uncertain, has adopted the later date. Kālāśoka was apparently invented for the purpose of harmonizing the two contradictory dates, which must

[1] "One hundred and sixty years after the utter passing away of the Blessed Buddha, when King Dharmâçoka was reigning in Kusumapura (i.e. Pâtaliputra)." (Bhavya, in Rockhill, "The Life of the Buddha," p. 182.) The translator is hardly justified in inserting the words "i.e. Kâlâçoka" after "Dharmâçoka."

have both been known to the monkish chroniclers of Ceylon. The correctness of this explanation becomes clear by a comparison of the Indian and Ceylonese legends of a particular event, namely, the conversion of Ceylon. The island chronicles, which have been by so many writers accepted as exact history, date the coronation of Aśoka Maurya in 218 A.B. and the Council of Pāṭaliputra in either 234 or 236 A.B. The same authorities explain the conversion of Ceylon as having been effected by missionaries despatched immediately after the dispersal of the Council. They place Kālāśoka in 100 A.B. and the Council of Vaisāli in the tenth year of his reign.

Hiuen Tsiang, who was guided by the tradition current in northern India, agrees with the Ceylonese in ascribing the conversion of Ceylon to the mission of Mahendra, a near relative of Aśoka Maurya.[1] But he places this event (*Beal*, ii, 246) only a little more than a century after Buddha's death, exactly the date assigned by the Ceylonese writers to Kālāśoka. In other words, Hiuen Tsiang assigns about 110 A.B. as the date of the conversion of Ceylon,[2] which the island chroniclers date in 234 or 236 A.B., while both authorities refer the event to the reign of Aśoka Maurya. But the Ceylonese do not absolutely reject the date 100 or 110 A.B. They accept it also, and refer it to the reign of Kālāśoka, whose existence is not vouched for by any independent authority, and whose alleged history is on the face of it fabulous. It seems certain, therefore, that Kālāśoka is a mere duplication of Aśoka Maurya, otherwise called Dharmāśoka, and that he has been invented solely in order to explain the duplicate system of chronology.

The question of the real existence of Kālāśoka is intimately associated with the question of the authenticity of the

[1] Mahendra was the younger brother of the emperor according to the Indian tradition, which seems to me more probable than the Ceylonese version which describes him as the illegitimate son of Aśoka, and gives him a sister Sanghamitrā, 'the friend of the Order,' as a colleague. I do not believe in Sanghamitrā.

[2] The following four dates of Aśoka are found in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, namely, A.B. 116, 118, 130, and 218. The last-mentioned is derived from a Ceylonese source. With the pair of figures 116 and 118, compare the Ceylonese dates for the Council, 234 or 236. (*I-tsing*, ed. Takakusu, p. 14.)

Ceylonese narratives of the Three Buddhist Councils or Convocations, which are commonly, although not universally, accepted as sober history. The sceptical comments of Max Müller[1] and a few other distinguished writers on these narratives have been little regarded, and most European writers on the history of Buddhism treat the Three Councils as well-ascertained facts, of which the dates and details are known. I propose to examine how far scepticism and how far belief is justified.

Part III.

The Buddhist Councils.

The First Council is alleged to have been held in the eighth year of King Ajātaśatru, at his capital Rājagṛha, and to have met sixty-one days after the death of Gautama Buddha. Five hundred holy men composed the assembly, and spent seven months in verifying the whole Canon, the Vinaya being recited by Upāli, the Sūtra Piṭaka by Ānanda, and the Abhidharma by Mahā Kāśyapa. The extreme improbability of the huge body of scriptures known as the Piṭakas being in existence, even unwritten, at the time of the death of Buddha is obvious, and serious scholars cannot accept the whole legend as it stands. Professor Rhys Davids, who for long maintained the reality of the Council of Rājagṛha, subject to a limited belief in the details of the story, admits in the last edition of his Manual (p. 213, note) that it is possible that further knowledge may throw doubt on the fact of the Council having been really held.[2]

[1] "Chips," 2nd ed., i, p. 198.

[2] The earliest account of this alleged Council is in the eleventh Khandaka of the Cullavagga, translated by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg in "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xx, Vinaya Texts, part iii, p. 370. The Ceylonese version of the tale is given by Hardy in "Eastern Monachism," pp. 173–177.

So far back as 1879 Professor Oldenberg felt no doubts on the subject, and denounced the story of the First Council as "not history, but pure invention, and, moreover, an invention of no very ancient date." This emphatic declaration of opinion is mainly based on the fact that the Council is not mentioned in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*. The story is in itself so utterly incredible that specific arguments for its refutation seem to be almost unnecessary. I have no hesitation in agreeing with Professor Oldenberg that the tale of the First Council is simply fiction.

Inasmuch as the Ceylonese chroniclers treat all the three alleged Councils as equally notorious and well-established facts, give details of the names of the leaders of each assembly, and assert that the procedure followed at all the three Councils was absolutely identical, it is obvious that if the First Council be admitted to be fictitious, the authority of the chroniclers is greatly impaired. They could as easily invent three Councils as one. Professor Oldenberg holds (or held in 1879) that they invented only one Council and a half—that is to say, he rejects the whole story of the First Council, rejects half the story of the Second Council, while accepting the other half, and accepts the whole story of the Third Council. Such a verdict cannot be considered final or satisfactory. Professor Oldenberg regards the Second Council (that is to say, the half story of it which he accepts) and the Third Council as "the fixed points in the history of the earlier form of Buddhism." But are they really "fixed points"?

The earliest version of the legend of the Council of Vaisāli is to be found in the twelfth Khandaka, or supplement, of the Cullavagga of the Vinaya; the eleventh Khandaka being devoted chiefly to an account of the alleged Council of Rājagṛha.[1] These two Khandakas are similar in form, and in some passages identical in language. If, then, one is pure fiction and the other is serious history, the distinction is certainly not apparent on the face of the documents.

[1] "Sacred Books of the East," Vinaya Texts, part iii, by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, vol. xx.

The story of the Vaisāli Council as given in the Khandaka may be summarized to the following effect. A century after the death of the Buddha, the monks of Vaisāli, who belonged to the Vrijjian nation, had permitted themselves ten indulgences, or relaxations of discipline, which included liberty to drink unfermented toddy and to receive gold and silver. The saint Yaśas, son of Kākandaka, who happened in the course of his wanderings to visit Vaisāli, observed that on the fast day the local monks made cash collections from the laity. His remonstrances against this irregular practice were met by the monks with a formal censure passed on him. The lay disciples, however, were convinced by the arguments of Yaśas. The local monks then proposed to excommunicate their critic. He escaped from them by use of his miraculous powers, and passing through the air, visited in succession the city of Kauśāmbī and the hill of Ahoganga. At the latter place about sixty monks from the Western and about eighty-eight from the Southern countries had assembled. Yaśas and his supporters desired to consult Revata, who had a great reputation for learning. They sought him in vain at several places, and at last found him at Sahajāti. His ruling on the disputed points was in favour of Yaśas.

The monks of Vaisāli failed in an attempt to corrupt Revata by gifts, but succeeded in winning to their side his attendant Uttara, whom they adopted as their teacher. Revata, after consultation with Sambhūta Sānavāsī, decided to ascertain the opinion of Sabbākāmī, who lived at Vaisāli, and was the most aged living doctor (*thera*), having survived one hundred and twenty years since his ordination, and having been a pupil of Ānanda. This aged saint agreed with Yaśas, Revata, and Sānavāsī, but intimated that he would not pronounce any formal ruling until the question at issue had been referred by the Order to a jury or commission for inquiry. A jury was constituted, consisting of four representatives of the East, namely, Sabbākāmī, Sālha, Khujja Sobhita, and Vāsabhagāmika, with an equal number of representatives of the West, namely, Revata, Sambhūta

Sānavāsī, Yaśas son of Kākandaka, and Sumana. This jury examined the ten indulgences claimed and condemned them all.

Revata then questioned Sabbākāmī in the General Assembly of the Order, and obtained a confirmation of the condemnation.

The story concludes abruptly with the statement—"Now, whereas at this rehearsal of the Vinaya, seven hundred Bhikkhus, without one more, without one being wanting, took part, therefore is that rehearsal of the Vinaya called 'That of the Seven Hundred.'"

The formula of this statement is identical with that used to describe the conclusions of the Council of Rājagṛha in the preceding Khandaka, save that the words 'seven hundred' are substituted for the words 'five hundred.'

The reader will observe that the detailed story deals only with the condemnation of the ten indulgences claimed by the Vaisāli heretics, and does not say a word about the "rehearsal of the Vinaya" mentioned in the concluding paragraph, which is evidently a later interpolation. We may, therefore, safely accept Professor Oldenberg's opinion that the Council did not really verify the whole Vinaya, much less the whole body of the scriptures, as the Ceylonese chroniclers state that it did.[1]

But can even the residue of the story be accepted as historical, and can the date of the condemnation of the ten indulgences, stated as being a century after the death of the Buddha, be accepted as approximately correct? Comparison with other and later forms of the legend will, I think, throw doubt on an affirmative answer to these

[1] The story of the revision of the Vinaya is, however, perhaps older than A.D. 400, because Fā-hien (chap. xxv), who dates the condemnation of the "ten indulgences" by the Vaisāli Council in A.B. 100, seems to affirm a revision of the Vinaya texts. Beal translates "compared and collated the Vinaya Piṭaka afresh." Legge's rendering "examined afresh and collated the collection of disciplinary books" means the same thing. Giles objects to the word 'afresh,' and translates "examined and compared the Disciplines over and over again"; observing "that the text does not seem to imply more than that a search was made for the passages quoted by the Nonconformists."

questions, even if it fails to yield materials for positive certainty.

So far as I can make out, neither internal nor external evidence is available to fix the date of the Khandaka from which the story above given has been taken. It is probably later than many other sections of the Pālī Vinaya, which take no notice of the "ten indulgences," and are therefore assumed by Professors Rhys Davids and Oldenberg to be earlier than the Council of Vaisāli, which those scholars regard as a fact of approximately ascertained date. There is, however, one passage in the Mahāvagga (viii, 24. 6; in *Vinaya Texts*, part ii) which indicates that every part of the Mahāvagga is not necessarily earlier than the Khandaka in question. This passage, which occurs in the chapter on the "Dress of the Bhikkhus," is as follows: "Now at that time there were staying in Pâṭaliputta, at the *kukkuṭârâma*, a number of Theras—the venerable Nilavâsi, and the venerable Sâṉavâsi, etc." The learned translators have noted that the Sānavāsi referred to is probably the person mentioned as one of the leaders in the Vaisāli Council, but have not noticed that, if this be the case, the argument for the early date of the Vinaya based on its silence concerning the "ten indulgences" is greatly shaken.

Two other facts indicate the comparatively late date of the passage quoted. The first is the mention of Pāṭaliputra by that name alone. The more ancient name was Pāṭaligrāma, and that is the form mentioned, as well as the later form, in the ancient sections (vi, 28–30) of the Mahāvagga, which reproduce the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta.

The second fact is the reference to the Kukkuṭārāma monastery at Pāṭaliputra. According to Hiuen Tsiang the ruined monastery to the south-east of the old city was called (K'iu-cha'o-lan-mo) Kukkuṭārāma, and was built by Aśoka Rāja, when he first became a believer in the religion of Buddha. It was a sort of firstfruit (*Beal*, ii, 95). This building is also mentioned in the Mahāvaṁsa (Turnour, p. 30), and seems to be identical with the Asokārāma of that work, which is said to have been erected immediately after

the conversion of Aśoka.[1] From this reasoning I conclude that at least the passage quoted from the eighth chapter of the Mahāvagga is later in date than Aśoka Maurya. If one passage in the Mahāvagga is post-Asokan, it is clearly possible, or even probable, that a Khandaka, supplementary to the Cullavagga, may also be post-Asokan.

As has been already observed, materials do not seem to be available for the determination with any precision of the date of the Khandaka in question. But I think it may now be said that it is probably post-Asokan. Certainly the document cannot be proved to be pre-Asokan. It is therefore very slight authority for an event alleged to have occurred a century after the death of Gautama Buddha. I am unable to regard the story of the Council of Vaisāli, even in its earliest form, as a tradition of very early date. To all appearance, so far as I can judge from a translation, the eleventh and the twelfth Khandakas belong to one period, and if they are later than the eighth chapter of the Mahāvagga they must be post-Asokan. If the story of the Council of Rājagṛha told in the eleventh Khandaka is "pure invention," why should the similar story of the Council of Vaisāli told in the twelfth Khandaka be regarded as "a fixed point in the history of the earlier form of Buddhism"?

Professors Rhys Davids and Oldenberg accept the date of the Vaisāli Council given in the Khandaka, "a century after the death of the Blessed One," as a round number, substantially correct. But it seems to me to be susceptible of another explanation. Kālāśoka has been proved to be a duplication of the real Aśoka Maurya, or Dharmāśoka, and a plausible explanation of the duplication as due to a desire to reconcile conflicting systems of chronology has been given. May not the same explanation be applied to the Vaisāli Council? The Cullavagga, which knows nothing about Kālāśoka, places the Council of Vaisāli in or about the

[1] It is not to be confounded with the Kukkuṭārāma at or near Gayā. The metrical *Aśokāvadāna* professes to have been recited at the Kukkuṭa Vihāra in the garden called Upakaṇṭhikārāma on the bank of the Ganges at Pāṭaliputra. (Rājendralāla Mitra, "Nepalese Buddhist Literature," p. 6.)

year 100 A.B., which is the date assigned by the Ceylonese monks to Kālāśoka, in the tenth year of whose reign, according to them, the Council met. It is obvious that if Kālāśoka never existed, a Council cannot have assembled in the tenth year of his reign. The rejection of the Kālāśoka story necessarily throws the greatest doubt on the Ceylonese version of the legend of the Council which is mixed up with that story.

The Cullavagga version describes the proceedings of the Council as being confined to the condemnation of ten specified deviations from orthodox discipline, which were favoured by the monks of the East and disapproved of by the monks of the West. This document is silent as to what became of the party which opposed Yaśas and Revata. The Ceylonese chronicles profess to supply the omission, and relate how the monks held two rival councils at Vaisāli. They admit that the lax Vaisālian party was the more numerous, and convened an assembly known as the Mahāsangīti, which developed a profound schism extending far beyond the condonation of the "ten indulgences." The nature of this schism as seen from the Ceylonese point of view is described in a passage of the Dīpavaṁsa, which has been well translated by Professor Rhys Davids:—

"The monks of the Great Council overturned religion,
They broke up old Scriptures and made a new recension,
A discourse put in one place they put in another,
And distorted the sense and doctrine of the five Nikāyas—
These monks, who knew not what had been spoken at length,
And what had been spoken concisely,
What was the obvious and what the higher meaning,
Attached new meanings to words spoken by the Buddha,
And destroyed much of the spirit by holding to the shadow of the letter.
They partly rejected the Sutta and Vinaya so deep,
And made a different Sutta and Vinaya and text,
The Parivāra commentary, and the six books of the Abhidhamma,
The Paṭisambhidā, the Nidesa, and a portion of the Jātaka—
So much they put aside, and made others in their place."[1]

[1] "Buddhism" (S.P.C.K.), latest ed., 1899, p. 217.

This description of the doctrines of the heretics at the Vaisāli Council has nothing in common with the description in the Khandaka of the "ten indulgences," which were all matters of mere external conduct and discipline. The two traditions, although both tacked on to the name of the Vaisāli Council, seem to refer to totally different sets of facts. This discrepancy is a very strong proof of the unreality of the accounts of the Three Councils which have come down to us. The affectation of precision in the Ceylonese accounts, as recorded in the Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa, has gained for them an amount of credit which they in no way deserve.

The Cullavagga, as we have seen, ascribes to the Western monk Yaśas, son of Kākandaka, the whole organization of the Council summoned to suppress the "ten indulgences," and represents the struggle as one between the Western and Southern fraternities on the one hand and the Eastern fraternity on the other. The Mahāvaṁsa, while not ignoring Yaśas, ascribes a prominent part in the proceedings to the mythical king Kālāśoka, who is alleged to have at first favoured the heretics, and to have been converted to the orthodox views.

The account of the Vaisāli Council in the Tibetan Dulvā (*Rockhill*, p. 171) agrees closely with the Cullavagga. The date is fixed as 110 A.B., and the story deals only with the condemnation of the "ten indulgences" by the party under the guidance of the *arhat* Yaśas. Nothing is said concerning the revision of the whole canon, or even the revision of the Vinaya.

The Ceylonese chroniclers refer to the Council of Vaisāli the origin of the great Mahāsānghika schism, which rested upon differences going much deeper than the mere indulgence in irregular luxuries.

According to one account given by the Tibetan writer Bhavya (*Rockhill*, p. 181) this great schism arose in the year 160 A.B., in the reign of King Dharmāśoka of Pāṭaliputra. Dharmāśoka is the same as Aśoka Maurya, and this tradition, therefore, adds to the evidence proving Kālāśoka to be a fiction.

In another passage the same writer gives a different account of the origin of the great schism, and connects it with a Council held at Pāṭaliputra by King Nanda Mahāpadma[1] in the year 137 A.B. (*Rockhill*, p. 187). The Council, of which the leaders were Mahākāśyapa, Mahāloma, and Mahātyāga, is said to have regulated the 'habits' [discipline] of the monks, and then to have separated into two parties divided by a difference of opinion on five speculative propositions. According to this story the monks continued to quarrel for sixty-three years afterwards, that is to say, till A.B. 200; and 102 years later [i.e. A.B. 302], the Sthavira and Vatsiputriya schools verified the canon ["rightly collected the doctrine"].

A writer named Vasumitra states that the schism of the Mahāsānghika occurred at Pāṭaliputra in the reign of Aśoka, sole emperor of India, a little more than a century after the death of the Blessed Buddha, and that the schism was due to a difference of opinion on five speculative propositions concerning intuitive knowledge and so forth.

These references show that the Council of Vaisāli, at which, according to the Ceylonese chroniclers, the Mahāsānghika schism arose in the reign of Kālāśoka, was by the Indian (Tibetan) writers remembered as a Council held at Pāṭaliputra by Aśoka Maurya, or Dharmāśoka. The passages referred to go a long way to support my suggestion that the alleged Council at Vaisāli is only a duplication of a real Council held at Pāṭaliputra in the reign of Aśoka Maurya. It will be observed that the Dulvā agrees with the Pālī (Ceylonese) story about the "ten indulgences," whereas Bhavya and Vasumitra say nothing distinctly about the "ten indulgences" in matters of discipline, but refer the origin of the schism to a difference

[1] The text reads "Nanda and Mahāpadma," with the word 'king' (*rgyal-po*) in the singular. The word 'and' is an obvious clerical error. According to the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, Nanda Mahāpadma, the first of the Nanda dynasty, was the son of Mahānandin Saiśunāga by a Sudra woman, and from his time all the kings were Sūdras. The Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas state that Mahāpadma reigned for eighty-eight years. The history of the Nandas has been hopelessly falsified.

of opinion about five speculative propositions. The Chinese pilgrims, in their account of the Council of Vaisāli, agree substantially with the Dulvā, and know nothing of Kālāśoka. The only Aśoka known to Fā-hien and Hiuen Tsiang is Dharmāśoka, or Aśoka Maurya. The Mongols also record the Council of Vaisāli in the reign of Aśoka in A.B. 110.[1]

According to the abstract of the Dulvā made by Csoma Körös, the scriptures were compiled three times, namely, for the first time immediately after the death of Buddha, for the second time in the reign of Aśoka, king of Pāṭaliputra, 110 A.B., and for the third time in the reign of Kaniṣka, 400 A.B.[2]

The Ceylonese chroniclers give details of a Council held in the reign of Dharmāśoka, or Aśoka Maurya, in the seventeenth year of his reign, A.B. 234, according to the Mahāvaṁsa (*Turnour*, p. 42), or in the nineteenth year of his reign, A.B. 236, according to the Dīpavaṁsa.

This Council, as distinct from the Vaisāli Council, is wholly unknown to the Indian, Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese tradition. That tradition knows only one Council held in the reign of Aśoka, which was, according to some, held at Vaisāli, and, according to others, at Pāṭaliputra. One of the versions given by Bhavya is peculiar in associating the Council with the name of Mahāpadma Nanda, instead of with Aśoka. No satisfactory explanation of this peculiarity occurs to me,[3] but I may note that a similar confusion between Nanda and Aśoka is recorded by Hiuen Tsiang, who (*Beal*, ii, 94) states that, according to the records of India, the "five *stūpas*" at Pāṭaliputra were erected by Aśoka, and rejects a rival legend ascribing them to [Mahāpadma] Nanda.

The Kaniṣka Council is unknown to the Ceylonese.

The Aśoka who is the subject of the Nepalese prose romance known as the Aśokāvadāna is in more than one

[1] Laidlay: "Pilgrimage of Fa-Hian," p. 248.
[2] Quoted in Hardy, "Eastern Monachism," p. 188.
[3] Professor Rhys Davids has suggested that the Kālāśoka of the Ceylonese may be intended as an equivalent for Nanda. ("Buddhism," p. 221.)

passage expressly stated to be Aśoka Maurya. Nevertheless, his date, like that of the Ceylonese Kālāśoka, is placed in A.B. 100, and he is associated with the Sthavira Yaśas, who converts his brother Vīṭāśoka (*Burnouf*, Introd., p. 370). This Yaśas is the saint who in the Ceylonese legend is associated with the Vaisāli Council. (A person named Yaśas, who in some legends is named as a minister of Aśoka, seems to be distinct from the Sthavira or Arhat.)

The Annals of Li-yul (Eastern Turkistan, especially Khotan; in *Rockhill*, pp. 230–233) date Dharmāśoka (i.e. the Maurya) in A.B. 234, and ascribe his conversion to the Arhat Yaśas. (This work also mentions the minister Yaśas.) Tradition therefore associates the Arhat or Sthavira Yaśas with the Aśoka who is placed about 100 A.B., and also with the Aśoka placed about 200 A.B. The Vaisāli Council is associated by the Ceylonese with the earlier Aśoka, the Pāṭaliputra Council with the later. But it has been proved that the two Aśokas are one, the earlier being a mere duplication of the later. The inference seems to follow that the Vaisāli Council is a duplication of that of Pāṭaliputra. Sufficient reason, I think, exists for believing in the reality of a Council held at Pāṭaliputra late in the reign of Aśoka Maurya. The legends about the Three Councils must seemingly have had some basis of fact. The First Council has been rejected absolutely as a "pure invention," and proof has been given that there is good reason to doubt the separate existence of the Vaisāli, the so-called Second, Council. If the reality of the Pāṭaliputra Council be denied, no basis of fact for the legend of the Three Councils remains. The confusion between the Councils of Vaisāli and Pāṭaliputra seems to be best explained by assuming that a Council was really held at Pāṭaliputra, and that the Vaisāli Council is a mere reflection of that reality. The story of a local dispute at Vaisāli concerning either the "ten indulgences" or the "five propositions" may be founded on fact, but we cannot say when that dispute occurred. The currently accepted date for the Vaisāli Council, 110 A.B., is merely one of the traditional dates for

Aśoka. All tradition concurs in saying that Aśoka Maurya did really hold a Council, and it is only reasonable to believe that that Council was convened at his capital, Pāṭaliputra. The Ceylonese chroniclers, I think, knew the two traditional dates for Aśoka and his Council, one about 100 A.B. and the other about 200 A.B. They saw that the later set of dates, with the help of a little manipulation, could be made to suit Aśoka Maurya, whereas the earlier set of dates could not possibly be fitted to him. They therefore invented Aśoka I, or Kālāśoka, provided him with a fictitious genealogy, and assigned to him, as to his namesake, a Council. The allotment of Vaisāli as the meeting-place of the Council of the fictitious Kālāśoka was probably due to the fact that local aberrations of the monks at Vaisāli had been condemned by some sort of synod of monks from other parts of India, who disapproved of practices current in the eastern districts. But I do not believe for a moment that any verification or recitation of the mass of the scriptures, or even of the Vinaya Piṭaka, occurred at Vaisāli. If such a proceeding ever took place anywhere, and I am not certain that it did, it took place at the Council held at some undetermined date at Pāṭaliputra in the reign of Aśoka Maurya. I say "at some undetermined date" because the dates given by the Ceylonese chroniclers are clearly erroneous, and at present the materials for determining the real date do not exist.

The Bhabra Edict of Aśoka cannot properly be quoted as evidence of the date of the Council. In that document "King Piyadasi sends greeting to the Magadhan clergy, and wishes them prosperity and good health." He then proceeds to endorse as "well-said" all that has been said by the Venerable Buddha, and to recommend certain favourite passages from the scriptures[1] to the special attention of the faithful. No expression in the edict can be so construed as to give any indication of a particular date. All that can be said is that the Bhabra Edict

[1] I use the word 'scriptures' merely as a convenient term without prejudice to the question whether or not the Buddhist books had been reduced to writing in the time of Aśoka.

cannot be earlier than the eleventh or twelfth year of the reign, when Aśoka became a member of the Order, and "strenuously exerted himself." The edict on the neighbouring rock of Bairāt belongs to the eighteenth year of the reign, and it is likely that the Bhabra document is to be referred to approximately the same period. But, even if this surmise be correct, it does not confirm the Ceylonese tradition that the Council of Pāṭaliputra sat in either the seventeenth or the nineteenth year of the reign, because the edict makes no reference to a Council. The evidence for the Council is at present that of tradition only, and of tradition discrepant in itself and disfigured by gross absurdities.

Aśoka Maurya, who is commonly described in a stock phrase as "the Constantine of Buddhism," was much more to his adopted religion than Constantine was to Christianity. When the Roman emperor resolved to give his official patronage and adhesion to the religion of Jesus, the Church was already a formidable power throughout the empire. When Aśoka, in the ninth year of his reign, was moved by his personal feelings of remorse at the horrors of war to become a lay disciple of the Buddha, and when, two or three years later, he assumed the yellow robe, and despatched missionaries to all India and the foreign states within his ken, he suddenly, and by his individual action, raised Buddhism from the level of an obscure Hindu sect in the Gangetic valley to the rank of a world-religion, which it has successfully held for more than two thousand years. If a Christian parallel must be sought, it will be found rather in St. Paul than in Constantine. That a Council should have been convened by the Emperor Aśoka, himself a member of the holy Order, is natural and probable, and a belief in the reality of his Council seems to be the most rational way to explain the origin of the legend of the Three Councils. Buddhism had its second birth in the reign of Aśoka, and it is not surprising that a reflection from the glory of the Council held under the patronage of the imperial monk was cast back upon the

times of the mendicant friar who had founded the Order.[1] The chief obstacle to a belief in the reality of Aśoka's Council is the omission from the edicts of all reference to it. The Seventh Pillar Edict, published in the twenty-eighth year of the reign, enumerates the means adopted or recommended by the emperor for the encouragement and diffusion of the practical *Dharma*, or Law of Piety. But these means do not include the convocation of a church council. Nothing is said about the repression of heresy; on the contrary, liberal and sympathetic toleration of all schools of thought is the lesson emphatically taught. Nothing is said about the revision of the canon of scripture; on the contrary, the existence of a canon of the Buddha's sayings is assumed, and the emperor commends a selection of his favourite texts to the meditation of the pious. If a Council really met in the reign of Aśoka, I think it must have been held very late in the reign, subsequent to the twenty-eighth year, when the series of edicts closed. About the details of the proceedings of the Council, if it was a reality, we know nothing authentic.

From the mass of conflicting testimony concerning Aśoka, Kālāśoka, and the Three Councils the following propositions seem to me to emerge:—

1. The real Aśoka, whose full name was Aśoka vardhana, and whose surname in religion was Priyadarśin, 'The Humane,' belonged to the Maurya family or clan, was the son of Bindusāra Amitraghāta, and grandson of Candragupta, and reigned as emperor of India from about B.C. 272 to about B.C. 231.

2. The interval which elapsed between the death of Gautama Buddha and the coronation of Aśoka Maurya is

[1] Aśoka became a lay disciple (*upāsaka*) in his ninth year; joined the Order (*saṁghe upayāte*) and assumed the monkish garb more than two and a half years later, and had despatched missionaries before his thirteenth year. These facts are established by the Thirteenth Rock Edict read with the Bairāt Edict, and by I-tsing's reference to statues of Aśoka in monkish garb (ed. Takakusu, p. 73). The interpretation of M. Senart that Aśoka merely visited the Assembly (*saṁgha*) is, I think, untenable. Of course, the monasticism of a reigning emperor must have been of a very modified kind.

unknown, the statements of the Ceylonese chroniclers and of Indian tradition on the subject being contradictory, worthless, and, to a large extent, demonstrably false.

3. Two principal forms of the tradition (besides other varieties) exist. One of these places Aśoka a century, or a little more, after the death of Buddha; the other places him two centuries, or a little more, after that event.

4. It is clearly proved that both the forms of the chronological tradition are concerned with only one historical personage, Aśoka Maurya.

5. The Ceylonese chroniclers attempted to reconcile the conflicting chronologies by accepting both; attaching the later set of dates to Aśoka Maurya, or Dharmāśoka, and inventing another Aśoka, dubbed Kālāśoka, to fit the earlier set of dates.

6. The Ceylonese writers describe three Councils as having been held by the Buddhist Church for the suppression of heresy and the verification of the canon of scripture; namely, (1) that of Rājagṛha, held immediately after Buddha's death; (2) that of Vaisāli, held in the tenth year of the reign of Kālāśoka, in the year 110 A.B., or some approximate year; (3) that of Pāṭaliputra, held in either the seventeenth or the nineteenth year after the coronation of Aśoka Maurya, or Dharmāśoka, corresponding to A.B. 234 or 236.

7. The story of the first of these Councils, namely, that of Rājagṛha, is, in the language of Professor Oldenberg, "pure invention," notwithstanding the fact that the Council is vouched for by Indian as well as by Ceylonese tradition.

8. The third Council, that of Pāṭaliputra, probably really took place. But the date of its assembly is not known, and no reliance can be placed upon the traditional accounts of its proceedings.

9. This Council, held in the reign of Aśoka Maurya, is known to Indian tradition, but is variously described as having assembled either at Vaisāli or Pāṭaliputra.

10. The accounts concerning the purpose of this Council vary irreconcilably. The Ceylonese writers ascribe its convocation to the necessity for the suppression of widespread

heresy and religious disorder, which had resulted in the suspension of ecclesiastical functions for seven years. The same writers affirm that the Council verified the whole Canon by recitation, as had been done at previous Councils, that the president took the opportunity to publish the Kathāvatthu treatise, and that the Council was followed by the dispatch of missionaries to Ceylon and other places.

Some traditions affirm that the primary purpose of the Council was to condemn "ten indulgences," or irregular relaxations of monastic discipline claimed by the monks of Vaisāli. In some versions of the story the dispute is represented as being one between the East on the one hand and the West and South on the other.

Other traditions state that the primary purpose of the Council was to condemn "five propositions" concerning intuitive knowledge and other matters of speculation.

Various traditions assert that the Council was the occasion of the first great schism, and the formation of the Mahāsānghika school.

11. While the Ceylonese writers, as above stated, recognize three Councils, namely—

(1) Rājagṛha, in A.B. 1;
(2) Vaisāli, in A.B. 100 or 110;
(3) Pāṭaliputra, in A.B. 234 or 236;

the Indian traditions recognize the three Councils as—

(1) Rājagṛha, in A.B. 1;
(2) Vaisāli or Pāṭaliputra, in or about A.B. 110;
(3) Peshāwar (reign of Kaniṣka), in or about A.B. 400.

12. The Indian tradition is nearer than the Ceylonese tradition to the truth. Kaniṣka reigned about the latter part of the first century A.D., and the tradition of a Council held at so late a date is not likely to be pure invention. The Ceylonese schools of Buddhism at that period were not interested in the religious development of the Pañjāb, and naturally ignore this Council.

13. The Ceylonese representation of the Vaisāli Council as occurring more than a century before the accession of Aśoka Maurya is false. The fiction in this matter is probably a consequence of the invention of Aśoka I, or Kālāśoka, who was invented as an expedient for reconciling two current and contradictory schemes of chronology.

14. It is possible that a dispute about the "ten indulgences" really occurred at Vaisāli, and that the condemnation of those indulgences by a synod of some sort has been confounded by tradition with the Council held at Pāṭaliputra in the reign of Aśoka Maurya. But the materials do not exist for determining what, if anything, occurred at Vaisāli, nor do we know at what date it occurred. The date A.B. 110, commonly assigned to the Council of Vaisāli, is merely one of the traditionally current dates of Aśoka Maurya, in whose reign a Council was really held at Pāṭaliputra.

15. The stories are so contradictory and confused that it is impossible to fix the date of the Pāṭaliputra Council, or to determine what it did.

16. Consequently the alleged Councils of Vaisāli and Pāṭaliputra cannot be regarded as "fixed points in the history of the earlier form of Buddhism."

ART. XXXI.—*Notes on Early Economic Conditions in Northern India.* By CAROLINE FOLEY RHYS DAVIDS, M.A.

THE following classified references may prove useful and suggestive to the student of the economic conditions of ancient India. The work accomplished by Professor Zimmer in his *Altindisches Leben*, which contains, among so much of varied interest, almost all that may be gleaned on the political economy of Vedic times, has not been carried on with respect to the advancing civilization of the succeeding centuries. Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt's important compilation, the *Civilization of Ancient India*, cannot, from the magnitude of its scope, treat adequately of what the literature of that era lets us see concerning rural economy, organization of industry, and methods of exchange. Dr. Fick's *Sociale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien* is most valuable and suggestive as far as it goes. But it is compiled from a sociological and not from a specifically economic standpoint. Yet if we consider the ancient records now accessible, contemporary respectively with the age which preceded and with that which saw the rise of Buddhism and Jainism, and with the times of the earlier and succeeding 'law-books' —covering, from B.C. 800, let us say, a thousand years,— we may find materials sufficient to justify at all events some initial efforts to gain a coherent outline of economic institutions. I do not pretend that the passages noted are at all exhaustive; I am confident that much valuable material remains embedded both in edited and unedited texts. But I hope that these collectanea may prove stepping-stones to further reaching and more systematic investigation by more competent writers.

Rural Economy.

We do not read of any houses, large or small, as standing isolated in the country. Dwellings appear in groups constituting either the country village (*janapadagāma*) (e.g. Jāt. i, 318), or the border village (*paccantagāma*). (Dhp. 81; Jāt. v, 46; i, 215; cf. also the expressions in M.P.S., p. 55.)

The population of such a village varied from 30 to 1,000 families. (Jāt. i, 199; iii, 281.)

The arable land extending around the village is spoken of as 'the field' (*khetta*) (Vin. i, 287), and its divisions as being of two shapes, which with their boundaries or dykes (for irrigation) had a patchwork appearance (ibid.).

The village field in the kingdom of Magadha was larger, as a rule, than those elsewhere (Vin. ii, 186); even one only of its portions is, in two cases, described as of 1,000 acres (*karīsas*) (Jāt. iii, 293; iv, 276).

The owner or occupier is represented as cultivating his particular *khetta* himself, aided by his family, or in certain cases slaves or hirelings. (Jāt. i, 277; iii, 162, 293; iv, 467.)

Land might be let against a half or other share of the produce (Āpast. ii, 11, 28 (1); i, 6, 18 (20)), or made over by gift to another (Jāt. 484; Śat. P. Br. xiii, 3, 7), or sold (Vin. ii, 158, 159). But it is not stated that land thus transferred was village *khetta*; in one case it was 'forest land,' in another 'a garden,' in the third it may have been land 'cleared' by the proprietor or his forefathers (cf. Jāt. iv, 467). The traditional feeling was apparently against land transfer (Śat. P. Br. xiii, 7, 15).

The sovereign claimed an annual tithe on raw produce. This was levied, and in kind amounted to $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{10}$, or $\frac{1}{12}$. (D. i, 87; Jāt. ii, 239, 276, 378; iv, 169; Gaut. x, 24; Manu, vii, 130; Bühler, *Trans. Vienna Acad.*, January, 1897; V. A. Smith, J.R.A.S., 1897, pp. 618, 619.)

He could make over this tithe, accruing from one or more villages (rural or suburban), as a gift to anyone. (D. i, 87; Jāt. i, 138; ii, 237, 403; iii, 229; v, 44; vi, 261, 344, 363.)

He could also remit the tithe to any village. (Jāt. i, 200; iv, 169.)

But it is doubtful whether zemindary right to the soil itself was ever given as well. (*Dial. of the Buddha*, i, 108, n.)

The methods of cultivation of the *khetta* are described in Buddhist literature. Grain (chiefly rice), pulse, and sugar-cane were the chief products; vegetables, possibly also fruit and flowers were cultivated. Rice was reckoned as the staple article of food and the double jasmine (*vassikā*) as the most highly prized flower. (Vin. ii, 180; A. i, 241; Jāt. i, 36, 339; iv, 167, cf. 363, 445; Mil. 182.)

The village had its common grazing-ground and its common herdsman. (Jāt. i, 194; M. i, 122; A. i, 205; v, 350; Dhp. 151; Jāt. iii, 401; cf. Rig-Veda, x, 19.)

The grain crops were apparently massed in a public granary for the excision of the king's tithe prior to their removal to private barns. (Jāt. ii, 378; i, 339, 467.)

There were special granaries kept filled "for urgency," presumably either for scarcity or for military purposes. (*Indian Antiquary*, 1896, pp. 261 foll.)

The pattern king is described as providing persons of no capital, who wished to start farming, with food and seed-corn. (D. i, 135.)

Villagers are described as enclosing hunting preserves for the king in order to protect their field. (Jāt. i, 149 ff.; iii, 270.)

Villagers are described as co-operating to mend their roads, build tanks and municipal buildings, and lay out a park, women taking part. (Jāt. i, 199 ff.)

That peasant proprietors should leave their tillage to work for royal capitalists was considered as a mark of social decay and disaster. (Jāt. i, 339.)

There is no allusion in the Buddhist books to the monthly corvée or *rāja-kāriya* exacted as a tax from 'artisans,' 'mechanics,' and śūdra labourers according to the law-books. (Gaut. x, 31; Vas. xix, 28; Man. vii, 138.)

Scarcity through drought or floods is frequently mentioned, at times extending over a whole kingdom, at times amounting

apparently only to what used in our country to be called the 'starving season' or 'famine months,' viz. the two months preceding harvest. (M, i, 220; Vin. i, 211, 213, 214, 215, cf. 238; ii, 75; Jāt. i, 329; ii, 135, 149, 367; v, 193; vi, 487.)

Megasthenes' testimony as to the immunity of India from famine is well known, but his statement refers apparently to a 'general' scarcity. (McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes*, p. 32.)

The brahmin is frequently met with as a cultivator in the Jātaka, both as the holder of large estates and as a peasant proprietor, without apparently labouring under any social stigma for pursuing a calling by which, strictly viewed, he lost his brahminhood. (Jāt. iii, 162, 293; iv, 167, 276, 363.)

He also figures as a goatherd. (Jāt. iii, 401.)

Organization of Labour, Industry, and Commerce.

It does not appear that slaves were kept in large numbers. They are mentioned as domestic servants, but not as working in mines or 'plantations,' as in Greece, Rome, or America. (D. i, 60, 92, 93, 104; cf. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i, 19, n. 8, 101; Vin. i, 72.)

Four causes of individuals becoming slaves are mentioned, namely:—

Capture. (Jāt. iv, 220.)

Judicial punishment. (Jāt. i, 200.)

Voluntary self-degradation. (Vin. i, 72; Sum. i, 168.)

Debt. (Therī G. 444; Jāt. vi, 521.)

They might attain to freedom. (D. i, 83.)

Their treatment was probably not harsh, though violence was not illegal. (Jāt. i, 402, 403; iv, 162, 167; M. i, 125.)

Their social status, especially if they were born in the owner's house, was above that of hired day-labourers. They are always named before these and before artisans also. Cf. the compound 'children-wives-slaves-workpeople' and the list of callings:—D. i, 51; Mil. 147, 331; A. i, 145, 206; ii, 67.

They might acquire education and good manners, and be given skilled employment. (Jāt. i, 451.)

According to Manu, "women employed in the royal service and menial servants" of the court were paid regular wages in money and in clothing and grain. (Manu, vii, 125, 126.)

No slave, while undischarged, might be admitted into the Buddhist Order. (Vin. i, 76.)

The members of that order were allowed to employ the services of a man (*purisa*), i.e. a paid servant, not a slave, to be a gardener (*ārāmika*) and go on shopping errands. (V. ii, 297; iii, 238.)

The day-labourer or wage-earner (*bhatika* or *bhatikāraka*) was not anyone's chattel, yet his life was probably harder than the slave's. (Cf. Jāt. i, 422; iii, 406, 444.)

He was employed in farm-work, e.g. to watch a growing crop. (Jāt. iii, 406; iv, 277.)

He was paid either in food (Jāt. iii, 444) or in money and bought his food (Jāt. iii, 326, 406).

Judging by the specimens of manufacture described in the Majjhima Sīla (D. i, 7) and by the Jātaka, the list of callings and handicrafts given in Mil. 331 cannot be said to show only a later elaboration of arts and crafts. In this it will be noticed that the division of labour attained to involved three distinct trades in making bows and arrows, apart from any ornamental work on them.[1] The important profession of *vaḍḍhakī*,[2] or maker in wood, is not adequately described by our 'carpenter.' It included not only the construction of furniture and houses (Jāt. iv, 159),

but also shipbuilding (ibid.),

cart-making (Jāt. iv, 207),

and architecture[3] (Jāt. i, 201; iv, 323; Mil. 330, 345).

[1] A professional winnower of grain is instanced in Mil. 201, but this is a doubtful rendering. See *Questions of King Milinda*, i, 285. With the bi-annual grain harvests mentioned by Megasthenes (McCrindle, op. cit., 54) this trade might afford a relatively continual employment. Gleaning, too, was reckoned as a means of livelihood 'in good years.' (Vin. i, 238; Jāt. iv, 422.)

[2] It is not clear how far the craft of a *thapati* (e.g., M. i, 396; iii, 144) or of a *tacchaka* (Dhp. 80) coincided with that of a *vaḍḍhaki*

[3] Mr. Rouse (*Jātaka*, iv, 203, n.) compares it with τέκτων.

Similarly, the smith or *kammāra* was a general craftsman in metals, from whose skill any iron implement, from a ploughshare or an axe, or, for that matter, an iron house, down to a razor, or the finest of needles, capable of floating in water, or, again, statues of gold or silver work, was expected. (Vin. Texts, i, 200, n.; Jāt. iii, 281 ff.; iv, 492; v, 45, 282; Dhp., 239; S.N. 962.)

Similarly, the stonemason or *pāsāṇakoṭṭaka* is described as not only quarrying and shaping stones (like so many of his later compeers, alas!) out of the materials ready to hand on the site of a former village (*purāṇa-gāmaṭṭhāne*), but as capable of hollowing a cavity in a crystal, a matter probably requiring superior tools. (Jāt. i, 478, 479.)

A considerable degree of organization characterized all the leading industries. Certain trades were localized in special villages, either suburban and ancillary to the large cities, or themselves forming centres of traffic with surrounding villages, e.g. the woodwork and metal-work industries and pottery. (Jāt. ii, 18, 405; iii, 281 (376 and 508 probably refer to potters' suburban villages); iv, 159, 207.)

Within the cities trades appear to have been localized in special streets,[1] e.g. those of ivory-workers (Jāt. i, 320; ii, 197) and of dyers (Jāt. iv, 81).

Some of these villages were of considerable size, the type-number of 1,000 families being assigned to two of metal-workers and to two of wood-workers. Of these, the former pair was in the country, the latter pair was suburban. They were also well organized[2] under headmen—in one case under two headmen—who were thus at once the municipal and the industrial chiefs or syndics. To judge from the case of one of these, a master smith, such a man might be of high social standing, possessing great wealth and being a *persona grata* with the king. (Jāt. iii, 281.)

[1] The expression in Jāt. i, 356, *tantavitataṭṭhānaṃ*, seems to me to refer simply to the weaver's 'workshop,' whether or not this may have been, as the translator renders it, in the 'weavers' quarter.'

[2] Cf. especially the united action in Jāt. iv, 159.

The apprentice (*antevāsika*, literally the 'boarder') appears frequently in the Jātaka, but no terms or period or other conditions of pupillage are given (Jāt. i, 251; v, 290–3). The position of a senior *pupil* to a *mahā-vaḍḍhaki* is indicated by Buddhaghosa (Asl. 111, 112).

Again, the chief industries were organized into guilds (*seṇiyo*) under a president (*pamukha*) or elder (or 'alderman,' *jeṭṭhaka*).[1] Eighteen guilds are frequently mentioned as being summoned by the king to witness his procedure or to accompany him, but the detailed list is given no further than "the carpenters, smiths, leather-workers, painters, and the rest, expert in various arts." (Jāt. i, 267, 314; ii, 12; iv, 43, 411; vi, 22, 427; Mil. 2.)

The guild is also referred to as entitled to arbitrate on certain occasions between its members and their wives. (Vin. iv, 226.)[2]

The heads of the guilds might be important ministers in attendance on the king, wealthy, *personæ gratæ*. (J. ii, 12, 52; iii, 281.)

The first appointment to a supreme headship over all the guilds doubled with the office of treasurer is narrated in connection with the kingdom of Kāsi at the court of Benares. Possibly the quarrels twice alluded to as occurring between presidents (*pamukhā*) of guilds at Sāvatthi in Kosala may have also broken out at Benares and have led to this appointment.[3] (Jāt. ii, 12, 52; iv, 43.)

[1] Cf. the *mahā-vaḍḍhaki* (Jāt. vi, 332).

[2] Of the other corporate authorities here referred to, the *pūga* and the *gaṇa*, practically nothing is known, but they were probably not formed on an economic basis. In the Canon Law a *gaṇa* of bhikshus means a number not exceeding four persons.

[3] It is not without interest to note that this advance in central organization was made at a time when the monarchy is represented as having been elective, not hereditary, and when the king who appointed and the man who was appointed were the sons of a merchant and a tailor respectively. This is the only passage known to me stating explicitly the connection between guild-organization and the minister commonly called 'treasurer' (*seṭṭhi*). The Indian *seṭṭhis* were wealthy commoners, one of whom, termed sometimes *mahā-seṭṭhi*, with or without a colleague or subordinate, the *anuseṭṭhi*, was known as The *Seṭṭhi par excellence* and was in daily communication with the king. Thus we read of 500 *seṭṭhis* welcoming the Buddha to the new college of Jetavana at Sāvatthi, and of Anāthapindika as The *Seṭṭhi* or *mahā-seṭṭhi*. Dr. Fick speaks of this position as involving generally the "representation of the merchant profession." In the

Whether there was an official or local or other distinction between a *pamukha* and a *jeṭṭhaka* is not apparent. As between *jeṭṭhakas* there is an instance, in one of the large centres of woodcraft alluded to, of the population of 1,000 families being grouped in two equal halves, each under one *jeṭṭhaka*. Dr. Fick hints, from this, at a possible limitation in the size of guilds (op. cit., 183). The instance, however, is unique, and in the case of smith villages we find 1,000 families united under one head. The office was apparently conferred on account of superior skill, and was lifelong. (Jāt. iii, 286.)

Other instances of trades, etc., organized under a *jeṭṭhaka* are:—

Seamen (or pilots).[1] (Jāt. iv, 137.)

Garland-makers. (Jāt. iii, 405.)

Caravan traders. (Jāt. i, 368; ii, 295.)

Robbers ('moss-troopers'), composing e.g. a 'little robber village' in the hills (e.g. near Uttarapañcāla, to the number of 500). (Jāt. i, 296, 297; ii, 388; iv, 430, 433, Com.)

Forest police, who escorted travellers. (Jāt. ii, 335.)

Trades and crafts were very largely hereditary; whether more so than elsewhere, including ancient and mediæval Europe, is not so clearly made out as some would have it. Not only individuals, but families, are frequently referred to in terms of their traditional calling, just as a man is often described, as to his trade, in terms of his father's trade: 'Sāti the fisherman's son' for 'Sāti the fisherman,' 'Cunda the smith's son' for 'Cunda the smith,' etc. (M. i, 256; M. Par., Sutta 41; Jāt. i, 98, 194, 312; ii, 79; iii, 376. Cf. *nesādo* = *luddaputto* = *luddo* in Jāt. iii, 330, 331; v, 356–358.)

Mahāvagga the passage mentioning the services of the *Seṭṭhi* of Rājagaha *to the Townsman* (*negama*) is rendered "to the merchant guild," but in the Cullavagga 'Townsman' is retained. (Jāt. i, 92, 93, 269, 349, 452; ii, 64; iii, 119, 299, 475; iv, 62, 63; cf. Vimāna Vatthu Atth. 66, *seṭṭhichattaṃ dadāti*; Vin. i, 273; ii, 157; Vin. Texts, i, 102, n. 3. On *anuseṭṭhi*, Jāt. v, 384, cf. Vin. i, 18.)

[1] Dr. Fick renders the term *niyyāmaka* by fisherman, a trade for which there are other terms. The Jātaka in question is apparently dealing with navigation on the open sea.

There were certain aboriginal tribes who were practically all hereditary craftsmen in certain industries: the so-called low tribes (*hīna-jātiyo*) of the Veṇas, who were rush-workers; Nesādas, who were trappers living in their own villages; and Rathakāras, or carriage-builders. (Vin. iv, 6–10; M. ii, 152; A. ii, 85 = P.P. 51; S. i, 93; Jāt. iv, 413; v, 337.)

Again, in the localized industries specified above, sons would be trained in the father's craft practically as a matter of course. Nevertheless, in the times with which these notes are mainly concerned, trades did not constitute a system of social cleavage amounting to what was later on called 'caste,' with the exception of the aboriginal clans just alluded to. Four 'colours' (*vaṇṇā*) are frequently spoken of in the Jātaka, but only in the sense in which we might speak of 'Lords and Commons,' 'tiers-état,' 'British-born and aliens,' or 'the different classes or ranks of society.' Princes, brahmins, and burghers (*khattiyā, brāhmanā, seṭṭhiyo*) are shown in the Jātaka as forming friendships, sending their sons to the same teacher, and even now and then intermarrying and eating together, without incurring any stigma as social iconoclasts or innovators. (Jāt. i, 421, 422; ii, 319, 320; iii, 9–11, 21, 249–254, 340, 405, 406, 475, 514–517; iv, 38; v, 280; vi, 348, 421, 422; Fick, op. cit., chs. vi–xii; Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i, pp. 96 ff.)

Again, in the wealthy burgher class, we have an instance of a deer-trapper (*miga-luddaka*) becoming the protégé and then the "inseparable friend" of a rich young *seṭṭhi*, without a hint of social barriers. (Jāt. iii, 49–51.)

The Jātaka shows us here and there a rigorous etiquette observed by the brahmin 'colour' in the matter of eating with, or of the food of, the despised Caṇḍālas, as well as the social intolerance felt for the latter by the burgher class. (ii, 83, 84; iii, 233; iv, 200, 376, 388, 390–392.)

On the other hand, it tells of (*a*) a Kshatriya, a king's son, who, when he set out again to woo his offended wife, apprenticed himself *incognito* to the 'court' potter, basket-maker, florist, and *chef* to his father-in-law in succession,

vagaries • became known (v, 290 – 293); (*b*) a prince resigning his share of the kingdom in favour of his sister and embarking in trade (*vānijjaṃ akāsi*) (iv, 84); (*c*) a prince resigning his kingdom, dwelling with a merchant on the frontier, and "working with his hands" (iv, 169); (*d*) a prince in self-chosen exile, taking service for a salary as an archer (ii, 87); (*e*) a wealthy, pious brahmin taking to trade to be better able to afford his charities (iv, 15, 16); (*f*) brahmins engaged personally in trading, without any such charitable pretexts (v, 22, 471); (*g*) brahmins taking service as archers and as the servant of an archer, formerly a weaver (i, 356, 357; iii, 219; v, 127, 128); (*h*) brahmins as low-caste trappers (*nesādā*)[1] (ii, 200; vi, 170 foll.); (*i*) a brahmin in the (low) cartwright trade (iv, 207, 208).[1]

Again, among the unprivileged classes, we find not a few instances of mobility of labour and 'personal capital': (*a*) parents discussing the best profession for their son's welfare — writing, reckoning, or (?) money-changing, no reference being made to the father's trade (Vin. i, 77; iv, 128); (*b*) a weaver, looking on his trade as a *pis-aller*, changing it in a moment for that of a *soi-disant* archer (Jāt. ii, 356 foll.); (*c*) a pious farmer and his son, with equally little ado, turning to the 'low trade' of basket-making (rush-weaving) (Jāt. iv, 318); (*d*) a young man of good family, but penniless, selling a dead mouse for a 'farthing,' and, by skilful investments, energy, and bluff, becoming a successful merchant (Jāt. i, 120–122).

A very remarkable instance of the popular conception of the mobility of labour and capital on a larger scale is the story of the village of 'wood-wrights,' who, failing to deliver the goods (furniture, etc.) for which they had been paid in advance, built a ship secretly, embarked their families, and emigrated down the Ganges and out to an island over sea. (Jāt. iv, 159.)

The trade of the trader, dealer, or middleman (*vānija* or

[1] Cf. Manu, iii, 151 foll. & Fick, op. cit., 7, n.

buyer) may well have been largely hereditary (Jāt. ii, 267, 287, 288; iii, 198). Traditional good-will handed on would here prove specially effective in commanding confidence. But there is no instance as yet forthcoming pointing to any corporate organization of the nature of a guild or Hansa league. The hundred or so of merchants who came to buy up a newly arrived ship's cargo in the Cullaka-seṭṭhi Jātaka were apparently trying each to score off his own bat, no less than the youth who forestalled them (Jāt. i, 122). Nor is there any hint of syndicate or federation or other agreement existing between the 500 dealers who were fellow-passengers on the ill-fated ships in Jāt. ii, 128; v, 75, or the 700 who were lucky enough to secure Suppāraka as their pilot (Jāt. iv, 138–142), beyond the mere fact of concerted action in chartering the same vessel.

There was, it is true, a distinction obtaining within the *vānija* class. This was to be a *satthavāha* or caravan-leader. The position was apparently hereditary, and to be the *jeṭṭhaka* in this capacity on an expedition implied that other *vānijas*, with their carts or asses, as well as caravan-followers, were accompanying the chief *satthavāha* and looking to him for directions as to halts, watering, precautions against robbers, and in many cases as to route, fords, etc. Subordination, however, was not always ensured, and the institution in itself does not warrant the inference of any kind of trade union among traders. (Jāt. i, 98, 99, 107, 194; ii, 295, 335; iii, 200; Fick, op. cit., p. 178.)

Partnership in a deal in birds imported from India to Babylon occurs once (Jāt. iii, 126, 127); once, again, in a case of horses imported from 'the north' to Benares (Jāt. ii, 31). Other cases of partnership, either permanent or on a specific occasion, are given in the Kūṭavāṇija (2), the Serivāṇija, the Mahāvāṇija, and the Mahājanaka Jātakas. (Jāt. i, 111, 404; ii, 181; iv, 350–354; vi, 32.)

In the Jarudapāna Jātaka, however, there is, if not explicit statement, room for assuming concerted commercial action on a more extensive scale, both in the birth story and in its introductory 'episode of the present' (*paccuppannavatthu*).

The caravan in question, consisting of an indefinite number of traders (under a *jeṭṭhaka* in the Birth-story), accumulate and export goods at the identical time and apparently share the treasure trove. In the episode they further resort together to make offerings to the Buddha before and after their journey (Jāt. ii, 294–6). These were traders of Sāvaṭṭhi, of the class who are elsewhere described as acting so unanimously under Anāthapindika, himself a great travelling merchant (see above, p. 865, n. 3). The Guttila Jātaka, again, shows concerted action, in work and play, on the part of Benares traders (Jāt. ii, 248). The travelling in company, however, may well have been undertaken for greater safety, the attacking of caravans by robbers who infested certain jungles, known as robber-jungles (*cora-kantarāni*), being frequently mentioned (Jāt. i, 99, *passim*).

Nevertheless merchants are more often represented as travelling with their carts alone, either from absence of organized trade or by preference. Thus, in the Apaṇṇaka Jātaka, where two traders are ready to take goods to some Eastern or Western city at the same time, they mutually agree which shall start first. The one thinks that he, on arriving first, will get a better, because non-competitive, price; the other, also holding that competition 'is killing work' (lit. "price-fixing is like robbing humans of life"), prefers to sell at the price fixed, under circumstances advantageous from the dealer's point of view, by his predecessor. (Jāt. i, 98, 99, 107, 121, 194, 247, 270, 354, 368, 376, 377–379, 413; ii, 109, 287, 288, 335; iii, 200, 403; iv, 15; v, 22, 164.)[1]

The objective of outgoing caravans as well as their contents is left unfortunately vague. They are in some cases said to go both "East and West" (Jāt. i, 98, 368); the larger proportion probably went (as in the second passage quoted) towards the West. Traffic eastward was largely effected by

[1] Dr. Fick quotes the passage from Sūdraka's Mṛchakaṭika, Act ii—"He lives in the seṭṭhis' quarter"—as evidence, at least at a later date, of localization in the mercantile profession. But unless every *seṭṭhi* was a *vāṇija*, the statement is too general to apply, with any significant force, to the latter class. (Fick, op. cit., 180, n.)

water, that is, of course, down the Ganges to Campā (Bhagalpur, about 350 miles from the nearest seaport), and probably further. The Mahājanaka Jātaka (vi, 32–35) actually suggests that the Ganges was navigable right away to the sea, for the hero, with other traders, is represented as setting out from Campā, with export goods, for Suvaṇṇabhūmi (that is, probably either Burma, or the 'Golden Chersonese,' or the whole Further Indian coast), on the same ship which is wrecked after a week's voyage "in mid-ocean," and not as having gone overland to Tāmalitti (Tāmralipti) on the coast. (Mah. 70, 115; Dīp. iii, 33; Legge, *Fa Hien*, 100; Smp. 338.)

It is true that the word *samudda* (sea) is sometimes applied to the Ganges, but if the Jātaka above be compared with the Sankha Jātaka (iv, 15–17) it becomes probable that the open sea is meant in both. The hero, while shipwrecked, washes his mouth out with *salt* water during his self-imposed fast.[1]

In the latter Jātaka we may even almost assume that the ship prepared by Sankha started for Suvaṇṇabhūmi as far up as Benares itself. The hero, a wealthy man, would not have set out on foot at midday to proceed the long distance to Campā or Tāmalitti. Cf. the hero of the Cullaka-seṭṭhi Jātaka (i, 121), who, to *appear* like a rich merchant, hired a carriage to perform the same promenade, namely, the interval of sandy road between Benares and its docks.[2]

Suvaṇṇabhūmi was also visited by traders coasting around India from western seaports, such as Bharukaccha (Bharoch). (Jāt. iii, 188.)

Ceylon was another commercial objective, and one associated with perils around which legends had grown up. (Jāt. ii, 127–129.)

But there is no instance as yet to hand of riverine traffic of any importance *west* of Benares. Anāthapindika's caravans

[1] Compare also the expressions *samuddā nikkhametvā nadiyā Bārāṇasiṃ gantvā*, (the sea-fairy bringing them on the magic ship) "from off the ocean by (or on) the river to Benares" (Jāt. ii, 112).

[2] These instances show that *paṭṭana* can mean a river-port, as we speak of the port of London.

came south-east from Sāvaṭṭhi to Rājagaha and back (about 300 miles, Jāt. i, 348), and also to the 'borders,' probably towards Gandhāra (Jāt. i, 92, 377, 378). The former trip would necessarily involve crossing the Ganges and other rivers, but there is no evidence to show whether an upland route through Uttara-Kosala was followed, where the streams would be yet small and the valley of the Gandak descended to Patna, or whether Hiouen Thsang's route was followed as far as Pippala-vana and down the Gharghara valley (Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, map xi). Cart-ferries were not unknown (Manu, viii, 404–406), and from the context in M.P.S., pp. 14, 15, one might, by reading too literally, infer that the Ganges, even at the great breadth it has attained at Patna, was there and *then* fordable by way of its shoals and, perhaps temporary, causeways, except in flood-time.

Those caravans which are described as traversing deserts, requiring that they should travel during the cool of night guided by an expert termed a 'desert pilot,' who consulted the stars, were probably crossing the barren wastes of Rājputāna westward to the seaports of Bharukaccha and Roruva, the capital of Sovīra (Jāt. i, 99–103, 107–109; iii, 188, 470; iv, 137; Dīp. ix, 26; H. Th. 2. 226; *Ind. Ant.* xvii, 183; xviii, 239; D., 19th Sutta, § 36; Vim. V.A. 370; Rhys Davids, J.P.T.S., 1901, pp. 76, 77; Mil. 359; ? Roruka, Div. 544). Westward of these ports there was traffic with Babylon (Baveru) in pre-Asokan days (Jāt. iii, 126 foll.). Traffic with China is not mentioned till centuries later (Mil. 121, 327, 359; Asl. 14).

The nature of the exports and imports is also very seldom specified.[1] Probably they consisted largely in Benares muslins and in the precious metals and gems.[2]

[1] The fact of this *general* absence of explicitness, even in connection with regular traffic, hardly bears out Dr. Fick's assumption that there was probably no regular intercourse between India and other countries. Gold was exported to Persia as early as the time of Darius Hystaspes, yet there is no explicit mention of this export in the Jātaka. (Fick, op. cit., 174.)

[2] Cf. Jāt. iv, 21, where the brahmin, disappointed through shipwreck of the expected profits on his merchandise, is by the kind fairy recouped with a great

But we are told explicitly of a successful, if sporadic, deal in birds between Babylon and Benares, and of horses imported by hundreds from 'the north' (Uttarāpathā) and from Sindh. Asses of Sindh, too, are mentioned. (Jāt. i, 124, 178, 181; ii, 31, 287; iii, 126, 127, 278; cf. Hopkins, J.A.O.S., xiii, 257; cf. addition, p. 372; Fick, op. cit., 176.)

Methods and Medium of Exchange.

The economic mechanism for disposing of commodities to the consumer, as revealed in Buddhist literature, consisted of the fixed store or shop (*āpaṇa*) [1] and of the perambulating hawker, with or without cart or donkey. In both institutions retail trading apparently constituted a means of livelihood without necessarily entailing the practice of a strictly productive industry. (Vin. ii, 267; iv, 248–252; Jāt. ii, 267; cf. iv, 488; vi, 29; Mil. 330; cf. with the later work *Mahāvaṃsa*, 25, 139, 213; for the hawker: Jāt. i, 111, 112, 205; ii, 424; iii, 21, 282, 283.) The application, judgment, cleverness, and 'connection' of the successful shopkeeper (*pāpaṇika*) are discussed in A. i, 115 – 117; cf. M. ii, 7; Vin. i, 255.

Slaughterhouses are mentioned (Vin. i, 202; ii, 267), and there the poor man as well as the king's *chef* apparently bought their meat (Jāt. v, 458; vi, 62). They were probably permitted within the town, for we read of meat being sold at cross roads, that is, probably, at street corners or corner shops. Thus the hunter is taking his cart full of venison to the city to sell it, when he falls in with customers without the city (Jāt. iii, 49; D., 22nd Sutta = M. i, 58 [2]). The greengrocers apparently plied their trade at the four

ship filled with the 'seven treasures,' viz., gold, silver, pearls, gems, cat's eyes, diamonds, coral. Cf. also Jāt. iv, 139–141, where an experienced skipper brings his merchant passengers to those seas where most of these treasures lie hidden.

[1] 'From the store' is sometimes described as *antarāpaṇato* (Jāt. i, 55, 350; iii, 406). The commodities purchased on these occasions were yellow cloths, spirits, and rice gruel, things that would not be exposed to light and heat in the open *āpaṇa*.

[2] My attention was drawn to this passage by Professor Bendall.

gates of a town (Jāt. iv, 448). There were also shops for the sale of textile fabrics, groceries, grain, perfumes, flowers, etc., and taverns (*pānāgāraṃ, āpānaṃ*) (Vin. ii, 267; iv, 248, 249, 252; Jāt. i, 251, 252, 268, 290; ii, 267; iv, 82; Mil. 2; Dhp. 299). But there is no clear reference as yet forthcoming to market-places in the towns, to market towns, or to markets as periodical or permanent, nor any word equivalent to market. Translators have used 'market' occasionally, but perhaps with scarcely sufficient warrant, e.g., market town for *nigama* (Jāt. i, 360) and for *nigamagāma* (Jāt. ii, 209; iii, 79); market-place for *singhātaka* (*Questions of King Milinda*, S.B.E. xxxv, 2, 53; xxxvi, 279, n. 1). On the other hand, any temptation there may have been to use market-place for *gāmamajjha*, where householders met to transact *gāmakammaṃ* or *gāmakiccaṃ*, has been resisted (Jāt. i, 199; iii, 8). But *gāmassa kammantaṭṭhānaṃ* has proved irresistible (Jāt. iv, 306). Even as late as the age of the Commentaries we find Buddhaghosa having recourse to a clumsy compound, *bhaṇḍa-bhājanīyaṃ thānaṃ*, 'a place for wares-distribution' (Asl. 294).

It is curious, too, that there is no mention in the Jātaka of any rural institution resembling the still surviving barter fair, or *hāṭh*, taking place on the borders of adjacent districts, and which, one would think, must date from early times.[1]

The act of exchange between producer, or dealer, and consumer was, both before and during the Jātaka age, a 'free' bargain, a transaction unregulated by any system of statute-fixed prices. Supply, limited by slow transport and individualistic production, but left free and stimulated, under the latter system, to efforts after excellence on the one hand (e.g. Jāt. iii, 282–285) and to tricks of adulteration on the other (v. the fraudulent practices of the tailor, Jāt. i, 220), sought to equate with a demand which was no doubt largely compact of customary usage and relatively unaffected by the swifter fluctuations termed fashion. The free contract

[1] My attention was called to this interesting point by Mr. Wm. Irvine, late I.C.S. The *hāṭh*, he tells me, "is to this day universal in India, to my personal knowledge, from Patna to Dehli, and, I believe, from Calcutta to Peshawur."

obtained generally in Vedic times (*Rig-Veda*, X, xxiv, 9; cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 258). And whereas, in consequence of its prevalence in the succeeding age, soma-juice had to be bargained for in terms of cow-payment, the priestly compilers of the *Śata-patha Brāhmaṇa* pronounced the general system to have been initiated and sanctioned by the particular sacrificial transaction, 3rd Kānda, iii, 3 [1-4], thus: "because he [the Adhvaryu] bargains for the king (Soma), therefore any and every thing is vendible here." "And because they first bargain and afterwards come to terms, therefore, about any and every thing that is for sale here, people first bargain and afterwards come to terms."

Instances of price-haggling appear in the Jātaka (Jāt. i, 111, 112, 195; ii, 222, 289, 424, 425; v, 43–45), and, in one case, of the dealer's sense of its irksomeness (i, 99).

The bold 'deal in futures' of the Cullaka-Seṭṭhi Jātaka has been already alluded to (i, 121, 122). The outlay in this case was eight coins for a carriage, and very likely most of the hero's available capital of 1,000 coins (the sum netted by his last deal) for servants, 'ushers,' a pavilion, etc. His winnings were 200,000 coins, let us say 20,000 per cent. A profit of 200 and 400 per cent. is reaped by the master of a caravan on one journey (Jāt. i, 109; cf. iv, 2).

The king's purchases alone were effected by an officially regulated price. This was fixed without appeal by the court valuer (*agghakāraka*, *agghāpanikaṭṭhāna*), who stood between the two fires of offending the king if he valued the goods submitted at their full cost price, and of driving away tradesmen if he refused bribes and cheapened the wares. (Jāt. i, 124–126; ii, 31, 32; iv, 138.)

The valuer would also assess the merchants for the duty of a twentieth, presumably *ad valorem*, on each consignment of native merchandise, and of a tenth *ad valorem* (10 *kahāpaṇas* in the 100), *plus* a sample, on each consignment imported from over sea.[1] Finally, he would have to assess merchants

[1] In one instance we find the king making over the *octroi* collected at the gates of his capital to a subject. (Jāt. vi, 347.)

for their specific commutation of the *rājakāriya*, viz. one article per month sold to the king at a certain discount (*arghāpacayena*). (Jāt. iv, 132; Gaut. x, 26, 35; Baudh. i, 10, 18[14,15]; Manu, viii, 398 foll.)

Whether this functionary was evolved later on into a Minister or Board of price-regulation for the markets generally, or not, we find in the times of Manu that, *theoretically* at least, it was the part of the sovereign to settle prices publicly with the merchants every fifth day or fourteenth day, fixing "the rates for the purchase and sale of all marketable goods," with heed to their expenses of production. (Manu, viii, 401, 402.)

The whole of the Buddhist literature testifies to the fact that ancient systems of simple barter as well as of reckoning value by cows, or rice-measures, had for the most part been replaced by the use of a metal currency, carrying well-understood and generally accepted exchange value. Barter emerges of course in certain contingencies, as e.g. when in the forest a wanderer obtains a meal from a woodlander for a gold pin, or when, among humble folk, a dog is bought for 1 kahāpaṇa *plus* a cloak. (Jāt. ii, 247; vi, 519.)

Barter was prescribed also among religious fraternities who, as with the Buddhist Order, might be forbidden to traffic "with gold or silver."[1] (Vin. ii, 174; iii, 215–223, 237; *Vin. Texts*, i, 22, n. 1; Rhys Davids, *Ancient Coins of Ceylon*, 6.)

Barter was also recommended in priestly tuition to Brahmins and Kshatriyas in preference to their disposing of any superfluous chattels by sale, i.e. money bargains (Va. ii, 37–39). As a *standard of value* rice was very possibly still used in the Jātaka times (Jāt. i, 124, 125).[2]

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[1] This was evidently meant to include all current coins, the old Vinaya Commentary explaining *rajatam* as meaning the *kahāpaṇa* and the bronze, wooden, and lac *māsaka*. (Vin. iii, 238; quoted in Asl. 318, where the reading must be corrected accordingly.)

[2] In translating the Vāruṇi Jātaka (*The Jātaka*, i, 120), Mr. Chalmers speaks of selling spirits for gold and silver as a 'Jewish' proceeding, as opposed to normal barter. I venture to think that the text does not suggest any such distinction. *Literally* rendered it runs thus:—"A trader in spirits having

The coins or money-pieces mentioned in Buddhist literature are the *nikkha* (*nishka*), the *suvaṇṇa* (*suvarṇa*), the *kahāpaṇa* (*kārshāpaṇa*, *paṇa*), the *kaṃsa*, the *pāda*, the *māsaka* (*māsha*), and the *kākaṇikā*. Cowry-shells (*sippikāni*) are once alluded to, but only as we should speak of doits or mites, not as anything still having currency. (Jāt. i, 425, 426.)[1]

There is no evidence whatever to show that these instruments of exchange constituted a currency of standard and token coins issued and regulated by any central authority. They appear to have been cut (into rectangular shapes) and punched with private dies by traders in metals or by the metal-smiths. (Thomas, *Ancient Indian Weights*, 41; E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pp. 2, 3; Rhys Davids, *Ancient Coins of Ceylon*, p. 13. Cf. the bas-relief of the Jetavana vihāra on the Bharhūt Sthūpa: Cunningham, *The Bharhūt Sthūpa*.)

Apparently any piece of metal thus treated and circulated might be termed *rūpiya* (i.e. literally having a definite form on it), not exclusively a silver coin. In fact, the Vinaya Commentary explains *rūpiya* by stamped pieces of gold, copper (or bronze), wood, and lac, or any of these worked up into head, waist, arm, or foot ornaments, and *omits silver* (*rajata*) *altogether*. (Vin. iii, 239, 240.)

No one can read the Buddhist canonical works without being struck by the rarity of any allusion to silver, as compared with the frequent reference to gold and other metals. It was not till towards the Christian era that silver became widely current. (Manu, viii, 135–137; but cf. S. i, 104, where Māra appears as an elephant with teeth *suddhaṃ rūpiyaṃ*, ? like pure silver.)

prepared fiery spirits and selling them, having received gold suvaṇṇas, etc., a number of people being gathered together (at his shop), he went in the evening to bathe, bidding his apprentice in these words: 'My man, do you, having taken the price (*mūlaṃ*), give the spirits.'" I do not see here any hint as to barter being normal. I only gather that, whereas the drink called *surā* was very cheap and could be bought with a copper coin (Jāt. i, 350; iii, 446), *vāruṇī*, and perhaps especially *tikhiṇā vāruṇī*, was, though popular, much dearer.

[1] The translator has rendered *kahāpaṇa* and *kaṃsa* by 'gold' coins. (Chalmers, *Jātaka*, i, pp. 255, 256.)

The only mode by which the central authority appears to have regulated the currency was by way of the weight of the pieces (Manu, viii, 403; Va. xix, 13). But even of this there is no mention in Buddhist literature. Most of the names of the coins have reference to weight. *Kahāpaṇa*, e.g., meant simply a certain weight of any metal; according to extant coins of copper, 146·4 grains or 9·48 grams,[1] i.e. five-sixths of a penny. Hence it probably is that, whereas the unit of current money in Buddhist times was evidently the bronze kahāpaṇa, passages are here and there met with which either explicitly refer to gold coins or seem to imply gold, much as we, for instance, can speak of 'pennyweights' of gold. (Cf. the gold in kahāpaṇas heaped on to the javelin of Phussadewa, Mah. 157; the rain of kahāpaṇas, Jāt. ii, 313 = Dhp. 34; cf. Jāt. i, 253; *possibly* also the kahāpaṇas stolen from the treasury under the nose of the *heraññika*, or gold-tester, Jāt. i, 369.) *Suvaṇṇa* and *kahāpaṇa* are distinguished in Jāt. iv, 12. A leaden kahāpaṇa is spoken of (Jāt. i, 7). But the identification of kahāpaṇas with copper pieces in Jāt. i, 425, 426, and the statement in the Vin. Com. (iv, 256) that 4 kahāpaṇas = 1 kaṃsa (bronze or copper coin), would alone be sufficient to fix its substance *qua* coin. From Manu, viii, 134–6, it would seem that, since 16 māshas make 1 *suvaṇṇa* (of gold), as well as 1 *dharaṇa* (of silver) and 1 *karshāpaṇa* (of copper), we get a table of values as follows:—

146·4 grains (1 karsha)	of gold	= 16 gold māshas	= 1 *suvaṇṇa*
	of silver	= 16 silver māshas	= 1 *dharaṇa*
	of copper	= 16 copper māshas	= 1 *kahāpaṇa*

the three 'standard' coins being equal approximately to £1 5*s.*, 9*d.*, and 1*d.*, respectively, of our money. And of the smaller tokens, there was the half-māsha (*addhamāsaka*), the half-*kahāpaṇa*, the quarter-*kahāpaṇa* or *pāda*, and the *kākanikā* (*kākiṇi*), probably $\frac{1}{5}$ of a māsha, or $\frac{1}{80}$ of a *kahāpaṇa*. (Vin. ii, 294; Jāt. i, 120, 419; iii, 326, 446; vi, 346; Childers, *Dictionary*, s.v. *pādo*; Sum. i, 212.)

[1] Rapson, loc. cit.

The relative values of both these and the gold currency varied in different places at different times, so that the Vin. Com. thinks it well to affirm "At that time [of King Bimbisāra], at Rājagaha, 5 māsakas were equal to 1 pāda" (Vin. iii, 45). Again, whereas in the Jātaka Commentary the *nikkha* is said to be worth 15 *suvaṇṇas*, in Manu it has come to equal (in weight) only 4.

The Buddhist books, in stating any sum of money from 100 upwards, do not as a rule add the name of the coin. That *kahāpaṇas*, however, are meant, is betrayed here and there by exceptions to the rule. (Jāt. iv, 378; vi, 96, 97, 332.)

It is not easy to gather what distinction is to be understood between *hiraññа* and *suvaṇṇa* when they occur together. In M. iii, 175 (= D., 17th Sutta) the compound form means gold-dust as it was found in the sand of the banks of the Ganges. When the two are distinguished as in Vin. iii, 219, they may signify respectively bullion and gold pieces, while *hiraññа* alone simply stood for gold in any form. Cf. e.g. Vin. ii, 158, 159 (Jāt. i, 92), where Anāthapindika is said to have paved the park he purchased with *hiraññaṃ*. In the later edition of the legend quoted by Spence Hardy (*Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 218, 219) the coins used are said to have been so many *masurāns* (= *māśa-hiraññа*). It is probable that the good merchant's millions were really copper kahāpaṇas, transformed in the growth of the legend to gold.

All marketable commodities and services had a value expressible *in terms of cash*; e.g., meat, spirits, ghee and oil, clothing, horses, asses, oxen, chariots, slaves, plate, sandal-wood, valuing, medical aid, teaching, the skill of the archer and the artist, the protection of the forest guard, the hire of carriage or oxen, pensions, doles, fines, tolls, the loan of money, etc., etc. Of substitutes for current coins (or what were used as such), or instruments of credit, we read of signet-rings used as deposits or securities, of wife or children pledged or sold for debt, and of promissory notes or 'debt-sheets' (*iṇa-paṇṇāni*). The last, however, appear

to have been simply registrations as between borrower and lender and their respective heirs. (Jāt. i, 122, 230, 423; vi, 521; Mil. 279; Therī G. 444.)

Money-loans appear frequently in the Jātaka, e.g. Jāt. iv, 45; vi, 193. Interest (*vaḍḍhi*) is alluded to in an early book of the Canon—the Therī Gāthā—where a Sister tells of her fate. She was given as a slave by her father, a cartmaker, to a merchant to furnish payment for the accumulated interest owing to moneylenders.[1] The somewhat later Commentary on the Jātaka refers also to the collecting of interest (Jāt. v, 436; v. also Sum. i, 212 on D. i, 71).

The bankrupt who, in the Jātaka age, invites his creditors to bring their *iṇa-paṇṇāni* for settlement, only in order to commit suicide before their eyes,[2] is, in the Milinda,[3] seen to be anticipating his insolvency by making public statement of his liabilities and assets. (Jāt. iv, 256; Mil. 131.)

The entanglement and anxiety of debt as well as the communistic living, and hence corporate liability, among religious fraternities, rendered it necessary to exclude from ordination any candidate who had pecuniary liabilities. (Vin. i, 76; cf. D. i, 71, 72.)

No definite sum as rate of interest appears so far in Buddhist books, but the earliest law-books state that the 'legal' rate in their day, i.e. probably between B.C. 400 and 200, was five māshas a month for twenty kahāpanas. This

[1] Dr. Neumann's translation gives a different rendering. The text runs—

sākaṭikakulamhi dārikā jātā
kapaṇamhi appabhoge dhanikapurisapātabahulamhi.
Tām man tato satthavāho ussannāya vipulāya vaḍḍhiyā
okaḍḍhati vilapantiṃ acchinditvā kulagharassa.

In the second line, rendered by him "Vom Tische Reicher lasen wir die Reste auf," the compound should, I think, be taken to mean "fallen into the power of usurers." This leads up to the next line—"Me for this reason, the interest having swelled up abundantly, a caravan-leader carries off lamenting," etc. Dhammapāla defines *vaḍḍhi* as 'debt-interest,' and 'usurers' as 'debt-making men.' Dr. Neumann renders the latter half of line 3 simply by "Gab vieles Geld und Gut um mich dahin." (Par. Dīp., p. 271; *Lieder der Mönche*, etc., 367, 368.)

[2] A parallel case occurred this year in Paris, one Mme. Barbière inviting her creditors only to find her hanging dead with the label on her breast, "I have hanged myself in full settlement of all my debts."

[3] *Naṭṭāyiko*, cf. Mil. 201.

is a rate of $18\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per annum if we take 16 māshas to the kahāpaṇa (see above, p. 878), or 15 per cent. per annum if, with Haridatta, who wrote only 400 years ago, 20 māshas are allowed to the kahāpaṇa. (Gaut. xii, 29; Va. ii, 51.)

Beside the legal rate, six special modes of interest are stated by Gautama: compound interest; periodical interest, i.e. liable to be trebled or quadrupled in case of the principal not being repaid within a certain period of time; stipulated interest, or a rate specially contracted in a particular case; corporal interest, i.e. one payable in services; daily interest; use of a pledge, i.e. if a creditor use a deposit he cannot claim interest. (Gaut. xii, 34, 35.)

The moneylender and his trade are scantily alluded to in Buddhist records. The grateful patron of a huntsman, in endowing the latter with the means of bettering himself, mentions four trades as capable of being practised honestly—tillage, trade, lending (*iṇadānaṃ*, debt-giving), and gleaning (Jāt. iv, 422). Gautama is equally tolerant about it (x, 6; xi, 21). But the general tendency of this profession to evade any legal or customary rate of interest and become the type of profit-mongering finds strong expression in the law-books generally (Va. ii, 41, 42; Baudh. i, 5, 10^{23-5}; Manu, iii, 153, 165; viii, 152, 153). Hypocritical ascetics are accused of practising it (Jāt. iv, 184).

There is no evidence of the use either of fiduciary currency or of collective banking. Money and treasure were hoarded within the house (in large establishments, over the entrance —the *dvārakoṭṭhakā*), under the ground, in the river bank in brazen jars (Jāt. i, 225, 227–230, 323, 351, 424; *ii*, 308, 431; iv, 24, 116, 237), or deposited with a friend (Vin. iii, 237; Jāt. i, 375; vi, 521; Manu, 179–198). A register of the nature and amount of the wealth thus hoarded was kept, in the shape of inscribed plates of gold or copper (Jāt. iv, 7, 488; vi, 29; Spence Hardy, *Manual*, 219).

Wealth and Consumption.

Great fortunes being thus more hoarded than invested, a rich man's wealth was described in terms of capital and not of income. The typical figure for a millionaire is 80 koṭis, or 'crores,' i.e. 800,000,000. Whether gold, silver, or copper pieces are to be understood, is never stated.[1] If the copper kahāpaṇa be taken as the unit, the sum is approximately equated by £2,750,000. If there are any grains of accuracy in the account quoted by Hardy, the unit is evidently a gold coin, 540,000,000 of which, expended on the Jetavana site, buildings, etc., went near to emptying Anāthapindika's great hoard.

The millionaires of the Jātaka are, with but few exceptions, notably Anāthapindika of Sāvaṭṭhi, 80 and 40 koṭi burghers (*seṭṭhiyo* and *gahapatiyo*) of Kāsi (especially, of course, Benares) and Magadha (e.g. Jāt. i, 466, 478; iv, 1; v, 382; vi, 68). A few equally wealthy brahmins are located at Benares and Kosāmbi (Jāt. iv, 7, 28, 237).

There is no instance of a bare living wage in the case of a day-labourer.[2] Nor is there any instance of the total daily or annual expenditure by a rich or a poor person. But a great many cases of particular expenditure are given, and these, when an exhaustive table can be made and the means of the buyer, or at least his social position, is known, may yield interesting material.[3]

Meat, greengrocery, and spirits could be purchased, in very small quantities, with the smallest copper coins, e.g. a fish for 7 māsakas (Jāt. i. 350; ii, 424; iv, 449; vi, 346[4]).

[1] Probably copper kahāpaṇas. See above, p. 878; also Jāt. vi, 29, where the contents of the royal treasury, which are taken by the court on its forest pilgrimage and ground into sand, are called kahāpaṇas.

[2] The *lowest* wages paid to a king's servants was one kahāpaṇa a day. (Manu, vii, 126.)

[3] Except where the coins are specified I have used the word 'pieces,' the original stating merely the figure.

[4] Mr. Yatawara, translating from the Sinhalese version, speaks of the chameleon's 'cat's meat' as purchased by *gold* half-māshas. Professor Fausböll's MSS. do not mention gold, and the context and humour of the story agree better with copper coins.

A kahāpaṇa could furnish a small modicum of ghee, or of oil (Vin. iv, 248–250). Sufficient for a king's dinner might be bought with a handful of kahāpaṇas, or again, one *plat* of a royal epicure might cost 100,000 pieces (Jāt. ii, 319; v, 458).

Clothing, of course, had a wide range of price—from the brethren's garments valued at from 1 to 10 kahāpaṇas, or the nun's cloak at 16 kahāpaṇas to the robe-lengths at 1,000 pieces each, gifts of the king of Kosala to his court ladies, or to the Buddha, or the robe of Kāsi muslin priced at '100,000'[1] in which a wealthy young seṭṭhi of Mithila waits upon his king (*Vin. Texts*, ii, 203, note; Vin. iv, 255; Jāt. ii, 24; iv, 401; vi, 403). Shoes or sandals might vary in price from 100 to 500 pieces, and a pair presented by a layman to the Buddha cost 1,000 pieces (Jāt. iv, 15).

Eight kahāpaṇas[2] would buy a decent ass; one thousand, an average horse; but a thoroughbred foal was valued at 6,000, and a splendid chariot at 90,000 pieces. A pair of oxen cost 24 pieces. A fawn, again, might be had for only one or two kahāpaṇas. (Jāt. ii, 289, 305, 306; vi, 343, 404.)

No instance is yet to hand of the price of elephants, but the jewelled trappings of a king's white 'luck'-elephant are priced in detail and at a total of upwards of 2,000,000 (pieces). (Jāt. vi, 486.)

A very average slave or slave-girl's price was 100 (pieces). (Jāt. i, 224, 229; iii, 343.)

The dinner-dish of a Benares king is priced at 100,000; so is that of a Benares king's *horse*. (Jāt. i, 178; ii, 319.)

Sandal-wood was costly, but the quantity valued at 100,000 'pieces' is not stated. (Jāt. i, 340.)

One hundred *nikkhas* are offered for a gem. (Jāt. vi, 160.)

To hire a carriage in Benares by the hour cost 8 kahāpaṇas per hour. (Jāt. i, 121.)

[1] Apparently the Sinhalese MS. says 'gold coins.' (Yatawara, *Ummagga Jātaka*, p. 120.)

[2] *Massas* (māshas) in the Yatawara translation.

For the services of a young bull to pull 500 carts in succession through a river-ford, a merchant pays 2 kahāpaṇas per cart, 1,000 in all. (Jāt. i, 195.)

A visit to a barber seems to have cost 8 kahāpaṇas. (Jāt. iv, 138.)

A court valuer, paid at this rate for each occasion of testing and pricing goods, was highly discontented. (Ibid.)

An archer, capable of exhibition shooting, could command a high salary—100,000 a year[1]; 1,000 a fortnight; 1,000 a day. (Jāt. i, 357; ii, 87; v, 128.)

The performers, acrobats, etc., hired by a young spendthrift are said to have been paid a thousand, but the duration of each service so paid is not given. (Jāt. ii, 431; cf. iii, 61.)

Courtesans (municipal and other) obtained 50 and 100 pieces from each visitor. Those who maintained 'houses of ill fame,' to use a Western phrase, could ask 1,000 in one day. An equal expenditure was lavished by a seṭṭhi's son on his mistress. (Vin. i, 268, 269; Jāt. iii, 59, 248, 475.)

The famous physician Jīvaka Komārabhacca (son of one of these women), on healing the wife of the chief *seṭṭhi* of Sāketa, obtained from her and her family a collective fee of 16,000 pieces, with two slaves and a carriage and horses. (Vin. i, 272.)

Tailoring repairs well done, in a suburb of Benares, brought in money at the rate of 1,000 pieces in one day. (Jāt. vi, 366.)

A snake-charmer looked to win the same sum by his whole tour with a beautiful cobra, but was able to net it, and as much again by payments made in kind, by a single day's performance at a village. (Jāt. iv, 458.)

'A thousand' was the customary fee paid by merchant caravans to forest constabulary. So much also was paid by a king to a Nesāda (together with a pension for his family) for temporarily giving up his trade to guard a certain artificial lake and game. (Jāt. ii, 335; v, 22, 356, 471.)

[1] This, given to a young archer, aroused the jealousy of his older colleagues.

The same sum was sufficient to procure the services of an assassin, but *not* to bribe the governor of a jail. (Jāt. iii, 59; v, 126.)

With the same sum a widow of property tries to bribe her son to 'go to church.' (Jāt. iv, 1, 2.)

Travelling expenses of a young man are reckoned also at a thousand *kahāpaṇas*. (Jāt. v, 290.)

Education was cheap. The customary fee for a first-class education, such as kings, brahmins, and wealthy seṭṭhis gave their sons, was 1,000 pieces laid by the pupil at the teacher's feet on his arrival at Takkasilā or Benares. The son of a poor brahmin collects 7 *nikkhas* for his teacher's fee on leaving him. If less or no prepayment was made the lad was expected to render menial service in return for tuition. The period of schooling is not given in the Jātaka, except in the case of phenomenal boys who mastered everything very rapidly. In Manu the collegiate course was of long duration, ranging from 9, or less, to 36 years. At Benares free education and board were voted by the town to penniless lads. (Jāt. i, 239, 451; ii, 47, 278; iv, 224, 225, 237, 246; v, 128.) The Buddhists did not accept a money fee, and only gifts in kind are permitted to the brahmin teacher in Manu. (Jāt. i, 340; Manu, ii, 245, 246; iii, 156; xi, 63.)

Fortunes were squandered on amusements and gambling, but public festivities seem to have been open to the poorest. Two water-carriers, man and woman, are shown spending (in anticipation) two saved-up half-māsakas at a fête on a garland, perfume, and spirits. (Jāt. iii, 446; iv, 255.)

Building almonries—one at each gate, one in the centre of the town, one at the donor's residence—and dispensing doles of money or food in them indiscriminately was a staple expenditure on the part of pious king or millionaire. The maximum rate was 600,000 'pieces' daily. The cost of building such places is reckoned at 1,000 each. (Jāt. iv, 15, 402[1]; v, 383; vi, 484.)

[1] In the Nidāna (Jāt. i, 33) the dole is called five bushels of kahāpaṇas.

The sixth hall (near the donor's residence) was sometimes omitted, the dole being then 500,000 *kahāpaṇas* a day. (Jāt. vi, 96, 97, etc.)

Gifts to religious fraternities, including the bowlful of broken meats to the itinerant friar, bulk largely, as is natural, in the Buddhist books. A special feature of such giving was its frequent co-operative nature. Streets would entertain the brethren in turn. Subscriptions[1] of money would pour in on those who entertained them; e.g., at Sāvaṭṭhi, a poor woman, on receiving Sāriputta, found herself the recipient of 100,000 coins, subscribed by king and commons. (Vin. iv, 250–253; Jāt. i, 422; ii, 196, 286, 287. On Jetavana v. sup.)

The Vesāli courtezan refuses to transfer to her patrons the honour of entertaining the Buddha at a feast, though offered 100,000 pieces. In another case, from 200 to 500 pieces were offered to a poor man to induce him to make over to the donors the merit of a pious act. (M.P.S., p. 20; Jat. i, 422.)

Kings, brahmins, and villagers are found making annual votive offerings to tree-deities amounting to 1,000 pieces, or of that or other value. (Jāt. i, 423; iii, 23; iv, 474; v, 217.)

Another quasi-religious demand which had its money value was the privilege of rendering homage to the person of a woman who was believed to have borne a child to Brahmā. This ranged from 1 to 1,000 kahāpaṇas. (Jāt. iv, 378.)

A gift presented by one king to another is a gold wreath worth 100,000, and sandal-wood probably worth as much. (Jāt. vi, 480; cf. i, 340.)

For a king's gift, worth 100,000, of jewelry (*pilandhanaṃ*) to his son, see Jāt. vi, 485.

For another royal gift to a wonder-boy, see Jāt. vi, 363.

Another royal christening gift, or 'milk-money,' for the chaplain's son and heir is worth 1,000. (Jāt. v, 127.)

Such a gift might also be raised for a prince by popular subscription. (Jāt. iv, 323.)

[1] *Chandakaṃ*, lit. 'voluntaries.'

Another subscription, got up by a thousand boys, of 1 kahāpaṇa each, suffices to build a play-hall for them. (Jāt. vi, 332.)

Court handicraftsmen give their clever apprentice presents of a thousand. (Jāt. v, 291–293.)

Pensions by kings to courtiers and brahmins of 100, 500, and 1,000 a day are mentioned (M. ii, 163; S. i, 82; Dhp. A. on 204). Both pensions and rewards were often given in the form of village revenue or tithe on raw produce, 100,000 pieces being thus obtainable, now from one village alone, now from five, now from twelve villages (Jāt. i, 138; ii, 403; v, 44, 350, 371). Examples of other money-rewards: Jāt. iii, 326; iv, 257, 394; v, 249. In some cases the reward is in *nikkhas*, e.g. Jāt. iv, 422.

Debts of the most trifling amount, from 100 down to one-half a kahāpaṇa, were apparently punishable, in the case of the poor, with imprisonment (A. i, 251). Money-fines are also imposed for debt and other offences, or as compensation equal to the market-price of the property damaged, the fine ranging, when the book of Manu was compiled, from 250 up to 1,000 kahāpaṇas (Manu, viii, 129, 138, 139, 176; Jāt. i, 199; ii, 300–306; iv, 277, 278).

A bet for 1,000 and one for 5,000 appear in the Jātaka. (Jāt. i, 191; vi, 192, 193.)

The *cāti-kahāpana*, or pot-penny, seems to have been a species of excise on spirits constituting a perquisite of the village headman. (Jāt. i, 199.)

Ferry-toll, in later times, ranged from 1 *kahāpaṇa* per empty cart, down to ¼ for "an animal and a woman," and for loaded carts more, according to the value of the load. (Manu, viii, 404, 406.)

Note.—In the name of a particular torture, called ironically 'The Pennies,' mentioned in the stock passage quoted from the Nikāyas (M. i, 87; A. i, 113) at Mil. 197, and referred to in the Mahāvastu, iii, 258, 18, the kahāpaṇa is used as a measure of size. (Cf. Rhys Davids's note at Mil. i, 277; and Jāt. v, 126.)

I am fully aware that, in the foregoing fragmentary list, many of the figures given are no doubt loosely expressed, and that by comparing them one with another only a very loose estimate can be obtained as to the relative utility of the forms of consumption. Fragmentary and tentative as is the whole of such materials as are here presented, I could not have collected so much but for the help of my husband's manuscript notes in Childers' *Dictionary*. The need of a new dictionary is becoming more and more widely felt; and it is only regrettable that Bodhisats as tree-deities no longer indicate the buried treasure at their roots. That the date of the several ancient authorities to whom I have given references is, in practically every case, uncertain, is of course a serious obstacle to obtaining any clear economic perspective. On the other hand, it is not impossible that with such materials, when amplified and compared, the historical economist might be enabled to contribute valuable evidence toward solving this very problem of the comparative time at which each work, and each portion of each work, was compiled. My notes may prove useful, therefore, not only for the history of economics, but for Indian lexicography and the history of Indian literature as well. And it is this that has emboldened me to publish them, in spite of their imperfection, of which I am only too painfully aware.

Art. XXXII.—*The Last to go Forth.* Jātaka, 4. 490 = 6. 30.

By T. W. Rhys Davids.

There are curious passages, found in two places of Fausböll's Jātaka, 4. 490 and 6. 30, which are full both of interest and of difficulty. At Professor Cowell's suggestion I venture to put together a few remarks which may tend to make these passages clearer.

It is well known that at the end of each Jātaka the Buddha is represented as summing up the Jātaka by identifying the principal persons (men or animals), mentioned in it, with himself and with people associated with him—his relatives, principal disciples, and so on. In the two passages in question certain Ceylon Theras are in a similar way identified, by the unknown author of our Pali Commentary on the Jātakas, with personages in the two Jātakas to which the passages are appended. But not with the principal personages.

Five Jātakas are referred to. In each of these five the hero of the story had gone forth from the world, and the contagion of his example was so powerful that an immense multitude followed him into retirement. In the second passage in question six Ceylon Theras are said to have been (in a previous birth, of course) the very last of those who joined the multitude to 'go forth' on the five occasions mentioned in the Jātaka stories. In other words, they were the most backward of all in insight and resolution. And that is why it took them so many centuries to arrive at the Sambodhi, at Arahatship.

The six names given are those of famous scholars in the *theraparampará*, or succession of teachers. A few words may be said on each of them.

1. Tissa the Short, who dwelt at Mangana, is distinguished from the many other Tissas—there are about two score of them in the books—not only by the personal description as short, but by the literary epithet Mahāvaṃsaka. This means 'the one mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa'—that is, the old Mahāvaṃsa, in Sinhalese prose with Pali verses, on which our Pali Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa are based. A list of the *thera-parampará* taken from that Mahāvaṃsa is preserved at p. 2 of the Parivāra,[1] and one of the two Tissa Theras mentioned in it is doubtless the man referred to. In any case, he was identical with the Tissa Thera who is mentioned in the Pali Mahāvaṃsa (p. 197 of Turnour's edition) as having lived at Mangana, in the highest mountains of Ceylon, about 120 B.C.

2. The next is Phussa Deva, who is described as resident in, or at, a place called 'The Gloom of the mountain side' (Kaṭakandhakāra). At p. 189 of the Sumangala Vilāsinī he is described as dwelling on, or at, a place called the *Ālinda*, the Threshold, and a curious story is told of his attaining Arahatship late in life. The descriptive titles of the name of his hermitage refer apparently to a cave in the mountains of Ceylon, and in the second part of the Mahāvaṃsa (chap. xlv, verse 2) we are told that Kassapa II (A.D. 653) had a complete set of the Pali canonical books copied out for the use of 'the resident (or, as we might say, the incumbent) at Kaṭandhakāra,' who dwelt there in the residence his brother had built.

> Vasantaṃ bhātu āvāse samuddissa likhāpayi
> Kaṭandhakāra-vāsiṃ so Pāḷiṃ sabbaṃ sasangahaṃ.

It is very possible that this is the very place referred to as the residence of Phussa Deva. That Kassapa's brother had built a new parsonage, or hermit's dwelling, there, does not make the identification any more unlikely than similar

[1] Also quoted in full by Buddhaghosa in the Samanta Pāsādikā in Oldenberg's Vinaya, vol. iii, pp. 313, 314.

circumstances would in the case of an English vicarage. But we must wait for the publication of other texts to solve the mystery. And such texts we are likely to find, as Phussa Deva's name also occurs in the list of teachers at Parivāra, p. 2, where he is simply described as *mahākathī*, 'the great preacher.'

3. The next, though evidently the same person, is described in slightly different words, at Jātaka, 4. 490, as

Upari-maṇḍalaka-Malaya-vāsī Mahā-Saṅgharakkhita,

and, at Jātaka, 6. 30, as

Upari-maṇḍaka-Māla-vāsī Mahā-rakkhita.

In all three cases the former readings are to be preferred. Malaya, the Tamil Malei, is the mountainous district in the south-central portion of Ceylon, and Upari-maṇḍala is the topmost range (literally, zone) of it, that is to say, the district between the modern sanatorium Nuwar Elliya (wrongly pronounced by the English New Railyer) and Adam's Peak. We must read the name of the place accordingly.

As to the divergent personal names, they are both possible. But Mahā-rakkhita (not 'the protégé of the Great One,' but simply 'Rakkhita the Great') occurs twice only—once as the name of a pre-Buddhistic ascetic at Jātaka, 4. 445, and once as the name of the Buddhist missionary who went in Asoka's time to Afghanistan (Dīpavaṃsa, 8. 6; Mahāvaṃsa, 71, etc.). Saṅgha-rakkhita, on the other hand, is frequent. It is given already in the Vinaya as a specimen of an honourable name (Vinaya, 4. 8; see 3. 169). It is the name of one of the poets whose verses are preserved in the Thera Gāthā (verse 109); and of both the brethren (of Buddha's time) mentioned in the curious old story (at Dhp. Com., 198) on counting one's chickens before they are hatched.[1] The

[1] The story recurs in the "Arabian Nights," in La Fontaine, in Ralston's Tibetan Tales, etc.

name occurs, too, several times in the old inscriptions[1] and legends.[2] But all these are too early. And the author of the Vuttodaya, of the Subodhālankāra, and of a Ṭīkā on the Khudda Sikkhā[3] is too late. On the other hand, there is a Saṅgha-rakkhita mentioned in the Attha Sālinī, p. 187, and a story is told of him in the Visuddhi Magga.[4] This Thera would exactly fit our passage, and it is most probable that this is the man referred to.

4. Bhaggari-vāsī Mahā Tissa also lived in Duṭṭha Gāmini's time. He is the other Tissa of the Parivāra, p. 3, and the Mahā Tissa of the Sutta Sangaha, p. 77.

5. Mahā Siva, who lived on the Vāmanta Hill (Jātaka, 6. 30 reads wrongly Vāmatta) is also one of the line of teachers in the memorial verses quoted at Parivāra, p. 3. He is the Mahā Siva of Sumangala Vilāsinī, vol. i, pp. 202, 203, and of the Attha Sālinī, p. 220.

6. Mahā Maliya Deva of Kāḷavela is no doubt the same man as the one of the same name, a quite uncommon one, who is said in the Mahāvaṃsa, p. 197, to have flourished in the second century B.C., and to have been in close connection then with the Bhikshus dwelling on Adam's Peak. At Jātaka, 4. 490 the name is slightly different, Mali Mahā Deva. The personal name is Deva; Mali or Maliya is local. And as there are two Devas in the list at Parivāra, p. 3, this man is probably one of them.

Of the five Jātakas, four are mentioned in both passages. One, the Cūla-Sutasoma-Jātaka is mentioned only at 4. 490. In that passage occur also two names of Theras not mentioned in the other passage. It does not necessarily follow that the two Theras in question are the last who went forth

[1] Cunningham: "Bhilsa Topes," 313; Stūpa of Bharhut, 29, 140.
[2] Divyāvadāna, 330.
[3] See Dr. Mabel Haynes Bode's Index to the Gandha Vaṃsa, and the Sāsana Vaṃsa Dīpa, 1209.
[4] See J.P.T.S., 1891, p. 82.

in that particular Jātaka. The theory of the transmigration of Karma is sufficiently elastic to look upon all the Theras as having been connected, in a previous birth, with all the Jātakas.

The two Theras referred to are:—

1. Dhamma-gutta, the Earth-shaker, mentioned also, as such, in the Pali Mahāvaṃsa (Turnour, p. 197). His *floruit* will have been about 130 B.C.

2. Mahā Nāga, resident at the Pavilion of the Black Creeper. He is the hero of the interesting story at Sumangala Vilāsinī, 1. 190.

There is also, perhaps, a third Thera mentioned at Jātaka, 4. 490 and not at Jātaka, 6. 30. For the name of No. 4 in the first list above is Bhaggari-vāsī Mahā Tissa, and the corresponding name at Jātaka, 4. 490 is Bhaggirivāsī Mahā Deva. But it is probable that, either in the one passage or the other, there is here a wrong reading, and that the same person is meant in both places. The locality is almost certainly the same. There may well have been a Deva and a Tissa in the same hermitage; but it is not usual for two Theras, each of them so distinguished as to have acquired the distinctive epithet of Mahā, to be dwelling together. As a rule, one more learned and aged Bhikshu was at the head of each small residence. It would only be in the one or two large monasteries in the big towns that several such would be found together, and as we hear nowhere else either of Bhaggari or of Bhaggiri, it was certainly not a place of much note or size or importance. Are we to understand two men who were successively presiding over a small hermitage of this kind? Here again we must await the publication of further texts from the too neglected old literature of Ceylon for the solution of the doubt.

It is evident that these Theras are real personages. In the few scraps of the early Ceylon texts that have already

been published we have, as is shown in these notes, sufficient information as to their opinions, and as to their character, to warrant the hope that, when the texts are completely before us, we may be able to reconstruct, to a very considerable extent, the literary and intellectual history of Ceylon in the second century B.C.

Meanwhile, we have another instance of the interest, from the historical point of view, of the chance references incidentally buried in what seem, at first sight, to be merely foolish old stories.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1.

Berlin, Körnerstrasse,
July 7, 1901.

HIGHLY ESTEEMED PROFESSOR,—Allow me to have the honour to write to you a few words on the relation of the Chinese Āgamas to the Pāli Nikāyas.

The materials of both are pretty much the same, but the order of arrangement is strangely different. For example, I may give the following comparisons of a few of the fifty-six Saṃyuttas:—

KOSALA SAṂYUTTA.

CHINESE.		PĀLI.	CHINESE.		PĀLI.
1	...	I, 1	10	...	I, 9
2	...	III, 2	11	...	I, 10
3	...	I, 4	12	...	wanting
4	...	I, 5	13	...	II, 4
5	...	I, 6	14	...	I, 2
6	...	I, 7	15	...	wanting
7, 8, 9		wanting	16	...	I, 3

MĀRA SAṂYUTTA.

CHINESE.		PĀLI.	CHINESE.		PĀLI.
1	...	I, 9	5	...	II, 1
2	...	I, 10	6	...	I, 6
3	...	II, 5	7	...	wanting
4	...	I, 7	8	...	II, 3

MĀRA SAṂYUTTA (*continued*).

CHINESE.		PĀLI.	CHINESE.		PĀLI.
9	...	III, 4 & 5	15	...	II, 10
10	...	I, 2 & 3	16	...	III, 1
11	...	I, 1	17	...	III, 2
12	...	II, 4[1]	18	...	II, 2[1]
13	...	I, 4	19	...	II, 6
14	...	II, 3[1]	20	...	II, 8

BHIKKHUNĪ SAṂYUTTA.

CHINESE.		PĀLI.	CHINESE.		PĀLI.
1	...	1	6	...	10
2	...	2	7	...	4
3	...	3	8	...	6
4	...	5	9	...	7
5	...	9			

VAṄGĪSA SAṂYUTTA.

CHINESE.		PĀLI.	CHINESE.		PĀLI.
1	...	11	8	...	wanting
2	...	9	9	...	3
3	...	6	10	...	12
4	...	10	11	...	8
5	...	7	12	...	wanting
6	...	2	13	...	1
7	...	4			

So the Mahā-parinibbāna, which is the 16th Suttanta in the Pāli Dīgha, is the 2nd in the Chinese, where the title is rendered 'going around' (perhaps a translation of Vihara),[2] and the Mahā-sudassana is incorporated, entire, in the Mahā-parinibbāna *à propos* of the reference to the Sudassana story in the M.P.S., 5. 42.

So in the Majjhima. The list of Suttas in the Chinese is given by Nanjio. The order differs from that of the Pāli, and the titles are sometimes different. Thus:—

[1] Somewhat different.

[2] [More probably of *cārikaṃ caramāno*, 'going on tour.' The Suttanta gives, in fact, the account of the Buddha's last tour.—ED.]

Chinese.	Pāli.
Parrot.	Subha.
Cunda.	Sāmagāma.
Moliya-phagguna.	Kakacūpama.
Rāma.	Ariya-pariyesana.
Seven waggons.	Ratha-vinīta (Relays of waggons).
Parable of arrows.	Mālunkya.

The deviations in matter, though usually inconsiderable, are sometimes interesting. Thus in Saṃyutta, x, 7, Anuruddha is said to have recited scripture verses (*Dhammapadāni*). These are given in the Chinese as—

1. Udanas.
2. Pārāyana (? Paliyāyāni of the Asoka Inscriptions).[1]
3. Gāthas preached by Sthaviras (Theragātha ?).
4. Gāthas preached by Bhikkhunīs (Therigātha ?).
5. Vārga of principles in çlokas.
6. Munigātha.
7. Sūtras.

The names mentioned in the Chinese remind us of some of the scriptures recommended in the Aśoka inscription.

We see in the Pāli Nikāyas pretty often mention of Theras. In the Chinese Āgamas the title occurs, as far as I know, only thrice—the title Āyushman being used otherwise in such cases. Can we conclude either that the Chinese version is derived from traditions dating from an age in the history of Buddhism when the authority of Theras was not yet solidified, or it descended from a school antagonistic to the authority of the orthodox Theras ?

In the Pāli Nikāyas we find sometimes the names of *nine* Angas where the holy scriptures are mentioned. We have in the Chinese always *twelve*. I see here only the fact that the division into twelve Pravacanas—characterized by Nāgārjuna in his Prajña-pāramitā-çāstra as being the Mahāyanistic classification in contrast to the nine of the

[1] [No doubt the verses in the Pārāyana Book of the Sutta Nipāta.—Ed.]

Hīnayanists—is in no way exclusively Mahāyānistic, because the four Chinese Āgamas are Hīnayānistic.

Kern says in his Manual (p. 3) that the term Mātṛkā- belongs to the Northern terminology. The term is repeatedly used by the later Mahāyanists. But we find no mention of this term in the Chinese Āgamas. On the contrary, the term occurs in the Pāli (Aṅguttara, vol. iii, p. 179, and elsewhere). May this fact indicate that the distinction of the Southern and the Northern is not always thorough-going? In the Chinese Āgamas the following verses are repeated at least twelve times:—

Among sacrifices fire is the highest;
Among Chandas (闡 陁) the Sāvittī (娑 毘 諦 or 娑 比 宝 cannot be read Sāvitrī, but something like Sāvittī);
Among men king;
. . . . . .
Among all beings, men and Devas,
Buddha alone is the highest.

I could not find these in the Pāli Nikāyas. In all the Pāli Suttas, agreeing with the Chinese in other respects, in which these verses are found, they are wanting. I find them, with exception of the last part, in the Selasutta of the Sutta Nipāta. Were they added later to the Āgamas and the Sutta Nipāta, or were they excluded from the Pāli Nikāyas?

The term 'attadīpa,' usually rendered in the Chinese 'to burn in himself,' is often met with in both versions. In two different translations of the same passage in the Saṃyukta Āgama it is rendered 'to be *island* in himself.' Either version would be right, supposing that the original was not 'dvīpa' but something like 'dīpa.' In the Sutta Nipāta (v. 1093) the word is rendered by Fausböll 'island.' I mention this case only to call attention to the fact that the Chinese version may throw some new light on exegesis.

In the Pāli Gosiṅga (Trenckner, p. 212 f.) we see the mention of six disciples of Buddha. In the Chinese version of the same text one more, Katyāyana, is added. In the conversations among them Moggallāna plays, in the Pāli, the part of a disciple who is well versed in the principles of the Dhamma and their analysis. In the Chinese version that rôle is played by Katyāyana, and Mandgalyāyana is the one who is famous in his exertions and in the practice of *iddhi*. When we compare this with the talents of the disciples, as mentioned in the Pāli Aṅguttara, i, 14, we may see that the Chinese version is in accordance with the general tradition. For, in the Aṅguttara, i, 14, Moggallāna is the best of the '*iddhimantānam*' and Kaccāna of '*saṅkhittena bhāsitassa vitthārena atthaṁ vibhajantānam.*' The same is mentioned in the Chinese Ekottara. May this deviation show that the Pāli version is not always more original or purer than the Chinese?

The verses in the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya, of which I wrote to you in the last letter, exist in four passages in the Chinese Āgamas. The first occurs at the end of a Sūtra corresponding to the Pāli Mahāsamaya. Here they are followed by verses very similar to those in the 76th Sutta of the Khandha Saṃyutta. The second is in a Sūtra treating about *ahiṁsā* in the Saṃyukta. The last two are in the sixth vārga of the Ekottara, as I wrote to you. I am not able to find them in the Pāli Nikāyas. It would be strange if such verses, very well fitted to express the morality of primitive Buddhists, should not be found anywhere in the Pāli.

As to the meaning of the word Sahampati, I don't know whether the explanation is now decided or not. In the Chinese Āgamas he is often mentioned as "Brahma, the lord of the Shaba world." The word Shaba is the Japanese way of reading the Chinese 娑婆, and in Japanese Buddhism the term expresses always this world and has the connotation of expressing the world in which all things are impermanent and painful. It is clear that the transcription was originally intended for Saha or something like it.

These are only fragmentary and miscellaneous notices, which lay no claim to any conclusion. But I ventured to write them in the hope that I may, by getting help from you and other Pāli scholars, be encouraged to carry my researches in this line further, so as to arrive at some definite results about the historical relations of the two literatures.—With sincere wishes, yours,

DR. ANESAKI.

2. THE FOUR CLASSES OF BUDDHIST TANTRAS.

MY DEAR SIR,—The classification of the Buddhist Tantras into four orders (kriyā°, caryā°, yoga°, anuttarayoga tantras) is well known from the suggestive indications of Tāranātha. The enumeration can be found in Jäschke (Tib. Dict., *s. voc.* rgyud), or in Waddell's "Lamaïsm," p. 152, and elsewhere.[1] But the exact signification of these technical names has not, so far as I know, been hitherto ascertained.

It may, therefore, be useful to the few scholars (very few, alas!) interested in the matter to call attention to the Tantric Vaiṣṇava treatise (Padmatantra) cleverly summarized by Dr. Eggeling in his Cat. Ind. Office MSS., pt. iv, pp. 847–850.

The first chapter of this work, introductory and exegetic, is the *jñānapāda.*

The second is named *yogapāda* ("concentration of mind"), dealing, among other matters, with the *āsanabhedavidhi* and the *prāṇāyāmalakṣaṇa.*

The third, *kriyāpāda,* is "on the ceremonies connected with the construction of houses, villages, temples, idols, altars, etc."

The fourth, *caryāpāda,* is "on practical worship, esp. at the celebration of the Vaishṇava festivals," *jātinirṇaya, dīkṣāvidhi,* etc.

[1] See my "Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux," p. 73, n. 3; p. 146, n. 1.

We may well understand the Buddhist classification in the same way. So far as concerns the *yogatantra*, see the second chapter of the Pañcakrama.[1] As for the *kriyā*°, the nature of such compilations as the Kriyāsamuccaya shows it to be similar to the above. Regarding the *caryā*°, compare the Ādikarmapradīpa.

The *anuttarayoga* (chiefly concerned with practices of high mysticism, *omnia sancta sanctis*[2]) is unknown to our Vaiṣṇava (Pāñcarātrik) source.—I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

[1] Vajrajāpakramaṁ vakṣye yogatantrānusārataḥ.

[2] Cf. a curious little tract by Āryadeva, lately published by Haraprasād Śāstrī in the *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* (lxvii, 1), and note in *Muséon*, 1900, ii, p. 240 (cf. C. Bendall, *J.R.A.S.*, 1900, p. 41).

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Études sur les Dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale. Vol. I: Ḥadramoût. Par le Comte de Landberg. (Leide: E. J. Brill, 1901.)

This is the first volume of an elaborate work on the dialects spoken in Southern Arabia. It is not stated clearly which particular dialects are included in the present volume, but the author tells us that the second is to treat of the dialects of Dathīna, of the countries of the Waḥīdī (Upper and Lower), of the Banyar, of the countries of ar-Roṣāṣ, of Ḥarīb-Beyhān, etc.; and the third will give the geography and ethnography of the country between 'Umān and Yaman. These are to be followed by a voluminous dictionary of the dialects of the whole of Arabia; so the complete work, together with the author's previous analogous publications, will form a regular Encyclopædia Arabica—a monument of scholarly, painstaking research.

The author, who is a Swede, lived among the Arabs for twenty-eight years, applying himself to the study of their language; so the result of his researches given in the present volume may be considered beyond the reach of criticism, especially as he is almost the only European who has methodically attempted to study the Arabic dialects spoken by the Beduins of Southern Arabia.

The plan of the work is excellent. It begins with extracts —poetical and prose—dictated to the author by several Beduins, and carefully revised three or four times. These

are given in Arabic characters with all the necessary vowel-marks supplied, also a transliteration, which is almost indispensable, as many of the words are pronounced very differently from the way those acquainted only with the ordinary literary Arabic would be inclined to pronounce them. It is to be regretted, however, that the author did not adhere as closely as possible to the system of transliteration approved by the International Oriental Congress of 1894 with a view to uniformity. The author's system may be very clear to himself, but it takes the reader some time to get accustomed to it. For instance, who would imagine at first sight that *ṛ* is intended to represent the letter غ? After the text comes a literal translation in French, and then a commentary which contains a critical and grammatical analysis of all the dialectic words and much useful and interesting information. The prose extracts, which follow the poetry, are chiefly accounts of the different handicrafts of Ḥaḍramūt; and next comes an alphabetically arranged glossary of all the dialectic words occurring in the text, and under each word is a reference to the pages in which it occurs.

In a note s.v. وادي حضرم (pp. 89–92) the author disposes of a popular fallacy of very old standing. Hitherto we have been accustomed to call the southern province of Arabia حَضْرَمَوت ('Ḥaḍramaut'), and to believe the name identical with the Hazarmaveth of Scripture (Genesis, x, 26). In endeavouring to trace its etymology some authors have stated that the word means 'sudden death'; and Mr. Bent says it meant in the Himyaritic language 'the enclosure or valley of death.' M. le Comte de Landberg, however, ridicules this idea, though he abstains from any hypothesis as to the true etymology. He tells us (and we may consider his statement authoritative) that the word is pronounced by some of the natives 'Ḥaḍramôt,' but more commonly 'Ḥaḍramūt,' which latter he considers the correct way of writing and pronouncing it. He adds that at Qishn and Mukallā he has heard it called 'Ḥarḍamūt,' but thinks this

merely a transposition of the letters. At any rate, he says, the simple form of the word is حضرم (Ḥaḍram), and the termination وُت—which is very common in the names of places in the Maḥrā country—is probably a plural (*ôt* or *ūt* = *āt*).

In spite of the immense labour bestowed by M. le Comte de Landberg and others on the study of Arabic dialects, much still remains to be done. As he says (p. 458)—"Quand viendra l'arabisant qui, fourni d'une connaissance profonde de la langue, classique et parlée, pouvant résister aux fatigues et éviter les dangers, s'aventurera dans le sud de la Yémâmaḥ, dans le 'Asîr, chez les tribus errantes des Gûwân, autour du grand desert? On nous noie de publications de grammaires, tandis qu'on oublie que nous avons une langue, ancienne comme celle de Babel, parlée encore aujourd'hui, plus ou moins modifiée, dans l'intérieur de l'Arabie, par des centaines de milliers de bédouins—et que nous ne connaissons pas! L'académie de Vienne eut le grand mérite d'envoyer une expédition pour étudier la langue mahra, mais par des circonstances imprévue les résultats n'ont pas été ce qu'ils auraient pu être.

"J'espère que les publications que préparent M. le Dr. Glaser et un savant allemand, envoyé, sans tambour ni trompette, dans l'Arabie du Sud, sur la langue mahra élucideront plus d'une question."

Of all the dialects of Southern Arabia, the most interesting results may be anticipated from a careful study of the languages (or dialects?) of the مهرا (Maḥrā) and بني قرا (Banī Qarā) tribes. The former live in the neighbourhood of as-Shiḥr, and the latter—called also the حكلي (Ḥaklī) tribe—occupy the Sabhān Mountains and the coast from Cape Shajr, S.W., to Marbāṭ and Hāsik, N.E. This country, called بلاد الاحقاف (Bilād al-Aḥqāf) or Wādī al-Aḥqāf, the 'valley of caves,' is believed, with some reason, to be the Troglodyte Country spoken of in the "Periplus." (See pp. 146, 148, et seq.; also *Indian Antiquary*, July, 1890, pp. 211–215.) Like the aborigines of Suquṭrah (Sokotra),

they are essentially Troglodytes even at the present day; and as they correspond closely in appearance and habits with the Beduin natives of Sokotra, future philological research will in all probability show a corresponding similarity in their respective languages. If this be proved it will open an interesting field for ethnographical conjecture.

J. Stuart King, Major.

El-Aḥkâm es-Soulthâniya. Traité de droit public musulman d'Abou'l-Hassan Alî ibn-Mohammed ibn-Habîb el-Mâwerdî, traduit et annoté d'après les sources orientales par le Comte Léon Ostrorog. Fasc. 1, 2. 8°. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1900–1.)

The Muhammadan civil law has hitherto largely occupied the researches of scholars in consequence of its practical value in connection with the government of the possessions of Western powers in Moslem countries. With the political code, on the other hand, the case has been different. Owing perhaps to the sweeping modifications introduced by European governments into the administrative systems of their Muhammadan dependencies, it has not appeared of so much importance for practical purposes, and has consequently received very little attention.

The study of the political law of the Muhammadans throws considerable light upon the course of their history. It defines the relationship of the Caliph to his people, explains the peculiar system of succession of the Caliphate, often so strange to Western minds, and elucidates the causes and pretexts of many of the revolutions which make up such a large portion of Moslem history, besides revealing to us the principles governing the whole state administration of the Caliph's empire. Of the native literature upon the subject, which never seems to have been very extensive, and of which very little has reached us, the present treatise, al-Aḥkām as-Sulṭānīyah, appears to be the best known and the most popular.

The author, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Māwardī, a famous jurist of the Shāfi'ī school, was born at Basra in A.H. 364 (A.D. 974). He commenced his studies in his native town, afterwards completing them in Baghdad, where in due course he attained to the degree of 'Shaikh.' Afterwards he held the post of Qāḍi successively in several provincial cities, being finally recalled to Baghdad to receive the office of Qāḍi'l-Quḍāh, or Chief Justice, which he held until his death in A.H. 450 (A.D. 1058). Besides the work which is now under review, al-Māwardī also composed a treatise entitled Qawānīn al-Wizārah, dealing with the law relating to the Vizierate, a MS. of which is preserved in the library of the Oriental Academy at Vienna. Al-Māwardī's Kitāb al-Aḥkām as-Sulṭānīyah, which would appear to have been composed at the desire of his sovereign, is described by its author as containing an exposition of the laws which govern the exercise of administrative power. It is divided into twenty chapters, each of which is subdivided into numerous sections.

The first chapter treats of the Caliphate. It opens with a definition of the Caliphate as the Vicegerency of the Prophet for the protection of the Faith and the government of the world. The existence of a Caliph is obligatory at all times. If such should cease to exist, *ipso facto* two parties come into being in the State, the one consisting of those persons whose attributes fulfil the conditions necessary to qualify them as electors on behalf of the nation in the choice of a Caliph, the other of persons qualified to be invested with the Caliphate. The electors, who are regarded as representing the nation and acting for it, are those persons in the state who are technically known as "the people of loosening and tying," that is, all Shaikhs, or learned doctors, of approved knowledge, piety, and orthodoxy, who are properly qualified to pronounce decisions (regarding legality or illegality) according to the Sacred Law. By usage the electors domiciled at the seat of government acquire priority over those domiciled elsewhere. In persons eligible for the Caliphate the following seven qualifications

are necessary, namely, justice, approved learning in theology and law, complete possession of all senses, full power in all limbs, practical wisdom, courage, and lineage of the tribe of Quraish.

Besides the above manner of constituting a Caliph, by election, there is also another way, namely, by nomination by a preceding Caliph. The nominator is bound to choose a person possessing all the necessary qualifications, and may cause him to be invested (as heir-apparent) by his own authority, without consulting the electors. There are, however, dissentient opinions upon this last point.

The existence of more than one Caliph at the same time is illegal. If more than one Caliph should happen to be invested at the same time, priority of investiture decides which of them is legal. In the case of simultaneous investiture, or of impossibility of establishing priority, a fresh election must be made.

When a Caliph has been duly invested, it is necessary that the nation at large should be made aware of the fact, without its being required that it should have personal knowledge of him or of the validity of his title. The people must leave the administration of the State to the Caliph absolutely, as being its representative, and is bound to obey him implicitly and help him without questioning.

The author next proceeds to expound the various causes which may annul the effect of a Caliph's investiture and render it legal to depose him, and concludes the chapter with a definition of the categories under which fall the different State officers to whom the Caliph may delegate authority.

The second chapter is concerned with the status of the Vizier. Two kinds of Vizierate are defined, namely, "of delegation" and "of execution."

A Vizier of delegation has plenary powers to act on behalf of his sovereign (either personally or by commission through others) in all things according to his own judgment. Such being the case his qualifications for his office must of necessity be identical with those which are requisite for the

Caliphate, with the exception of lineage. He must also possess a thorough, practical knowledge of the arts of war and finance in all their details. This last qualification is indeed held to be the very "pivot of vizierate," without which no State can be satisfactorily governed. The appointment of a Vizier of delegation is not valid unless the terms used by the sovereign in conferring the office express clearly the ideas of plenary power and delegation of power, but it is not necessary that the Vizier should have a written and sealed commission so long as those conditions are fulfilled. Although a Vizier of delegation has plenary powers to act for his sovereign, nevertheless he is under obligation to keep him informed of all his measures and proceedings, the sovereign reserving to himself the right of revision or veto, except in the matter of legal judgments. In general the powers of such a Vizier are exactly similar to those of the Caliph, excepting in three respects—he can neither nominate his successor, nor resign his functions, nor remove an officer appointed by his sovereign.

The functions of a Vizier of execution are of a far more restricted nature, and consequently the qualifications required of him are of a different order. His duties consist in transmitting and executing the orders of the Caliph, and in keeping him informed of all current events in the State. He is in fact a mere executive agent, who may, or may not, be associated with his master in his deliberations, and whose appointment requires no formal commission. As regards the qualifications requisite for his office, a Vizier of execution need be neither free nor learned in the law, but it is necessary that he possess the following seven attributes: honesty, truthfulness, disinterestedness, blamelessness, good memory, intelligence and sagacity, and freedom from passion. If he should be associated with his sovereign in deliberation, he must also possess sound judgment and practical political knowledge. Women are not eligible for the Vizierate of execution, but Jews, or Christians, may be appointed to the office.

In the third chapter are set out the laws regulating the

appointment and administrative powers of the Governors of particular portions of the Empire. The governorship of a province, or city, may be of two kinds, general or special; and the former kind may be either by designation or by usurpation.

A governor-general has plenary powers within the limits of his jurisdiction. His functions are as follows: the organization of the troops, the administration of justice, the collection of the taxes, the defence of the Faith and protection of the life, honour, and property of the people, the application of the penal law, the direction of public prayer, and the organization of the Pilgrimage. In addition, if the borders of his Government march with those of enemies' territory, the governor of a province is under the obligation of Sacred War.

A governor-general "by designation" is chosen and appointed either by the Caliph, or by a Vizier of delegation with the consent of the Caliph, or by the Vizier by his own authority as his own deputy. The qualifications necessary for his office are identical with those required for a Vizier of delegation. Such a governor is in any circumstances under the control of a Vizier of delegation, but the latter has no power to remove or transfer him, except in the case of his having appointed him of his own authority to act as his deputy. In the event of the death of the Caliph the office of a governor appointed by him does not lapse, whereas the opposite takes place on the decease of a Vizier in the case of his nominee.

A governor-general "by usurpation" is a person who has taken possession by force of some portion of the Caliph's empire, and with regard to whom it has been found expedient to legalize his position, and to confirm him in the possession of the territory he has seized with plenary powers of administration as governor.

Governorships of the class designated "special" differ from the governorships general in having more limited powers. The functions of a governor "special" are the same as those of a governor-general, with the exception of

the administration of justice and the collection of the taxes. Also he may not engage in Sacred War on his own authority, unless first attacked. The qualifications necessary for his office are the same as those required for the Vizierate of execution, except that it is indispensable that he be free and profess Islam.

Such is a summary of the contents of the three chapters of al-Māwardī's treatise as yet published.

Count Léon Ostrorog, judging from the present instalment of his work, has produced a most excellent translation. The original Arabic text, which is terse and idiomatic in style and full of obscure technical allusions, presents no small difficulty in the way of a satisfactory interpretation. The Count's version is close without being too literal, yet at the same time sufficiently paraphrastic to read smoothly and for the tenour of the arguments to be followed easily. He has added most necessary footnotes throughout, and has prefixed a scholarly introduction treating of the theoretical bases of Muhammadan law, that is, the principles by means of which it is elicited from the Qoran and the Sunnah, which govern its interpretation, and on which are founded the abstract rights which belong to all Moslems. The preface contains a biographical notice of al-Māwardī, in which is collected all that is now known concerning him.

A. G. E.

Hema Kosha. Hem Chandra Barua.

Assamese is the language spoken by the greater number of the inhabitants of that portion of the Brahmaputra Valley which, roughly speaking, lies between Sadiya and Dhubri in the Province of Assam. It is confined to the plains almost entirely, the language being spoken only to a very limited extent in the hills bordering on the Brahmaputra Valley on the north, south, and east. Grierson estimates that Assamese is the language spoken by 1,435,950 people in Assam; he has based his estimate on the census figures of 1891, those for 1901 not yet being available. At

one time it was thought by some that Assamese was a mere dialect of Bengali, but at the present day most scholars affirm that Assamese is a separate language. Nicholl, in p. 72 of his Assamese Grammar, says: "Assamese is not, as many suppose, a corrupt dialect of Bengali, but a distinct and co-ordinate tongue, having with Bengali a common source of current vocabulary." Still more weight may perhaps be given to the opinion of Grierson, who writes regarding the Assamese language and literature as follows: —"Whether the nation has made the literature or the literature the nation, I know not, but as a matter of fact, both have been for centuries and are in vigorous existence. Between them they have created a standard literary language which, whether its grammar resembles that of Bengali or not, has won for itself the right to a separate, independent existence." Assamese literature largely consists of *buranjis* or histories; there are, moreover, numerous religious, poetical, and dramatic works in the language, and some treatises on medicine. The celebrated Hindu reformer, Sankar Dev, translated the "Srimat Bhagavata Purana" into Assamese some 450 years ago. Ananta Kandali, a contemporary of the sage mentioned above, translated the Mahabharat and the Ramayana into Assamese, and Madhab composed the Bhakti-ratnawali and the Ratnakar Tika. All of these were works in the Assamese language. The whole of the Bible was originally translated into Assamese by the Serampore missionaries in 1813, and of late years the American Baptist Mission has issued revised translations. The present work consists of 972 octavo pages, and claims to be an etymological dictionary. In this respect it is an improvement on Bronson. The editor has given the botanical names of trees and plants from Gamble's work; the "Dictionary of Economic Products" (Dr. Watt) has also been consulted. Mythological names have been verified from Dowson, and in some cases explanations have been added by the editor. The Hema Kosha is the work of an able Assamese scholar, who is the author of other works bearing on the Assamese

language and on Assamese social customs. Unfortunately Hem Chandra Barua died before he was able to publish his work, so the Assam Administration, with the help of Messrs. Gurdon and Hem Chandra Gosain, prepared the manuscript for the press, and the work has recently appeared in print. All concerned are to be congratulated on the publication of the Hema Kosha, which should be of much assistance to students in schools, Government officials, missionaries, and others who wish to learn the Assamese language.

London, June 20, 1901. R. N. C.

THE TADHKIRATU 'SH-SHU'ARÁ ("MEMOIRS OF THE POETS") OF DAWLATSHÁH BIN 'ALÁ'U 'D-DAWLA BAKHTÍSHÁH AL-GHÁZÍ OF SAMARQAND. Edited in the original Persian with Prefaces and Indices by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., M.R.A.S., Fellow of Pembroke College and Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge. (London: Luzac & Co., 1901.)

Probably all students of the Persian language, while lamenting the scarcity of well edited texts in any department of its splendid literature, would allow that their most pressing need, and the event which, if it came to pass, would facilitate the advancement of their knowledge in the greatest degree, is the appearance of critical editions, equipped with complete indices, of the chief historical and biographical works of reference. To take an example that has lately been brought home to the present writer, the collection of Ṣūfī doctrine embodied by Farīdu'ddīn 'Aṭṭār in his *Tadhkiratu 'l-Auliyā* throws a flood of light upon the *Maṣnavī*, the *Dīvāni Shamsi Tabrīz*, and other Ṣūfī poems, and enables us to explain many allusions hitherto unnoticed or not understood. As regards history, if the *Tārīkhi Guzīda*, the *Jāmi'u 'l-Tawārīkh*, and the *Tārīkhi Jahān-kushāy* were rendered accessible, no one could afford to neglect them; and there are not a few local histories which have

more than a local interest, e.g. that of Ṭabaristān by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Isfandiyār.

It is true that some of the works in question have been published in the East, but these are not always readily obtained; moreover, Oriental lithographs are unpleasant to read, and their utility is very gravely diminished by the total want of indices. Such considerations led Mr. Browne, as we learn from his beautifully written Persian preface, to project a series of Persian Historical Texts. If he succeeds — as with the support and co-operation of other scholars he doubtless will succeed—the gain to science will be enormous: in any case he has shown the way, and provided future editors with a model of supreme excellence.

With the single exception of 'Aufī's *Lubābu 'l-Albāb*, which Mr. Browne, after examining the almost unique MS. in Lord Crawford's library, describes as a mere Anthology, containing hardly any biographical details or dates, the *Tadhkiratu 'l-Shu'arā*, composed in 1487 A.D. by Dawlatshāh b. 'Alā'u 'l-Dawla al-Samarqandī, of whose life we know next to nothing, is the earliest work of its class that has been preserved. No better choice could have been made for the opening volume of the series. To quote Mr. Browne—

"It is on the whole the best Manual of Persian Literary History existing in the Persian language. It is also amusing, though rather discursive, and incidentally contains a great deal of general history; and altogether in my opinion few Persian books could be named which the student of Persian literature would read with more pleasure and profit than this. Regarded merely as an Anthology of poetical fragments, selected, on the whole, with taste and judgment, from the works of some hundred and fifty poets belonging to what is generally regarded as the 'classical period' of Persian literature (which, for some occult reason, is often said to end with Jámí, whose life is included by Dawlatsháh amongst the six biographies of his own most eminent contemporaries wherewith the *Memoirs* proper conclude), the book has a considerable value."

One does not expect a book of this sort to be a masterpiece of style, but it is agreeably written in a manner that may be said to lie midway between the *Gulistān* and the *Anwāri Suhailī*. If the style has no special distinction, it is vastly superior to much that passed for fine writing with the author's contemporaries. In the absence of an adequate history of Persian literature, or even of Persian poetry, the student will find these *Memoirs* an indispensable source of information, which he will need, however, to supplement and occasionally to correct, as far as possible, by reference to scattered articles and monographs. The text is seldom difficult, but some of the verses—particularly the Chaghatāy verses cited in the *Khātima* and those in Persian dialect—give ample scope for ingenuity either in emendation or interpretation, and Mr. Browne acknowledges the help which he has received in restoring them from Mr. E. J. W. Gibb, M. Platon Melioransky of St. Petersburg, and others.

The MSS. of Dawlatshāh are very numerous. Of the four which Mr. Browne has chiefly used for this edition three belong to the Cambridge University Library, while the fourth, "a fine old MS. written at Jahrum in Fárs in A.H. 980," was lent by Professor E. D. Ross. They represent two slightly different recensions, which Mr. Browne has endeavoured to combine. However heretical it may appear to those who are acquainted only with Greek or Latin MSS. and the canons of editing derived therefrom, this plan is probably the best that could have been adopted. The monkish scribe was ignorant, unambitious, and unimaginative; he copied with fidelity, if not with understanding; his blunders disfigure the text, but do not destroy it. Hence the task which every editor of a classical text conceives as his natural function, to recover the exact words of the original manuscript, is rarely impracticable although it never can be absolutely successful in every particular. But the Oriental scribe is not content to be a dull copyist: even in copying he creates. How else are we to explain what is a constant feature of Persian MSS.—the occurrence of the same matter in altogether different form? It is no

exaggeration to say that two versions of an episode or anecdote often agree just as might be expected if we knew that they had been written down from memory, after a long interval of time, by two individuals to whom they had been dictated simultaneously. As any attempt to assign a superior authenticity on the evidence of style would be extremely audacious and in most cases utterly impossible, there is but one alternative to the course followed by Mr. Browne. The rule "*Seniores priores*" may be extended to manuscripts. In the oldest MS. the editor will find the basis of his text, into which he will admit nothing except what appears to have been omitted carelessly or by mischance. The simplicity of this plan commends it, and it should certainly be adopted where any one of the existing MSS. has a distinct pre-eminence in age and authority. It may be that the oldest dated MS. of Dawlatshāh, the Bodleian copy (Ouseley Add. 34), which was written only fifty years after the original work, reproduces it more faithfully in some respects than does Mr. Browne's text, but as this copy is much abridged, few will regret that he has preferred the eclectic method, which ensures that what the author wishes to say shall be set forth copiously and to the best advantage. The variants, along with critical and explanatory notes, are reserved for a supplementary volume, and all lovers of Persian literature, while heartily sympathizing with Mr. Browne when he declares that he would willingly enjoy a respite from this somewhat soul-deadening and mechanical work, will hope that its publication may not be deferred longer than is necessary. It seems highly questionable whether his anticipation will be verified, that many emendations will be made in the text by scholars who may have occasion to read it, unless perhaps in the Turkī and dialect verses:

مَنْ جَرَّبَ ٱلْمُجَرَّبَ حَلَّتْ بِهِ ٱلنَّدَامَهْ

Repentance lights on him who tries the tried.

As this edition is destined for circulation in the East as well as amongst European Orientalists, great pains have

been taken by Messrs. Brill to produce a type that will satisfy the artistic taste of Muḥammadans, who are connoisseurs in calligraphy. They must indeed be hard to please if they do not appreciate the type selected — an adaptation to Persian uses of the Arabic founts of Beyrout. Its delicacy and grace, compared with the pedestrian solidity of that employed e.g. by Lane in his Lexicon, recall the famous Greek types of Aldus which make every page a feast for the eye and seem to add a fresh beauty to immortal verse. The cover is severely business-like, and we cannot help wishing that Mr. Browne, or his publishers, had indulged a little in "*Persici apparatus.*" But this, at the worst, is a trifling and superficial discord. The contents, beginning with the Persian preface which shows an astonishing command of the language such as probably no other European possesses, and ending with three Indices of the names of persons, places, and books cited in the text, are beyond praise. Most warmly do we congratulate Mr. Browne on the completion of a task which must have occupied a great part of his time during the last five or six years, and most earnestly do we hope that his magnificent efforts to raise Persian scholarship to the high level that has now been reached in Arabic will inspire a like enthusiasm and be rewarded with a full measure of success.

R. A. N.

THE HISTORY OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY. By Major J. S. KING. (London: Luzac, 1900.)

The history of the Bahmani Kingdom, its rapid rise, its extensive spread so as to include the whole Dekhan, its wars, its decay and break up all within a period of some 140 years, make a remarkable chapter in the history of the Muhammadan period in India; and the coins of its Sultans have been attractive to the Indian numismatist by their beauty and by the completeness and variety of their legends.

General Briggs' translation of the *Tarikh i Firishtah* has made us familiar with that writer's history of the dynasty, and it has hitherto been followed by writers as the authoritative one, but in this book we have a translation from the *Burhan i Ma'asir* of 'Ali bin 'Aziz Ullah Ṭabaṭaba, a rare MS. written a few years before that of Firishtah, with further matter gathered from three or four other Persian MSS. which the author studied. Major King describes Ṭabaṭaba's style as more ornate than that of Firishtah, but inferior in general completeness, but there are in his MS. some details of events not given by Firishtah, and a different account is given of some other occurrences. Amongst these differences is one in the list and genealogy of the Sultans, which shows the value of having more than one account of things, viz.: the coins of the successor of Daūd, the fourth Sultan, have his name as al-Muẓaffar Muhammad Shah, but in Firishtah's list he is called Mahmūd, and he states that Daūd was succeeded by his uncle Mahmūd. This disagreement could not be explained until Ṭabaṭaba's history was studied. He states that Daūd was succeeded by his younger brother Muhammad, and in this he is corroborated by two or three other writers. Another, somewhat similar discrepancy is not unfortunately as yet cleared up. All the writers agree in stating that the eleventh Sultan was succeeded by his son Niẓām Shah. No coins bearing that Sultan's name are known, but some with the name Ahmad Shah bin Humayun Shah Bahmani, dated 866 and 867, the two years in which Niẓām Shah reigned, are described (*Num. Chron.*, 1898, vol. xviii, p. 269).

Major King's knowledge of the Dekhani dialect has enabled him to translate some passages which one acquainted with classical Persian only would find difficult, and the work is a sufficiently literal translation without being wearisome through being too exactly so; the stories of events, too, can be easily followed without one's getting tired with a superabundance of adjectives and confused with the reiteration of personal names.

A useful map and map index are given, and the author

is to be congratulated on identifying so many of the place-names as he has done, a task often of considerable difficulty owing to the names being Indian ones phonetically rendered and transcribed into Persian, and then sometimes altered in the copying by omission or errors of the diacritical marks and by misreading of letters of the script.

O. C.

GRAMMAIRE ASSYRIENNE, par V. SCHEIL and C. FOSSEY. (Paris: H. Welter, 1901.)

Since the first publication of the elements of Assyrian grammar by Professor Oppert in 1860, many books and papers upon the subject have appeared, from Hincks's "Specimen Chapters of an Assyrian Grammar," in the Journal of this Society (New Series, ii, pp. 480–519), in 1866, and the exceedingly useful works of Sayce and Menant, to the very detailed grammar of Professor Fried. Delitzsch, which no student can do without, though a beginner would naturally find it much too voluminous for a really practical guide to the language.

In the work now under notice, MM. Scheil and Fossey have to all appearance tried to steer a middle course between excess and insufficiency of detail, the result being a book which is not by any means unreasonable in the matter of size. The arrangement which they have adopted is also one which will probably recommend itself by its simplicity and logical order. It is when looking through such a work as this, that the old student has forced upon him the fact, that the advantages which the beginner has at the present time are such as he would have given anything for when he himself began.

There are, naturally, in a work of this kind, many things with regard to which differences of opinion may exist, though such are not now likely to prove in any way serious stumbling-blocks to the student, whose chief care should be to learn the facts, and trust to time and more perfect knowledge to solve all difficulties. He will himself, in the

end, if he persevere, be in a position to judge whether *š* has changed into *l* by the mid-sound *r* (as in *išdudu*, *irdudu*, and *ildudu*), or in any other way, and whether *aya* (*aia*) or *aa* could have given birth to *ai* or not, and if so, how this change arose. Turning to the verbs, there is the question whether eighteen conjugations existed, as the authors indicate, or only twelve, as is the general opinion among Assyriologists; and it is to be hoped that this addition to their number will not deter students from undertaking to acquire a knowledge of the language. The explanations of the meanings of the different conjugations (sections 88 ff.) are, as far as at present known, correctly and clearly given, a point which students ought to appreciate. With regard to the voices, it may be noted that the forms with the vowel *u* (*kuššudu*, *šukšudu*) were probably at first, as suggested by Professor Sayce, passives, or at least the forms which developed into passives in other Semitic languages (as far as these have preserved them), and it is apparently due to this fact that the form *šašluṭaku*, for *šušluṭaku*, with others which might be mentioned, occurs.

Instead of the common root *fa'al*, which is used to indicate the forms of the words in the other Semitic languages, the authors have adopted throughout the Assyrian root *kašādu*, 'to approach, to capture,' and it is by means of this root that the forms and vocalization of the various words of the Assyro-Babylonian language are indicated. Many students will, perhaps, find this an advantage, though those who have been accustomed to the older nomenclature will regret the change. Even the most conservative, however, will hardly deny that a strong root is better for the purposes of comparison than a weak one. It shows more clearly than the latter the changes which the defective roots, whether verbs or nouns, have undergone in the course of their development, and therefore enables the student more easily to take account of and analyze them.

The *précis* of the syntax will probably be found very interesting and useful, though one could have wished that more examples had been given in some cases. In this

section it would have added greatly to the interest and importance of the rules, if the authors had tried to show—or, to put it less strongly, to suggest—which of the phrases treated of and exemplified seemed to be poetical. Due appreciation of passages in the various inscriptions often depends on the proper understanding of this, and is not without interest from the purely poetical point of view.

A very useful bibliography is placed at the end of this modest and unpretending work, the lists given containing all the grammars and monographs to which the student is likely to want to refer. The author of this notice was unable to find, however, any reference to a work whose title he would have liked to see, namely, the Assyro-Babylonian grammar of the late George Bertin, published in the volume entitled "Abridged Grammars of the Languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions," in Trübner's series of Simplified Grammars, edited by Dr. Reinhold Rost, 1888.

But what every student and practical teacher among Assyriologists ought to look forward to, is a grammar with the cuneiform characters, like Professor Sayce's, but, if anything, more thorough. In addition to this, busy men would most likely desire to see a work without abbreviations. Paper is not dear at present, and the type may be squeezed a little closer, if needful, to accommodate the extra lines which would be required. It is not every student who will at once seize the meaning, for instance, of the mystic letters 'Am.' To all appearance, they stand for the Tell el-Amarna tablets, though that is not evident at first glance, and it would be so easy, in most cases where these letters occur, to put the word 'Amarna' in full. One of the words to which it is attached, *meat*, 'a hundred,' occurs also, it may be noted, in the time of the dynasty of Ḫammurabi.

The chapters on the phonology and the forms of the nouns are especially good, and the work ought to have considerable success.

T. G. Pinches.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(July, August, September, 1901.)

I. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

I. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Band lv, Heft 2.

Kahle (P.). Zur Geschichte der hebräischen Accente.

Weissbach (F. H.). Über einige neuere Arbeiten zur babylonisch-persischen Chronologie.

Brockelmann (C.). Ein arabischer Bericht über Malta.

Jensen (P.). Alt- und neuelamitisches.

Bacher (W.). Jüdisch-Persisches aus Buchārā.

Oldenberg (H.). Zu Hiraṇyakeśin Gṛhy. I. 11, 1.

Caland (W.). Zur Exegese und Kritik der rituellen Sūtras.

Oldenberg (H.). Ṛgveda, vi, 1–20.

Fraenkel (S.). Zu Payne-Smith Thesaurus Syriacus, Fasc. ix u. x.

Mordtmann (J. H.). Uigurisches.

Schulthess (F.). Zu B. Jacob's Aufsatz S. 135 ff.

Huart (Cl.). Zu Zeitschrift 54 S. 661 ff.

Nestle (E.). Kuthbi, die Hebräerin.

Mills (L. H.). The Inherent Vowel in the Alphabet of the Avesta Language.

Band lv, Heft 3.

Praetorius (Fr.). Zur hebräischen und aramäischen Grammatik.

Geiger (W.). Mäldivische Studien, 11.

Brockelmann (C.). Das Neujahrsfest der Jezīdīs.

Wolff (M.). Zur Spruchkunde.

Barth (J.). Einiges zur Kritik der Mufaḍḍalijjāt.

Grimme (H.). Theorie der ursemitischen labialisierten Gutturale.

Hertel (J.). Zwei Erzählungen aus der Bonner Hitopadeśa Hs.

Guidi (I.). Der äthiopische Sēnodos.

Goldziher (I.). "Säulenmänner" im Arabischen.

Foy (W.). Zur altpersischen Inschrift NR.d.

Lewis (A. S.). Christian Palestinian.

Böhtlingk (O.). Über prāṇa und apāna.

Horovitz (J.). Bulūqjā.

II. Journal Asiatique. Série ix, Tome xvii, No. 2.

Marçais (M.). Le Taqrib de En-Nawawi.

Nau (F.). Fragment inédit d'une traduction syriaque jusqu'ici inconnue du Testamentum D. N. Jesu Christi.

Féer (L.). Le Karma Śataka.

Tome xvii, No. 3.

Senart (E.). Les Abhisambuddhayāthās dans le Jātaka Pāli.

Féer (L.). Le Karma Śataka.

Specht (E.). Du déchiffrement des monnaies sindo-ephthalites.

Marçais (M.). Le Taqrib de En-Nawawi.

III. Vienna Oriental Journal. Vol. xv, Nos. 2, 3.

Reichelt (H.). Der Frahung i-oïm.

Schroeder (L. v.). Das Bohnenverbot bei Pythagoras und im Veda.

Mankowski (L. V.). Bāṇa's Kādambāri und die Geschichte vom König Sumanas in der Bṛihatkathā.

Bürk (A.). Die Theorie der Schlussfolgerung nach der Sāṁkhya-tattvakaumudī des Vācaspatimiśra.

Schlögl (N.). Der 51 Psalm.

II. Notes and News.

The Mahābhārata.—It will be in the recollection of our readers that at the Rome Congress it was decided to form a Sanskrit Epic Text Society to bring out a critical edition of the Mahābhārata, and especially, in the first place, of the Southern Recension. The Committee then appointed to organize this Society—Messrs. Bendall, Eggeling, Rhys Davids, Fleet, Hoernle, Temple, and Bilgrami—has received with cordial approval a suggestion to ask the assistance of the various learned Academies in Europe in support of the scheme. A statement with this object in view, drawn up by Professor von Schroeder and Dr. Winternitz, and endorsed by those members of the above Committee resident in Europe, has been laid before the International Congress of Academies held in Paris from the 16th to the 18th of April. And a paper on the same subject by Professor Kielhorn was submitted by the delegate in Paris of the Göttingen Academy. The matter was further brought before the meeting of German Academies held in Leipzig in May. The scheme is one well within the power of the Academies to carry through. For though the total sum required is about five or six thousand pounds, the payments will be spread over many years, and there are many Academies. Considering the great importance for the history of India of the immense mass of material on all sorts of subjects contained in the Mahābhārata, we venture to express our very earnest hope that this scheme—so much better than depending on the frail and uncertain support of the annual subscriptions of private individuals—will be adopted by the leading Academies, and adopted soon.

Remarkable Antiquarian Discovery in Southern India.—Mr. Alexander Rea, of the Archæological Survey in the Madras Presidency, has for some time past been making excavations, with most interesting results, at Adichhanalūr, about fifteen miles south-east from Tinnevelli,

and nine miles west from Korkai — the ancient Kolchoi, a great emporium in early times and a seat of the pearl fishery. Mr. Rea's investigations prove that the site is the most extensive and important ancient burial-place known in India. The first excavations were carried out in 1900, and, on the surveyor's recommendation, Government agreed to conserve an area extending over 114 acres. This is a long piece of ground lying north and south on the south bank of the classic Tāmaraparṇi river, with a small hill at the south end, on which has been a Pāndyan fort, and where is the Pāndyarāja temple—a fairly large one, but without any image, and in which worship is performed to the Pāndyan king by Pallars and Pāriahs, who make offerings of flowers, fruits, and sheep: this is a somewhat interesting survival.

In the ground, burial urns are found over the whole area at average distances of about 6 feet apart, and at depths of from 3 to 10 or 12 feet below the surface, some being found over each other. An estimate may thus be formed of the deposits in the area if we reckon that each acre may contain over 1,000 urns. About the middle of the area some 3 feet of the surface soil is composed of gravel, with decomposed quartz rock below. This rock has been hollowed out to receive the urns, with a separate cavity for each. In the excavations made in 1900 over 600 articles of metal and pottery were found, and this last season over double that number have been unearthed, including many unique and curious objects in bronze, iron, and pottery.

The whole collection made by Mr. Rea contains 7 gold oval-shaped ornaments, measuring from about 2¼ inches by ⅞ inch to some over 6½ inches by 2·15 inches. These seem to have been armlets known as *bāzū-band*, worn by princes and high officers; they are of thin plates of gold ornamented with geometrical dotted designs; and all were found folded up. In iron were found—37 lamps, 55 spears, 44 hoes or *mamutis*, 27 swords, 20 daggers, 5 tridents, 3 tripods, 18 axes, 50 arrows, 4 *śulams* (pikes), 2 spades, 13 chisels, 11 knives,

9 hatchets, 4 adzes, 2 rings, 1 sickle, 1 hammer, 1 celt, 4 pans, a knife handle, and 36 fragmentary instruments, and rods, etc., making a total of 373. No implements or weapons have been found in bronze; all objects in this metal being either vessels of curious and varied shapes or personal ornaments—rings, bangles, bracelets, etc.—numbering 188. Several of the bronzes bear buffaloes on them with wide curved horns. The vessels of bronze are of many different forms, and some of them are of considerable interest. Previous to this the only bronzes discovered in Madras were, probably, those found by the late Mr. Breeks and described in his *Primitive Tribes of the Nilagiris.* Of pottery vessels Mr. Rea found 1,129, and of other objects such as stone implements, collections of bones, etc., 152. The total series thus amounts to 1,842 lots. These will form ample materials for a most important illustrated report, and antiquarians will look forward to its publication with interest.

As probably less than an acre has been actually dug into to obtain these results, the number of undisturbed deposits may perhaps be faintly imagined; for, apparently, the ground over a large area is the same. A local tradition asserts that near the site was a town extending over two miles to the east. There are also in the vicinity traces of ancient wells; and some of the fields still bear names which, Mr. Rea thinks, indicate the sites of gates and walls of the city or fort. The tradition states that the place was devastated and the Pāndyans annihilated by a horde of Muhammadans. This naturally suggests the invasion by Malik Naib Kafur, in A.D. 1310, who pursued the Pāndya king to a place the Muslim writers call Kandūr, capturing 108 elephants, one of them laden with jewels; but the rāja escaping him, he ordered a general massacre at Kandūr. Mr. Rea, while admitting that the town may have been obliterated in this way, inclines to think the burial remains belong to an earlier period. The mode of urn burial seems to have been prevalent among the Pallavas, Pāndyas, and other early South Indian races, but perhaps ceased when

the conquering Chōḷas invaded the possessions of these dynasties. Further, Mr. Rea notes that the evidences of modern Korkai having been at an early date a large city are not very convincing; and that it was probably only the port or harbour for a very large emporium at Adichhanalūr.

As examples of the 'finds' he made, it may be mentioned that outside one burial urn Mr. Rea found 15 vessels, 8 stands, and 6 covers in pottery; in iron—a cup lamp with chain and rods, a large hanging lamp, a beam rod, a large tripod, a dagger, 4 hoes, and an axe; in bronze—2 bowls, a sieve, a vase, and fragments of another vessel. Inside the urn were 5 stands for vessels, a broken bronze lotā, and a cup; also an oval gold ornament $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

Outside another urn were 5 stands for vessels, 6 cups, and 5 covers in earthenware; in iron—a large hanging lamp, a saucer lamp, 5 hoes, an axe, a sickle, a trident, 2 swords, 2 daggers, 2 spears, and 5 arrows; in bronze—a bowl, a broken cup, and fragments of 5 other vessels, 2 small oval bulb-formed objects, and pieces of 2 others, with some mica. Inside were a bronze bowl with a knob-topped lid, an iron sword, and an earthen cup.

It is unnecessary to detail the contents of more: in one, among many objects, was a fine iron trident over 3 feet long; the ornamental top to a bronze cover for a vessel having on it 4 rams with twisted horns; and another cover top with 12 curved arms, branched, and carrying round fruits, having the central shaft surmounted by 4 birds. On opening another urn, at least 7 bronze vessels were found heaped up in the bottom, some of them with curious twisted ornaments; and, as Mr. Rea knows how fragile old bronzes are when first exposed, he removed the whole undisturbed for future examination. Numerous bones were found, and among them a skull in perfect condition; along with it were the larger bones of the body and the decomposed material of the smaller ones. Against one of the sides leaned the bones of the legs and arms, and below, beside the skull, were the vertebræ, ribs, etc.

It appears that in 1876 Dr. Jagor, of Berlin, visited this site and obtained a considerable collection of weapons, utensils, and implements for the Berlin Museum.[1] No one seems to have thought it worth while to call attention to it on behalf of any of our Indian or home museums, and it was left to Mr. Rea to rediscover it after nearly a quarter of a century. Since 1876 part of the burial area at Adichhanalūr has, apparently, been continuously used as a gravel-pit, and the local coolies have been making a profit by selling the antiquities to passing visitors. In excavating, therefore, efficient and close supervision had to be constantly exercised over the workmen, and it was by employing no more than he could effectively superintend — never more than a dozen—that Mr. Rea has secured such excellent results, which filled twenty-three large packing-cases.

Mr. Rea has further excavated ancient sites at Pallamkōṭa, Nattam, Tendirupparai, Pariyūr, Vīrapāndyapaṭṭanam, and Kāyat — none of which, except the last, had been previously noted.

Should Government conserve this and similar sites from local and wandering curio-hunters, and employ so skilful and scientific an explorer as Mr. Rea has proved himself, we may hope for very valuable results from his excavations.

Edinburgh, July 18, 1901. JAS. BURGESS.

THE TAR BABY.—The leading idea in Uncle Remus's famous story of the tar baby has been anticipated in Indian folklore and preserved to us in the 55th Jātaka (II, 272 foll.). But this is not the oldest form of it. The monkey who is stuck in five places (*pañcaḍḍito*) occurs already in the Saṃyutta (5. 148). Just as his head, his two feet, and his two hands all get stuck in succession in his efforts to free himself, so does the mind of the dull unconverted man get stuck in five places, his five senses, by the allurements of the various objects that appeal to each.

[1] See Dr. Jagor's papers in *Verhandl. d. Berliner Gesellsch. für Anthropologie*, etc., 1878 and 1879.

THE TRANSLATION OF *devānaṁpiyā*.—In continuation of my note on this subject published in the July number of the Journal (*ante*, p. 577), I desire to point out that the late Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl Indrajī anticipated both M. Senart and me in the correct interpretation of the plural *devānaṁpiyā* in the Kālsī recension of Rock Edict VIII. The Paṇḍit possessed a correct copy of the passage in question, and perceived that the word *devānaṁpiyā* in the Kālsī text is simply the equivalent of *rājāno* in the Girnār text. He translated literally, "since long ago Devānaṁpiyas were going out on pleasure trips." He also quoted a passage from the Uvāi (Skt. *Aupapātika*) Sūtra of the Jains to prove that the title in the corrupt form *devānupiya* was applied to King Konika, son of Bimbisāra or Śrenika.

The inferences that the title was "usually applied to great kings in early times," and could be used standing by itself as equivalent to 'the king' or 'His Majesty,' are fully justified by the evidence. The Paṇḍit's article was published in the *Indian Antiquary* for May, 1881 (vol. x, 109), and had been written some years earlier. I regret that the article escaped my notice until now.

Sept. 21, 1901. V. A. SMITH.

AT the suggestion of two or three members, who remark that neither they nor many other subscribers to the fund are likely to see a specimen of the Society's Queen's Jubilee Gold Medal, which is struck but once in three years, a photographic representation of it is given in the accompanying plate. The design of the obverse is, it will be seen, that of the Banyan Tree badge or seal of the Society, which has for so many years been printed on the title-page of the Journal. On the reverse is a wreath within which the name of the person to whom the Medal is given is inscribed, with the year in which the award was made.

MR. H. BEVERIDGE sends a paper on "The Author of the Life of Sháh Ismáil," described by Professor Denison

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Ross in the Journal for 1896, for which we have no space in the present number. He attributes the authorship to Khwājah 'Abd Ullah Marvarīd.

III. Additions to the Library.

Presented by the India Office.

Foster (W.). Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East. Vol. v.
8vo. *London*, 1901.

Presented by the Trustees of the British Museum.

Guidi (I.). Vocabulario Amarico-Italiano.
8vo. *Roma*, 1901.

Margoliouth (G.). Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan MSS. in the British Museum. Pt. i. 4to. *London*, 1899.

Wickremasinghe (D. M. da Z.). Catalogue of the Sinhalese MSS. in the British Museum.
4to. *London*, 1900.

Presented by the Dutch Colonial Office.

Tuuk (H. N. van der). Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek. Deel iii. 8vo. *Batavia*, 1901.

Presented by la Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe.

Herz Bey (Max). La Mosquée du Sultan Hassan au Caire.
Fol. *Le Caire*, 1899.

Presented by the Ceylon Government.

Ceylon Administration Reports, 1897. Fol. *Colombo*, 1900.

Presented by the Leiden University.

Goeje (J. de). Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari. Introductio.
8vo. *Lugd. Bat.*, 1901.

Presented by the Cambridge University Syndicate.

Skeat (W.). Fables and Folk Tales from an Eastern Forest. Illustrated by F. H. Townsend.
8vo. *Cambridge*, 1901.

Presented by the Madras Government Museum.

Fawcett (F.). Nāyars of Malabar. (Bull., vol. iii, No. 3.)
8vo. *Madras*, 1901.

Foote (R. B.). Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities in the Madras Government Museum. 8vo. *Madras*, 1901.

Presented by the Société Finno-Ougrienne.

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TRANSLITERATION

OF THE

SANSKRIT, ARABIC,

AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

I.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

अ . . . . *a*	ओ . . . . *o*	ट . . . . *ṭ*	ब . . . . *b*
आ . . . . *ā*	औ . . . . *au*	ठ . . . . *ṭh*	भ . . . . *bh*
इ . . . *i*	क . . . . *k*	ड . . . . *ḍ*	म . . . . *m*
ई . . . . *ī*	ख . . . . *kh*	ढ . . . . *ḍh*	य . . . . *y*
उ . . . . *u*	ग . . . . *g*	ण . . . . *ṇ*	र . . . . *r*
ऊ . . . . *ū*	घ . . . . *gh*	त . . . . *t*	ल . . . . *l*
ऋ . . . . *ṛ*	ङ . . . . *ṅ*	थ . . . . *th*	व . . . . *v*
ॠ . . . . *ṝ*	च . . . . *c*	द . . . . *d*	श . . . . *ś*
ऌ . . . . *ḷ*	छ . . . . *ch*	ध . . . . *dh*	ष . . . . *ṣ*
ॡ . . . . *ḹ*	ज . . . . *j*	न . . . . *n*	स . . . . *s*
ए . . . . *e*	झ . . . . *jh*	प . . . . *p*	ह . . . . *h*
ऐ . . . . *ai*	ञ . . . . *ñ*	फ . . . . *ph*	ळ . . . . *l*

ं (*Anusvāra*) . . .	*ṁ*	ऽ (*Avagraha*)	’
ँ (*Anunāsika*) . .	*m̐*	*Udātta*	॒
ः (*Visārga*)	*ḥ*	*Svarita*	॑
ᕽ (*Jihvāmūlīya*) .	*ḫ*	*Anudātta*	॓
ᕾ (*Upadhmānīya*) .	*ḫ*		

II.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

ا at beginning of word omit; elsewhere . . . ـَ or ـْ		ک . . . . *k*	اَ . . . . *ā*
		ل . . . . *l*	ـِی . . . . *ī*
ب . . . . *b*	س . . . . *s*	م . . . . *m*	ـُو . . . . *ū*
ت . . . . *t*	ش . *ṣ* or *sh*	ن . . . . *n*	
ث . *ṭ* or *th*	ص . . *ṣ* or *z*	و . . *w* or *v*	DIPHTHONGS.
ج . *j* or *dj*	ض *ḍ*, *dz*, or *z*	ه . . . . *h*	ـَيْ . . . . *ai*
ح . . . . *ḥ*	ط . . . . *ṭ*	ي . . . . *y*	ـَوْ . . . . *au*
خ . *ḥ* or *kh*	ظ . . . . *ẓ*		*wasla* . . . ـُ
د . . . . *d*	ع . . . . ـٔ	VOWELS.	*hamza* ـَ or ـْ
ذ . *ḍ* or *dh*	غ . *ḡ* or *gh*	ـَ . . . . *a*	*silent t* . . *ḥ*
ر . . . . *r*	ف . . . . *f*	ـِ . . . . *i*	*letter not pronounced* . . ـِ
ز . . . . *z*	ق . . . . *q*	ـُ . . . . *u*	

ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKSHTŪ.	TURKISH ONLY.	HINDI AND PAKSHTŪ.	PAKSHTŪ ONLY.
پ . . . . *p*	ک when pronounced as *g* . . . . *ḳ*	ٹ or ټ . *ṭ*	څ . . . *ts*
چ . *c* or *ch*		ڈ or ډ . . *ḍ*	ږ . . . *ġ*
ژ . *ẓ* or *zh*		ڑ or ړ . . . *ṛ*	ڼ . . . *ṇ*
گ . . . . *g*	ڭ . . . . *ñ*		ښ . . . *ksh*
ڀ . . . . *ṣ*			
ز . . . . *ẕ*			

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